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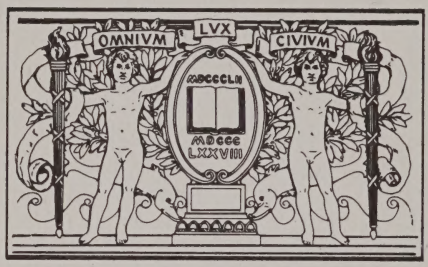

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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. XC.

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BOSTON:
CROSBY, NICHOLS, LEE, AND COMPANY,
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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CLXXXVI.

JANUARY, 1860.

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2. *Idyls of the King*. By ALFRED TENNYSON, D. C. L., Poet Laureate. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859.

THE question is often started, whether advance in civilization and knowledge is favorable to poetry. It would be about as fair a question, whether the spring, summer, or autumn is the most favorable season for flowers. The only answer would be to ask, in turn, For what kind of flowers? If for anemones and violets, the spring; if for asters, the autumn. In like manner each stage of development has its poetry. In an age of external facts, when life has to do constantly with the outward, poetry will be objective. The epic and the drama both have their epoch here. But when life has become more internal, — when the outward affords little excitement, and the great struggles are carried on within the soul, — then poetry becomes subjective. As society advances, narrative poetry, or even prose fiction, has less place. It is in the imperfections of a wall, the crevices that time has made or unskilfulness has left, that the ivy and the wall-flower take their root. So an examination of the narrative literature of our own day would show that it has its root in the faults, not in the perfections, of our civilization. It is among the suffering poor, the oppressed slaves, the unequal laws, that our novels and

romances find their material. Should society become a perfect machine, so that there would be no oppression, or injustice, or wrong, it would afford no opportunity for the novelist. The individual would be lost, so far as the outward world is concerned; and it is the nature of this kind of literature to represent the individual over against society, and at war with it.

Notwithstanding all this, the world within would be more and more real. The soul would become more and more conscious of its aspirations and its doubts. The individual, so far as society is concerned, would be lost; so far as the great background of infinite truth is concerned, he would loom up in vaster proportions than before. Even domestic animals gain variety by culture. So does the inner man gain more marked individuality by culture and civilization. There is, therefore, a kind of poetry which finds its truest place only at such a time as this. It is the literature of the soul, the utterance of its longings, the record of its battles with unseen foes. The outward world will appear in it, not as the arena or the background of battles, but transfigured by the inner spirit, and taken up into its realm. Such is the literature in which this age is in some respects in advance of any other, and of which Tennyson wears worthily the Laureate crown.

Tennyson's first volume* contained only intimations of his capacity in this direction. It did show, however, his immense power over the harmony of language and the melody of sound. It stood to those that were to come in the relation which the prelude of the minstrel upon his instrument bears to his song. Indeed, the first piece is called *A Melody*. With the next volumes came the articulate voice, a deeper passion, and something of the warmth of life. The very first poem of this issue, "The Lady of Shalott," shows that the minstrel has awakened to the consciousness of his work. As the mystic lady of the song weaves into her web the pictures of the world as they are reflected in her magic mirror, but may not look at the world itself, so does the artist abjure in his work the gross realities of things, and deal only with their *forms*, as

* Published in 1830.

they are reflected in his imagination and sublimated by it into mere beauty. The artist must hold himself aloof from the selfish aim that would lay hold of the realities of things for himself. It was the remark of one of the most promising and distinguished of our younger sculptors, that if the artist gave way to unworthy feelings in regard to his model, the effect would be visible in his work. The artist must live, so far as he is an artist, in the world of forms. Art must, so far as it is art, have no ulterior end of utility.

"Beauty is its own excuse for being."

Such is the first negation, the first step in that self-denial which must be the entrance to the life of the artist, as well as to that of the Christian. But the world of forms is a world of shadows and emptiness. One cannot live there long before horror seizes hold of him. Such is the lesson of "The Palace of Art," which is in some respects the most striking and powerful of the minor poems of Tennyson, and which shows by its very power that he was uttering a portion of his own deep experience. Here comes, then, the second negation, which applied to the first would result in affirmation. The outward world has been given up in its grossness. The world of shadows is now given up in its emptiness. What remains is to find a higher life, in which the world, without its grossness and harsh materialism, shall yet have a real being, — in which all sharp individualism shall be lost, all antagonism solved, and all shall be filled out by the infinite fulness. It is for the pursuit of this higher life that the soul leaves its lordly Palace of Art, with its haunting horrors, and it is this quest which, until it is accomplished, gives the chief vitality to Tennyson's poetry. It wanders out into a world of struggle and darkness; but it will press on until the light is gained. The poems most marked by this spirit are "Lady Clara Vere de Vere," "Love and Duty," "Locksley Hall," and "The Two Voices." In these the great riddles of life — the falseness of its conventionalities, the darkness that clouds our highest aspirations, the anguish that springs from our noblest acts — were stated, but not solved. In "Love and Duty" there is a presentiment of gain from the conflict, but the hearts torn

asunder are left bleeding. In "Locksley Hall" the desponding gloom is driven away by higher resolutions, the complaining, tempting voices are cried down; but there is no solution of the great evils which we have looked in the face. There is no more connection between the despair and the confidence, than between the head and the body of the Sphinx. So is it also in "The Two Voices." A "hidden hope" is all that brings strength and courage. Brightness gleams in the distance. The wanderer is sure that it is before him; but he has not yet reached it. Not yet is the full triumphant song of victory which shall, after much sorrow and conflict, burst upon our ear. It is now the season of struggle, of preparation, of aspiration.

This same character is visible also in the fragmentary nature of the majority of those of our author's poems which do not bear the marks that have been referred to. If grief is expressed, it is for the most part an uninterrupted wail. There is no intimation of relief. It is darkness without a compensating spot of light. If a narrative is given, it is generally a single incident, torn from its connection, and left ragged and incomplete. If a figure, it is only a figure, without action or speech. Even such a perfect poem as "The Palace of Art" is marked by stars, which show its incompleteness. The poems have thus, many of them, the appearance of studies, fragments like those which adorn an artist's studio. This may be understood by comparing them with Longfellow's poems, in which the light and shade are for the most part equally balanced. If a poem begin in gloom, the sad heart is bidden to "cease repining." They may also be compared with those of Tennyson's own poems which close the volume beginning with Maud, where each is, in like manner, a complete and balanced whole. In others of the poems now specially under criticism, we have the most untamed passion, as in "Fatima"; the sublimest aspiration, as in "St. Agnes"; longing for rest, as in "The Lotos-Eaters." These are each single utterances of unmixed, unmortified feeling. They are like single cries. This has been entirely misunderstood by critics, who have taken one of them, "The Lotos-Eaters," for instance, and have regretted that Tennyson had not intro-

duced something to counteract the extreme tendency of the piece, or had not omitted some extreme expressions. They are merely studies in a single color. In this consists, to a great degree, their perfection. They are unfinished; but it is such incompleteness as only an artist could effect, — an artist of consummate skill, whose greatest skill is yet to train himself for nobler results. While the world is admiring, the artist is conscious that what is called perfect is only incomplete and preparatory. The world applauds his power of expression. It is remarkable that the last poem but one in these volumes should be almost a parallel to the summit called "Insufficiency" with which Mrs. Browning closes that series of sonnets which are the most perfect of her earlier works. The poet stands upon the rocky cliff. He looks out upon the sea; the more mysterious sea of memory stretches still more vast before him, and he cries, —

> "I would that my tongue could utter
> The thoughts that arise in me."

Such is the close of the poems which the world held as the most complete and artistic of the age. The minstrel, while crowds applaud, casts down his instrument, tramples it under his feet, and awaits a fuller inspiration.

Another mark of the still imperfect power of the artist is the symbolism and allegory in which the early poems abound. Before a poet learns to express his thought directly, he expresses it indirectly. All know the elaborate allegory in which young poets are apt to indulge. Everything in memory — the past, the future — is a forest, a palace, an ocean. Such, in these poems of Tennyson, are "The Vision of Sin," "The Talking Oak," "A Dream of Fair Women," "The Palace of Art," "The Two Voices," and others of less note. These express indirectly what the poet learned later to speak directly. These are, some of them, wonderful in their way, unsurpassed and unsurpassable. Their immaturity can be seen only by studying the manner in which the same poet afterward approaches the same subjects.

These first volumes represent thus the era of struggle, of aspiration. The struggle is towards the truth on the one

side, towards the expression of it on the other. They represent that era which in the general history of art is called The Symbolic, — one which all, or nearly all, great minds in some way pass through. It is the period of doubt and struggle; —

> "Heaven opens inward, chasms yawn.
> Vast images in glimmering dawn,
> Half shown, are broken and withdrawn."

The rude material which it is the business of life to shape into forms of beauty stands hard, unyielding before the worker, and only reflects in partial outlines, or symbolizes in shapes more or less fanciful or fantastic, the truth which it cannot as yet embody worthily. It is not intended to apply these remarks to every individual poem in the collection. "The Miller's Daughter," for instance, has a perfection and a maturity which could hardly be surpassed. They do, however, express the character of most, and of the collection as a whole.

This period of aspiration more or less blind, of struggle more or less successful, of symbolism more or less conscious, is followed by one of attainment, or equipoise, — of peace, perhaps even of joy. The rude material is vanquished. The thought is at length defined. It is perfectly embodied in its expression, which becomes a partaker of its beauty. This period of equipoise is, it is true, one of transition; yet it is none the less full of beauty and gladness. Thus the beautiful self-repose and self-sufficiency of the Grecian art rose out of the wild chaos of the Egyptian symbolism, if that may be called a chaos, over which the spirit of life and form was brooding. This period in the history of Tennyson gave birth to "The Princess." The spirit which manifests itself in this had been making itself more and more perceptible in the latter portion of the preceding volumes; but here it has entire and unbroken sway. Full of lightness and gayety, yet of thought also, — of thought not struggling towards its solution, but clearly defined and complete, — the poem forms a marked contrast to the earlier ones which we have been considering. The figures are no less beautifully drawn; but they are not figures merely abstract and impersonal. They think, feel,

suffer, love, and act. The story is no less beautifully told; but it is now complete, — not a fragment, but a whole. It is remarkable how often writers, at this stage of their development, which answers so nearly to that of the classic Grecian art, adopt classic forms of expression. It may seem at first sight absurd to speak of "A Medley" as classic; but yet not only is its general spirit of this nature, but the details have the classic finish. The architecture described is classic. The adornments, statues, and the like, are of the classic type. So is the beauty of the characters and their costume. So are their names. It would perhaps seem an over-refinement to remark that the only one of the members of the establishment of the Princess who has a romantic name — the Lady Blanche — was the one whose sinister influence caused the failure of the whole. The illustrations are very often statuesque. The following is one example: —

> "Wrapt in a soldier's cloak,
> Like some sweet sculpture draped from head to foot,
> And pushed by rude hands from its pedestal,
> All her fair length upon the ground she lay."

And, finally, we are surprised to come upon such a simple Gallicism as this: "Rooms which gave upon a pillared porch." But French, it should be noticed, is the classic language of modern Europe.

The beauty of this poem is sometimes lost, by considering it too much as a satire or a philosophical argument. It is, however, we think, not merely as such that the poem is to be regarded. As the child dips his pipe into the foamy basin, blows his bubble, shakes it off, and watches it as it floats with changing colors through the air, till it is arrested by some unlucky leaf or projecting corner, and bursts in the midst of its flight; so the poet, from the froth and foam of our uneasy life, blew this bubble, sparkling in many-colored light; and we watch its graceful motion, till, striking some unexpected obstacle, its color deepens into the roseate hue of love, and it vanishes from our sight.

The course of development we are considering, which is common, with difference in degree, to all mind, whether of

the race or the individual, may be best illustrated by a reference to the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven. The aspiration, the wild struggle, the stormy passion, which mark the first movement of this piece, represent all the early epochs of conflict and blind desire, the symbolic era in art. The light gayety and the calm peace of the second and third movements represent the repose and the equipoise which follow. It is to this intermediate rest that "The Princess" of Tennyson answers; but this cannot be the end. As, in that wonderful musical composition, gayety and peace are followed by the startling discord with which the fourth movement opens, when the storm and struggle break out afresh, as the spirit, forsaking this temporary resting-place, and mounting upward to loftier heights, now careless of mere instrumental perfection, and longing only to express that lofty joy which it is attaining, and which is striving for utterance, leaves its instrumental harmony below it, and breaks forth into articulate speech, — so in the history of art, the spirit of humanity, not content with that perfection of sculptured beauty which it has attained in the classic epoch, and careless indeed of all beauty, so that it may express the new light and lofty thought that have dawned upon it, drops the chisel, seizes the infinitely more expressive brush, and loses itself again in uncouth shapes, in wild and eager aspiration, until at last it reaches its end, and reveals that super-terrestrial beauty which rises above its work, rather than becomes embodied in it. In that musical composition which has been referred to as furnishing the universal formula for the development of art, whether in the world or in the individual, the last movement, which is to lead to triumph and joy, not only opens in discord and reproduces the conflict and longing of the first, but takes up in turn the themes of the earlier movements and rejects them, thus repeating the whole that had gone before in this final and successful attempt to express its highest thought. How precisely all this expresses the individual development which we are here considering, will be seen as we proceed.

After the light gayety and intermittent earnestness of "The Princess," we might be doubtful under what aspect our poet would next meet us. We see this perfect equipoise between

the sensuous and the spiritual, the expression and the thought. When this equipoise is disturbed, which side will preponderate? It may be that the spiritual growth will still continue. It may be that, led away by outward beauty and by the artist's joy of creation, the poet will give over the deeper strivings which had before agitated his soul, and dwell henceforth among the forms of fancy. Perhaps even the smile that plays upon his lips, as light and graceful as that which we see on those of some sculptured work of the later classic period, may become a smile of scorn, or a laugh of mockery, as the undulating line of the ripples of the summer sea may be changed to the curl of the boisterous wave.

The forces were already at work, however, which were to decide this question. The mystery of death was beginning to open before him the greater mystery of existence; for what another poet sings of the sea is still more true of the wilder sea of life: —

> "Only he who shares its dangers
> Comprehends its mysteries."

Tennyson had lost the friend of his youth, and, following with loving thought his flight into realms of pure and spiritual activity, he shook off the bondage of the material, and rose, after renewed and long-continued buffetings with winds and blinding clouds, into the blue brightness of the never-clouded heavens. This new struggle and its triumph are recorded in the "In Memoriam."

In this poem the artist strives no longer to find some sensuous form, like "The Palace of Art," and the story of "The Princess," which shall either image or embody his thought. This stands before us clad only in the flowing veil of a perfect melody. The poem is none the less a work of art, — a finished whole. The connection is, however, inward and spiritual. The fragments of which it apparently consists are bound together by a union only less vital than that which connects the scenes of a drama. This purely spiritual unity of the work, the disregard which the thought has of any material form perfectly answering to its beauty, or even reflecting it, shows clearly that the struggle for the classic perfection had passed, and exhibits well the natural tendency of our modern or

romantic art. Indeed, the work seems to meet, better than any other, the twofold claim which is made upon the poet of the present day. On the one side, the spirit of the age demands short, fugitive pieces. The age is in a hurry. If any talker, however eloquent he may be, get his finger into its button-hole, and hold it too long, it begins to be fidgety. Especially does it have this feeling in regard to such unpractical specimens of humanity as poets. If you have anything to say, it seems to tell you, "Be quick about it; we have a great deal to do; the lands you tell us of are so shadowy, that we do not care to invest much in them." Thus a large portion of its readers, and nearly all its critics, have complained of the "Aurora Leigh" of Mrs. Browning, — a poem of which John Ruskin could say, that it was, "so far as he knew, the finest poem which the age had produced in any language," — as if it were too long. The world has half congratulated itself that "The Excursion" of Wordsworth stopped when it did. But yet the demands of art are not fully met by short and fugitive pieces. It craves space and material. The head upon a cameo may be beautiful, but it cannot affect us as the statue of full length and full size. These, then, are the two requirements which the poet is called upon to satisfy. Our own poet, Longfellow, who might certainly venture as far as any one, brings forward his longer works in such a manner that they might pass as studies in some new measure, or in antiquarian lore, in case any one should wonder or yawn at the sight of a poem of any length. This peculiarity in form attracts the first attention. The critics quarrel about this. By the time they have done, the work has silently taken its place among the masterpieces of our literature. The "In Memoriam" satisfies perfectly these two demands. It consists of short pieces, each perfect in itself, and together forming a perfect whole.

The "In Memoriam" has sometimes been objected to, as if it were the expression of a morbid sentimentalism. It has been thought unmanly for a man to carry about a grief with him so long. It should be remembered, however, that a work is to be judged by its inward characteristics, and not by the length of time which the author may have spent in the elaboration of it. The data for determining the length of time covered by

this poem are obvious. The returns of Christmas-day, as the years revolve, and of the anniversary of young Hallam's death, occur very regularly. Of the latter there are two, and of the former there are three returns; thus showing that the time over which the poem extends is somewhat less than three years. Surely a man may be forgiven for cherishing the memory of a friend thus long, even in this changing and forgetful world; and all the more, when he grows stronger and more heroic by it.

The wholeness of this poem may be seen by suggesting a comparison which is sometimes made use of in it. Many a poem and drama have been written to relate the separation, the doubts, the sorrows, and the final joyful union of lovers. Something of this sort forms the substance of the "In Memoriam," only it all occurs in the realm of spirit. Instead of lovers, we have friends, united by the strongest sympathies of heart and intellect. That which separates them is death. The struggles are with the phantoms that haunt with more or less recognition every thinking soul. The doubts are those which shake the very foundations of our common faith. These are opposed by the highest aspirations of soul, by sturdy thought, by the harmonies of nature, and by the hopes of religion, especially as these last are embodied in the triumphant gladness of the Christian jubilee. The union is a spiritual mingling, almost too perfect and too holy for speech.

The work may be divided into three parts. The first expresses the stunned and speechless despair of the initial grief. This reveals itself by figures and symbols, which only imply the poet's powerlessness to comprehend or to utter the sorrow that has overwhelmed him. Of this the following stanzas are a beautiful and striking example: —

"The lesser griefs, that may be said,
That breathe a thousand tender vows,
Are but as servants in a house
Where lies the master newly dead;

"Who speak their feeling as it is,
And weep the fulness from the mind:
'It will be hard,' they say, 'to find
Another service such as this.'

"My lighter moods are like to these,
That out of words a comfort win;
But there are other griefs within,
And tears that at their fountain freeze;

"For by the hearth the children sit,
Cold in that atmosphere of Death,
And scarce endure to draw the breath,
Or like to noiseless phantoms flit;

"But open converse is there none,
So much the vital spirits sink,
To see the vacant chair, and think,
'How good! how kind! and he is gone.'"

This dumb and half-conscious sorrow finds expression, at last, in doubt and inward struggle. The doubts are, whether there be any real progression in the universe; whether the soul retains its being in consciousness after death; whether, if this be so, his friend be not elevated so far above him that he has lost all feeling of fellowship. The half-conscious sorrow finding no utterance except through symbolism, the doubts that are only half solved, and the struggle which has not yet reached the higher level of peace, reproduce, though in a more connected manner, the elements which we have seen to be those of his earlier poems. Only here, in that ardent and imperishable friendship, the doubts contain within themselves the germ of their solution.

From this sea of doubt rises at length the solid land. The image of his friend appears to him, at first indistinctly, then more clearly, as he had known him of old. He recalls the scenes of their past happiness, the words and manners of his friend. He longs to have their intercourse renewed, — to see him again in the old familiar way; or, if this be impossible, to feel his spiritual presence. Even this higher longing regards him in his distinct and limited personality. As he reads, one night, his friend's letters, while seated in a meadow, he becomes so penetrated with his spirit that there seems to flash in upon him a presence and a joy, as of unwonted union. Everything in this part of the poem, save perhaps the mystic union, is so clear, self-contained, and well defined, — partakes so entirely of the limited relations of earth, or of those which are

akin thereto, — that it seems to possess something of the same classic spirit of which we have seen "The Princess" was the utterance; only it is nobler and more human. The poet, however, does not remain at this point. He changes his residence, and thus becomes gradually separated from the more personal and limited recollections of his friend. He thinks of him at last more as the representative of a perfect humanity. The Christmas-bells ring out again, and inspire him with new life. He calls to them, —

> "Ring out, ring out my mournful rhymes,
> But ring the fuller minstrel in."

The change was not sudden. As in the spring, now and then, a summer-like day comes, the herald of what shall succeed, and as in the early summer belated chills and storms of spring sometimes intrude amid the fairer hours, so variable and inartificial is the progress of this poem.

But the change, though slow, is at last complete. His old doubts are not merely quieted; they become absorbed and lost in a new and perfect intuition. He sees how, in spite of confusion and bloodshed, the world is working out its glorious destiny. The problems which have haunted him so long, and filled his life with gloom, become changed to glad promises of joy. His longing for union with his friend is satisfied. His union is no longer one within the limits of time and place, but one as broad and universal as being itself.

> "Thy voice is on the rolling air;
> I hear thee where the waters run;
> Thou standest in the rising sun,
> And in the setting thou art fair.
>
> "What art thou, then? I cannot guess;
> But though I seem in star and flower
> To feel thee, some diffusive power,
> I do not therefore love thee less:
>
> "My love involves the love before;
> My love is vaster passion now;
> Though mixed with God and Nature thou,
> I seem to love thee more and more.

"Far off thou art, but ever nigh;
I have thee still, and I rejoice:
I prosper, circled with thy voice;
I shall not lose thee, though I die."

These verses form the natural close of the poem. Nothing could be added save the sublime prayer and ascription of glory which follows: —

"O living will that shalt endure
When all that seems shall suffer shock,
Rise in the spiritual rock,
Flow through our deeds and make them pure,

"That we may lift from out the dust
A voice as unto him that hears,
A cry above the conquered years
To one that with us works, and trust,

"With faith that comes of self-control,
The truths that never can be proved
Until we close with all we loved,
And all we flow from, soul in soul."

These closing lines, which represent the loftiest intuition, the objects of which are present in unclouded splendor to the eye of the higher reason, and which call forth and satisfy the profoundest feelings of love and awe, but which yet refuse to be reduced to the categories of the understanding and the forms of the imagination, and are superior to all the paltry figures of speech, constitute the most exalted poetry, and the truest illustration of what is striven for by the modern or romantic art. Indeed, the absence of all ornament of diction at the close of the "In Memoriam" is very striking. In the last three divisions of the poem there is scarcely one figure of speech, save such as have become incorporated into the English language. The same is true of the proem, and of the marriage lay, which is placed at the end of the volume. The artistic worth of comparisons and metaphors is apt to be exaggerated. A young writer is prone to think more of a happy figure than of anything else which he has accomplished. Readers often place the same value upon them. Indeed, for the popular mind, they are essential. They stand, however, far below the perfect embodiment of the thought itself, — as

much beneath it as the shadow is less worthy than the substance. It is certainly much nobler to tell what my thought is, than to say what it is like. To this height the closing portions of the "In Memoriam" have attained. The poet has toiled upward through the region of chasm and mist, through that of forest and cloud, and has reached the elevation from which he gazes upward into the clear blue of heaven, where no passing shadow can dim its glory. He has given his grief and his doubts free leave to develop themselves to their utmost, and by their own dialectics they have become transmuted into this high and holy joy. The poet's wanderings and struggles are over. He can return to that "Palace of Art" from which he was thrust out; or rather he has been unconsciously constructing a new "Palace of Art" more glorious than the first; for that was formed of fancies merely, but this is built of the deeds and doubts, the sorrows and the faith of a life, which have become idealized by poetry, and made glorious by the glad triumph that has crowned them. Henceforth he can, undisturbed by these inward struggles, yield himself more fully to the enjoyment of his art.

The first volume of poems which followed was that entitled "Maud." As the poem which gives the name of the volume was composed at wide intervals, it bears few marks of any one period. By the side, however, of the most exquisite melodies of love, we have the harsh, jangling measure in which the poet sings of the evils of the time. This blending of styles, which has been so severely judged by some of the critics, shows at least one thing, — that the poet has reached a stand-point from which he can disregard that mere outward beauty, that smooth and rich melody, which seemed the chief object of his earlier works. He has found that there is something higher for the artist even than mere beauty, and that is truth. Previously, his object was to express the truth beautifully; now, it is simply to express the truth. We thus have that contempt for mere beauty which is the element of the modern Christian or romantic art. The completeness of the minor poems has been already referred to. There is also, especially in "The Charge of the Light Brigade," as it was originally published, an element of rough objectivity, which

has not before made its appearance in the writings of Tennyson. We would very gladly linger upon these poems, and the more gladly as the public taste does not seem to have finally settled itself in regard to them. We pass, however, at once to the "Idyls of the King."

This latest of the works of Tennyson possesses all the strength and beauty which the most ardent of his admirers could have expected. Another "In Memoriam" would require a fresh life. New aspirations and struggles, like those of the earlier poems, would demand another youth. We have in the four poems of which this volume consists, instead of these qualities which appeal at once to our inmost spirit, a strong manliness, an artistic freedom, and a fidelity, which, if they lay less claim to our sympathy, make no less upon our admiration. It is easy to see, through all of Tennyson's works, the hold which the legends of King Arthur have had upon him. "The Lady of Shalott," the "Morte d'Arthur," of the earlier poems, "The Day-Dream," the division of the "In Memoriam" numbered CI., all show how these tales had seized upon his fancy, and striven to reproduce themselves, directly or indirectly. In this volume we have the same legend which formed the basis of "The Lady of Shalott." There, however, it is not used to symbolize the maiden's love, or the artist's life in the realm of forms, but it is a simple tale, having no meaning but itself. There is, too, no abrupt tearing of a narration from its surroundings, as in the "Morte d'Arthur." There, where the struggle was for classic symmetry and completeness, the story could not be told by itself without having eleven shadowy books of a complete epic poem looming up behind it. Here each story is told simply, and while it has no meaning but itself, it has at the same time no torn edges by which it should be united with anything outside of itself. The great power of the work consists in the fulness and accuracy of the delineation of the characters which appear in it. As the female portraits of his earlier poems were drawn by description only, these are drawn almost wholly by narration. We have thus no shadows, but living and breathing persons. As from some simple melody of the ancient Church modern composers have developed the

full harmonies which were latent in it, but of which the original composer never dreamed; so from some simple hint, some single event, perhaps, in these old legends, has Tennyson drawn the harmonious fulness of womanly nature, which is true in all points to the original, but has the completeness of a fresh creation of the present time. These four "Idyls" are representations in turn of the true woman doubted, of the false woman successful in her wiles, of the woman loved and unloved, and of the woman loved, first false, and then repentant. In the epic, character is subordinate to events; but in these poems everything else is subordinate to the character. Thus, compared with the epic form, these poems are eminently subjective, though, so far as the range of the poet's own internal history is concerned, they are in the highest degree objective.

The style of the poems answers to the truth of the narrations. He who recognized in Tennyson only the dealer in conceits and pretty images, in smooth sentences and feminine niceties of phrase, will recognize him no longer. The poet has served his apprenticeship in these arts. He has conquered all the success which dexterity and finish could win. He is now master of his tools, and can give himself wholly up to that which is the true object of his labor. We are not surprised, therefore, to find occasional carelessness by the side of a manly, outspoken bluntness, of which one knowing only the earlier Tennyson would hardly have dreamed. To seek out and write down these peculiarities of the poems were an ungrateful task. Of the contempt for mere beauty, however, the following may serve as examples. The spearmen of Earl Doorm, at their meal, are described as

> "Feeding like horses, when you hear them feed."

And again,

> "The brawny spearman let his cheek
> Bulge with the unswallowed piece, and, turning, stared."

The following description would almost seem to have been taken from "Aurora Leigh," so far as its ghastly effect is concerned: —

> "The white mist, like a face-cloth to the face,
> Clung to the dead earth, and the land was still."

The examples of a disregard of that feminine delicacy which marked his earlier works might be taken at random from "Vivien." Through them, however, the old purity shines only the more conspicuously. An example of careless versification, to which others might be added, is the following: —

"And that she feared she was not a true wife."

In the poet's intention the emphasis is upon *not*, while the measure requires it to be placed upon *was;* while in a line of parallel significance, that occurs shortly before, the natural modulation of the voice corresponds with the sense: —

"O me! I fear that I am no true wife."

The blemishes to which we have referred can be illustrated by particular examples. The strength and beauty can be seen only by following the tales step by step. We will, however, quote one passage, the only fault of which is a refinement in the analysis of the feeling too minute for the time or the occasion. It is the soliloquy of the guilty Guinevere after the departure of the King: —

"Gone — my lord!
Gone through my sin to slay and to be slain!
And he forgave me, and I could not speak.
Farewell? I should have answered his farewell.
His mercy choked me. Gone, my lord the King,
My own true lord! how dare I call him mine?
The shadow of another cleaves to me,
And makes me one pollution: he, the King,
Called me polluted: shall I kill myself?
What help in that? I cannot kill my sin,
If soul be soul; nor can I kill my shame;
No, nor by living can I live it down.
The days will grow to weeks, the weeks to months,
The months will add themselves and make the years,
The years will roll into the centuries,
And mine will ever be a name of scorn.
I must not dwell on that defeat of fame.
Let the world be; that is but of the world.
What else? what hope? I think there was a hope,
Except he mocked me when he spake of hope:
His hope he called it; but he never mocks,
For mockery is the fume of little hearts.
And blessed be the King, who hath forgiven

My wickedness to him, and left me hope
That in mine own heart I can live down sin
And be his mate hereafter in the heavens
Before high God. Ah great and gentle lord,
Who wast, as is the conscience of a saint
Among his warring senses, to thy knights —
To whom my false, voluptuous pride, that took
Full easily all impressions from below,
Would not look up, or half despised the height
To which I would not or I could not climb —
I thought I could not breathe in that fine air,
That pure severity of perfect light —
I wanted warmth and color which I found
In Lancelot — now I see thee what thou art,
Thou art the highest and most human too,
Not Lancelot nor another. Is there none
Will tell the King I love him though so late?
Now ere he goes to the great battle? none:
Myself must tell him in that purer life,
But now it were too daring. Ah my God,
What might I not have made of thy fair world,
Had I but loved thy highest creature here?
It was my duty to have loved the highest:
It surely was my profit had I known:
It would have been my pleasure had I seen.
We needs must love the highest when we see it,
Not Lancelot, nor another."

We have thus considered, so far as our limits would allow, the successive poems of Tennyson, principally in their relation to one another. We have been forced to omit much that we would have gladly said. We have made little reference to certain distinctive peculiarities by which all Tennyson's verse is marked. Among these we would cite his truth to nature, united with the power to make the picture produce precisely the effect, the shade of feeling that he designs, — a power comparable to nothing but the atmospheric effects in the visible universe, or perhaps to the skill of Turner in art. We might refer also to the magical beauty thrown sometimes over an ordinary landscape, as in "The Lady of Shalott" over scenery which would be found, should we analyze the description, monotonous and commonplace. Nor should we omit the poet's fondness for the ring of the Saxon, or, in connection with this, his preference for monosyllables, a whole stanza

sometimes consisting of little else. Such are the two following: —

"Thine are these orbs of light and shade,
Thou madest life in man and brute;
Thou madest death; and lo! thy foot
Is on the skull which thou hast made.

"Thou wilt not leave us in the dust;
Thou madest man he knows not why;
He thinks he was not made to die;
And thou hast made him; thou art just."

Had Pope read these lines, the world would have lost one of his own most epigrammatic verses.

Our object has been to show that underneath the poet's imaginative beauty and verbal strength was working an earnest life. In the beginning Tennyson was dowered with a wealth with which others would have rested content. He pressed onward, unshrinking, through doubts and difficulties, until he attained the rich results which we have been considering. How many poets are there who begin their career with such success as others win only at the close? "A new poet!" cries the world. There is burning enthusiasm, glowing metaphor, rich expression, great, though spasmodic strength. Then they pass away, and we hear from them no more. They stand on the symbolic threshold of Art, but lack firmness, or loftiness of purpose, or energy of mind, to force their way through this entrance into the fairer world beyond. This Tennyson has done, and has shown us that the highest genius best repays the highest culture.

If we compare Tennyson with the other principal British poets, we find that in him the intellect predominates. By this we mean, that the great problems which beset him, and the development through which he has passed, are intellectual. In Mrs. Browning they are emotional. Thus the two stand over against one another. The problem that works itself out through the poems of Robert Browning is the reconciliation of the two, — that is, of the intellect and the emotion in the outward world. Thus they together, the complements of each other, form the crown of the modern British poetry. The age, however, is intellectual. Thus Tennyson is its truest prophet, and is worthy to be its Laureate.

The American editions of Tennyson are too well known to need praise. It may be noticed, however, that in the later editions there is no division made between his second and third publications. All are collected under the single inscription, "Published in 1832"; whereas in the course of them occurs an interval of ten years. We are sorry, too, that, as the number of the poems increased, it was found necessary, for the sake of compression, to arrange them with very little regard to their order. As they stand in some editions, the effect is somewhat as if the "Paradise Regained" should be printed in the middle of the "Paradise Lost." Such an arrangement suggests a Tennyson taken to pieces and packed in a box, rather than the symmetrical whole which we have been wont to see.

ART. II. — 1. *The History of* HERODOTUS. *A new English Version, edited with copious Notes and Appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of* HERODOTUS, *from the most recent Sources of Information; and embodying the chief Results, Historical and Ethnographical, which have been obtained in the Progress of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical Discovery.* By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford, assisted by Col. SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K. C. B., and SIR J. G. WILKINSON, F. R. S. In four volumes. London: John Murray. 1858. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

2. *Nineveh and its Palaces. The Discoveries of Botta and Layard applied to the Elucidation of Holy Writ.* By JOSEPH BONOMI, F. R. S. L. Third edition, revised and augmented. London: H. G. Bohn. 1857.

3. *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored, an Essay on Ancient Assyrian and Persian Architecture.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, Esq. London: John Murray. 1851.

DIODORUS relates that, when Semiramis had subdued many nations, loaded with spoil, she broke into Ethiopia. There she came upon a wonderful lake, whose waters were vermilion in

color, and of a sweet flavor, like that of old wine. Whoever tasted it became mad and confessed his misdeeds. The Intellect of the modern world, after adding to her empire realm after realm of knowledge, with arms strengthened by her conquests, has invaded the domain of Ancient History. Suddenly before her stretches a shining lake. Hitherto of its waters she has known nothing, except as an old annalist or poet, here and there, has preserved in his vase a few glittering drops. But now it extends before her, becoming more clear every day, rich with warm tints and flashing light. She grows dizzy, and is disposed to recall many of her boastful claims to power and knowledge.

The discoveries lately made with regard to the great Assyrian Empire are of interest in various ways. In respect to that empire itself, they make clear a very brilliant chapter of history. If, as some ethnologists claim, the great Indo-European nations from which we are descended were born in Assyria, in reading the story of that country's splendor twenty-five centuries ago we are entitled to feel a filial pride. So much light is thrown upon other nations of antiquity, that the history of some of them will need to be rewritten from beginning to end.

Of the many foreign nations that play a part in the Hebrew annals, none are so prominent as the powers of Western Asia. In the most ancient Hebrew documents we find them mentioned. An antediluvian existence is attributed to Assyria in the second chapter of Genesis. After the flood, Nimrod, in the fourth generation from Noah, is described as founding an empire in Mesopotamia. From Ur of the Chaldees the progenitor of the Israelites is made to take his origin. In the eighth century before Christ the power of Assyria becomes very conspicuous. The books of Kings and Chronicles are largely concerned with the relation of her conquests. In the expedition of Jonah we have the only instance of a prophet's going to a distance from Judæa to exercise his prophetic functions. Among the more ancient of the prophets whose writings remain to us, Amos, about 790 B. C., first hints at danger from Assyria. Hosea, soon afterward, is much occupied with the calamities impending from this quarter. Isaiah, later still,

from first to last indicates how great was the pressure upon the Hebrews of this mighty force from the Tigris. So Micah, his contemporary, and Nahum, a little after, prophesy only to threaten vengeance upon these terrible foes. Zephaniah, 640 B. C., predicts the destruction of Nineveh; and Ezekiel, in a subsequent generation, after the destruction had been accomplished, describes it at length. In 587 B. C., Jerusalem is destroyed and the Israelite nation carried captive to Babylon, until lately a dependency of Nineveh.

Until within a few years, our sources of knowledge with respect to Assyria have been those portions of Scripture just alluded to, and a scanty notice here and there in profane historians. Herodotus preserves only a few valuable hints, promising to treat the subject in a separate work, which has not come down to us, if indeed it was ever written. Diodorus Siculus, in the time of Julius and Augustus Cæsar, is more full. His authority is Ctesias, a Greek physician who lived at the Persian court in the fourth century before Christ. Ctesias professed to have access to original records. He seeks to invalidate the statements of Herodotus, towards whom he entertains great jealousy. A few fragments from authors whose works have nearly disappeared have been preserved, and serve to throw some light. Among these, the most important are the fragments of Berosus, a priest of Belus at Babylon, who lived some years in Athens in the time of Alexander the Great. Here and there, in classical writers, or in some old Armenian chronicle, may be gleaned a shred or a patch with which scholars have sought to piece out the scanty annals of Assyria. So matters stood until the recent discoveries.

These discoveries have been made in Western Asia, in a half-desert region, remote from the ways of commerce, and unvisited by civilized men, except now and then by a traveller unusually adventurous. A few miserable cities in the last stages of decay are situated within the territory, but it is resigned for the most part to the wild Bedouins. Everywhere over its surface are scattered relics: now a mound or a wall, then a heap of sculptured stone; here a space paved with inscribed bricks and shards, there a crumbling tower. The whole district is a palimpsest, upon whose virgin sheet, ages

ago, a mighty race imprinted the first characters. Since then it has been written over, and again rewritten; but always the later marks have faded away, and more and more distinct from underneath have emerged the imperishable memorials of the early time. Over them, since they were ruins, has passed the gay Saracenic civilization, when the Caliphs shone at Bagdad until their fragile state was shattered by the Tartar maces. Thither came Julian to die among them, with the legions at his back, the old Pagan splendor of Rome shooting forth its last ray from his glazing eye as he falls. Earlier still they felt the heavy soldierly tramp of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, and the chariot-wheels of Tissaphernes sweeping after, with his purple army. Some of them are solemn witnesses to the deeds of yet older times, when Africa in Sesostris smote her sister continent with the harsh rod of conquest; when Memnon, with succors for Priam, hurried out to die by the hand of Achilles; when old prophets from Israel thundered out the Lord's messages. But at length came the Mede, with fire and sword, to lay them low, and bury their ashes in these venerable urns.

From an early period the antiquities of Babylonia and the region lying farther to the northward have been recognized as the remains of the empires of Nineveh and Babylon. In Strabo and Pliny mention is made of them, as also in the books of travellers belonging to the Middle Age of our own era. Of the modern explorers, Niebuhr is to be considered the pioneer, having visited the localities about a century ago. The immediate precursor of those who may be termed with emphasis discoverers was Rich, an English traveller, whose visits to the ruins took place in 1818, and who, a year or two later, satisfied himself of the existence of ancient buildings within certain mounds near the Tigris, and was prevented only by the jealousy of the Turkish government and of the inhabitants from anticipating the later discoveries. In 1842 Botta, an accomplished archæologist, was appointed French Consul at Mosul, a Turkish city in the immediate neighborhood of the ruins. The protection and generosity of the French government enabled him to prosecute vigorous explorations, particularly in a mound known as Khorsabad, about sixteen miles

from Mosul. At length, in 1846, the first collection of antiquities from Assyria was landed in Europe, and placed in the Louvre. Layard, in two expeditions undertaken, the first in 1845, the second in 1849, made extended examinations throughout Mesopotamia and the neighboring regions. The most interesting results, however, were obtained in the old neighborhood, at the mound of Nimroud, a few miles below Mosul, on the Tigris, and at Kouyunjik, immediately opposite Mosul. With these discoveries the world is familiar through Layard's fascinating volumes.

But the possession of these long-buried treasures would be of but little value were it not for a contemporaneous discovery. The palaces and temples into which Botta and Layard penetrated contain upon their vast walls innumerable sculptured slabs. The sculptures are accompanied by inscriptions. The characters of which these are composed are combinations of a certain mark resembling a wedge or arrow-head, broad at one end and tapering to a point at the other, from which circumstance it has received the name of the arrow-headed, or, more commonly, the cuneiform character. Although some notion of Assyria might have been obtained from the pictorial representations alone, for any satisfactory knowledge, an acquaintance with the cuneiform was necessary. The inscriptions are very numerous, being cut not only upon the slabs with the sculptures, but stamped more or less thickly upon almost every brick or article of pottery. Ability to decipher the cuneiform writing was gained at the very time it was so much needed. Other inscriptions in this character than those of Assyria exist in the East, some of which were brought to Europe by Niebuhr and other travellers during the last century. The history of their deciphering is a most marvellous record of ingenuity and patience. The labors of Grotefend extended through thirty years. Lassen still further developed the process. Meanwhile a young English officer, attached to the Persian embassy, was reaching important results through independent investigations. This was Sir Henry Rawlinson, whose name is likely to be the most famous connected with these studies. We shall not here describe the different varieties of the cuneiform character, the difficulties which have

attended their explanation, and the cunning expedients through which the hidden meaning has at length been wrenched from their firm clasp. The task is not yet entirely accomplished. Every year chronicles some new feat. That great success has been obtained, there is no longer any doubt. Modern scholarship has mastered her wedge-shaped tools, and now before her powerful blows the last bars are yielding, — the bars that have so long kept the brilliant captive, Assyria, from the gaze of the world.

It is scarcely a year since an edition of Herodotus appeared in England, to which were affixed, in carefully prepared essays, such illustration as modern researches have thrown upon the themes of the venerable Greek. Among these are essays upon the early history of Babylonia and Assyria, by Sir Henry Rawlinson. In these the results of the discoveries are compared with our previous knowledge, and made to fill out and complete the meagre story. The attempt has not been received without criticism. For some of this there is no doubt ground; but much must be laid at the door of that jealousy which brilliant achievements always excite.

The records of Assyria, as derived from the monuments, from the Hebrew Scriptures, from the hints of Herodotus, and from Berosus, the Babylonian priest, harmonize remarkably. Ctesias, the authority of Diodorus, whose correctness has been questioned since Aristotle, at length receives his *coup de grace* from the inscriptions. We must bid farewell to the heroes and heroines of our school-boy histories, — to Ninus, to Semiramis, the God-descended, to Sardanapulus, Sybarite in life, patriot and hero in death. They are the unreal offspring of a Grecian brain. But when they make their exit, we must see that, as becomes departing spirits, they go unencumbered. They are to leave behind them their robes and their gems, their hanging gardens and palaces of alabaster, while into these surroundings, in room of such usurping phantoms, slip, as real flesh-and-blood tenants, the forms of Sargon and Sennacherib and Esarhaddon.

It is now certain that the first great empire established in Western Asia had its capital in Lower Chaldæa. This is the empire described in Genesis x. as founded by Nimrod, whose

inhabitants acquired the art of working metals, and made some progress in astronomical knowledge. Of this early Babylonian empire we scarcely know more than that two thousand years before Christ it was powerful. The monuments record a king, whose name is read "Urukh," who is believed to belong to the same dynasty with Nimrod. In connection with King Ismi-dagon, who flourished about the middle of the nineteenth century before Christ, we find the first monumental mention of Assyria. There is evidence to prove that even at this time the cities of Babylonia had become important. We find mention upon the monuments of Ur, Ellasar, and Erech, cities named also in Scripture. Shadowy is the history of that old Chaldæan power, the empire of Chedorlaomer and Amraphel. It flourished in the world's morning time, before the mists had cleared, and a cloud must always hang over it. Through it we discern dimly the movings to and fro of a great people, the tramp of armies, the prowess of hunters, the glare of forges, the majestic figures of sages versed in unknown lore. All is dim, except that out from the shadows — God's call in his ear, and the promised favor of Heaven bright on his pathway — Abram journeys southward from Haran.

At what time Assyria, which succeeded to the ancient power of Babylonia, became independent, has not been ascertained. It is believed that, in the thirteenth century before Christ, it was one of the most important countries of the East. Its capital at this time was Asshur, sixty miles from Nineveh to the south, — the Kileh-Shergat of modern explorers. At first we have only an uncertain and barren record of kings lasting until the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., who ascended the throne in 1113 B. C., nearly contemporaneous with Samuel in Israel, and with the founding of Alba Longa by Ascanius, according to the legends. Upon an octagonal prism of brick, this monarch inscribed a record of the deeds of his ancestors to the fourth generation, closing with his own. This prism has been discovered, and is the earliest Assyrian document containing any extended record yet brought to light. We learn from it that already that system of aggression had commenced which carried Assyria to such a height of splendor. To Tiglath a

line of inglorious monarchs succeeds; but at length, with the vigorous Asshurdanipal, the era of magnificence opens. This mighty prince removes his capital from Asshur to Calah, farther north. Here he constructs a great city. Its sepulchre is the famous mound of Nimroud, whose secret and sculpture-guarded passages echoed but now the footsteps of Layard. Of the conquests of Asshurdanipal we have complete records. From his seat by the Tigris, he carried his arms far and wide through Western Asia. His most important acquisitions were near the Mediterranean coast, where he took tribute from the Phœnician cities. Before entering further into this era of conquest, a word or two as to the nature of the dominion of the Assyrian kings. Although under a most absolute despotism, the vanquished states were allowed to keep their nationality in the earlier periods. No difference was made in their internal administration. Their kings retained their state and title, but were forced to pay tribute and to render certain personal services. Western Asia was at this time densely peopled, and divided into a multitude of petty kingdoms. The rulers of most of these became tributaries of Assyria. But the dominion of the Great King, though splendid, was precarious. Any untoward circumstance was sure to bring about revolts, involving often the repeated subjugation of the same state. Sometimes the annals of several successive kings record conquests in the same territory. At a later period expedients were adopted to repress the tendency to rebellion. Satraps were appointed over subjugated nations in place of the kings who were dethroned, and sometimes, when the vanquished were especially dreaded, as in the melancholy case of Samaria, the whole nation was torn from its home, and driven to remote districts of the empire.

It would be impossible here to detail the events of the various reigns. To us naturally the most interesting campaigns of these warrior kings are those carried on in the neighborhood of Palestine. The record of these comes down to us written on the rock. We may read how the fierce Ben-hadad was smitten with a loss of twenty thousand men, and of the fall of Hazael with his eleven hundred chariots dashed to pieces. The kingdoms of Judah and Israel see the terrible tempest coming

nearer and nearer that has been impending for years. Damascus and Syria have fallen, and there is no other intervening height upon which the rumbling storm can discharge itself. In Tekoa the shepherd Amos has already prophesied captivity far to the north, and Hosea, in Israel, with perturbed and struggling utterance, threatens imminent woes. Over Israel rules Menahem, over Judah the leper Uzziah. With sword and fire, nearer and nearer approaches the Great King. Trembling Israel buys off the invader, but, in the momentary lull that ensues, falls into dissension with its sister kingdom. Ahaz of Judah subsidizes Tiglath-Pileser II. to be his ally. He comes willingly, coveting the rich balm-fields and pastures by the banks of Jordan. The tribes of Gad, Manasseh, and Reuben are swept away, and at length, beneath the rams of Sargon, Samaria herself falls. For three years the great city struggles, mindful of her glory under Jeroboam, when the state of Solomon himself was paralleled. According to the inscriptions, the number of families that Sargon drove from Samaria was twenty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty. We may see the lost tribes of the house of Israel sculptured in the stone, some going to augment the splendor of Nineveh with unrewarded toil, some to people distant and barren regions far to the east. There is no mistaking the Jewish faces. The same lines mark them which mark the faces of the Abrahams and Mordecais of to-day. Samaria is left desolate, and Judah and Benjamin alone and in fear await their own downfall.

The power and glory of Assyria have now reached the culminating point. Sennacherib succeeds to the throne. Fortunately upon this brilliant period the lights of history fall abundantly. Sennacherib, of all the Assyrian kings, most engages the pens of the Hebrew writers. We find mention of him in profane history, and whole acres covered with ruins of palaces and temples attest his grandeur. The era begins toward the close of the eighth century before Christ. Hezekiah now rules in Judah. In the West, in an insignificant state, Romulus, its founder, has just been murdered by the Senate. Over the unstoried soil of Greece hardy Spartan

bands, to the Dorian flute of Tyrtæus, are marching to their earliest battle-fields.

But why turn to such poor and feeble states from the magnificent empire of the East? Its boundaries to the south are the waters of the Southern Ocean, or, farther west, the middle provinces of Egypt, the lower banks of the Nile being dependencies of the Great King. Northward, the mountain princes to the base of Ararat, and nearly to the Euxine, bring him tribute. In the east the yoke at length has been fastened on the neck of the fierce Mede. The Mediterranean washes the western border, bearing on its bosom Cyprus, lately won by the prowess of Sargon. Nineveh at last has become the metropolis, and the most beautiful city of the empire. The territory in its neighborhood, to-day almost a desert, is at the time of which we write very fertile. It is intersected by canals, supplied by the Tigris and Euphrates, growing smaller and smaller as they proceed, and interlacing with one another in every direction. Through this arterial system a double life-giving stream pours into Mesopotamia, refreshing the soil and wafting its vast commerce. On the banks stand machines for irrigation, so that every rood of ground teems with fruitfulness. In the useful arts the Assyrians have made considerable progress. Copper and lead are wrought with skill. Iron is worked in various forms and manufactured into excellent steel. Glass is made of various degrees of fineness, from that fitted for coarse utensils to the crystal lens through which the lapidary is to trace microscopic engraving. The potters furnish a variety of ware, from the rude vessel for the use of the captive, to the elegant vase, enamelled and gilded with tasteful designs, intended for the palace of the satrap or the Great King. The textile fabrics of Assyria were famous from an early day. In part the materials of their manufacture are produced at home, in part imported from distant lands. Rich fabrics of cotton, wool, and silk come from the looms. Dyes of a brilliancy probably surpassing any now used by Europeans were employed, and the splendor of the more costly fabrics is still further increased by weaving in threads of gold. The Assyrians were acquainted with many mechanical contrivances, — the roller, the lever, the pulley,

the wheel, and, it may be, certain engines now lost. An art resembling printing is believed to have been in very general use. In most of the structures built of brick, each brick was stamped with the same inscription, consisting often of several words. The stamping is believed to have been performed with a single engraved plate. The process, therefore, was nearly identical with modern stereotyping, except that the impression was received upon clay instead of paper.

The commerce of Assyria was immense. According to Heeren, Mesopotamia was a great mart between the East and the West, from immemorial antiquity down to the discovery of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope. Commerce was carried on by sea and land. Up the Tigris from the Southern Ocean came silk and cotton from India and China, and precious metals from unknown regions. From Southern Arabia, by caravans, came spices and perfumes. The Phœnician cities to the west sent the produce of trading voyages extended even to Britain and the Baltic shores. From the mountains on the north great rafts of timber were floated down upon the Tigris by the winter floods. Fine wool and droves of cattle and horses were sent from the pastures of Armenia and the Syrian uplands.

Concerning the state of the Great King we hardly dare to speak. The reader will think that the Arabian Nights or the vagaries of some mad hasheesh-eater have crept in among our authorities; but we only follow the statements of matter-of-fact modern scholars and artists. We are far removed in our tastes and institutions from the life of Assyria. In the first place, there is among us no particular passion for splendor; in the second place, in the vigorous and civilized nations of the world to-day, any considerable accumulation of power by single individuals, to be exercised without let or hindrance, is impossible. Even in Russia, despotism is hemmed in by many restraints. In Assyria, however, a race of princes of marvellous energy, possessed to an inordinate degree of that passion for magnificence which has always characterized the Orientals, sat upon the throne. Their immediate subjects, a warlike people, knew no law but the sovereign's will. A long course of conquest had put a hundred powerful nations under their

absolute control. If the Great King saw fit, and he often did, he could draw from a tributary the last ounce of treasure, or utterly depopulate a vast district to furnish workmen for any given undertaking. It was unmitigated despotism, exercised by a wonderfully vigorous, unscrupulous, and splendor-loving dynasty. Assassination was the only restraint. No wonder the results of this condition of affairs are almost incredible. The Great King sat on his ivory throne, a true Aladdin, and the Genii controlled by his signet-ring were all the opulent and industrious states of the East. What phantom-world could furnish a mightier company ?

Fergusson, an English architect, has paralleled, in his department, the feats of the naturalist who from a bone or a scale constructs the form of some extinct animal. From the ruins of the great palace he has reconstructed their former dazzling grandeur. In the midst of the level landscape rose in the first place an immense artificial hill. The excavations from which the soil came may still be distinctly traced in depressions and vast swamps. On all sides, this elevation was faced with walls of solid masonry. Upon the lofty platform on its summit was built the palace. Fortifications like cliffs rose near it, a hundred feet high, and wide enough at the top for three chariots abreast. At frequent intervals towers shot up to a still loftier elevation. The platform was ascended by a stately flight of steps. The foot of the visitor trod upon slabs carved or inlaid with handsome designs. Sculptured portals admitted him to the magnificence within. On the right and left, silent guardians stood, — colossal figures in white alabaster, — the forms of men and beasts, winged, and of majestic mien. The façade of the palace at its lowest part was covered with sculptured images. Upward, tier above tier into the blue heavens, ran lines of colonnades, pillars of costly cedar, cornices glittering with gold, capitals blazing with vermilion, and between them voluminous silk curtains, purple and scarlet, interwoven with threads of gold. The wind from over Media came breathing through those aerial pavilions, and far down to the alabaster lions and the plumed divinities they whispered of the glory of the Great King. In the interior, stretching for miles, literally for miles, the builder of the palace ranged the illustrated

record of his exploits. The inscriptions were deeply cut in the cuneiform character, and parallel with them, in scarlet and green, gold and silver, ran the representations of the scenes themselves, — the exploits of the chase, the building of palaces, scenes of feasting, and especially martial exploits, — the battle, the siege, the torture, the long procession of captives. In some place of honor the portrait of the monarch himself was placed, with his feet upon the neck of tributary princes, or worshipping before his gods. Through lion-guarded portals admission was gained to still other halls, lined everywhere by the endless record. The mind grows dizzy with the thought of the splendor, — the processions of satraps and eunuchs and tributary kings, winding up the stairway and pouring in a radiant stream through the halls, — the gold and embroidery, the ivory and the sumptuous furniture, the pearls and hangings. Nor let it be supposed it was merely barbaric splendor. In modern times, in Italy, memorials have been discovered of a mysterious people, precursors of the Roman power, — delicate vases and sculptures for which the beholder finds no word but perfect. The old Etrurian art is believed to-day to have been transplanted from Assyria. Architecture from the balconies of Nineveh borrowed the Ionic column. Proudest distinction of all, it is believed that the art of arts, the white Phidian blossom, pure and peerless in the chaplet of Ancient Greece, budded in the chambers of the Assyrian kings.

Let us ascend with the possessor of all this pomp to the roof of the towering palace where stand altars for sacrifice. Hundreds of feet below, the Tigris washes the foundations, and shoots its waters into the artificial channels winding everywhere through the land. From an unfinished temple close at hand comes the hum of uncounted captives. In the distance, along the river in gay barges, approaches the train of some subjugated prince bearing offerings. Mesopotamia in bondage also, bound under her silvery interlacing net, prepares for the master her punctual tribute of corn and wine. The Great King turns his haughty, bearded face to the southward, where the messengers of Hezekiah approach, bringing thrones and couches. There are the camel-trains from Ezion-Geber with

the wealth of Ophir, from Southern Arabia laden with spice, frankincense, and myrrh, train after train, until all the robber winds of the desert, from rifling the bales, fling perfumes everywhere through the wilderness. He turns his face to the east, and in his dark Assyrian eye there is a light, as he thinks of the intractable Mede scourged into servitude. Northward rise peaks covered with snow. He calls to mind how, as the chariot bands once swept past the base of one, down upon them, shroud and sepulchre at once, an avalanche swept over their purple pennons. But what mattered this in so great a multitude? The cymbals of the spearmen clashed on loud as ever through the narrow defiles. He looks westward long and thoughtfully. His breast heaves under its covering of gems, and new pride sits in his haughty face. Was it not there, with the dash of the Mediterranean in his ear, that he pressed his foot upon the necks of the great Phœnician princes, lords of the continuous city stretching northward from Acre two hundred miles to Aradus? Was it not there that the laboring galleys put out to sea from Sidon, bearing even to distant Tarshish and the still more distant amber coasts the fame of his might? Was it not there that the ships of the rich Tyrian captains swept past him on his throne, their mighty oars made of tough oak from Bashan, their planks of fir-trees from Senir, their tall masts of cedars of Lebanon, their sails of embroidered linen, the rowers seated upon benches of ivory carved in his own Nineveh, — and as the pageant rushed through the waters even the sea threw off its blue that it might assume the purple light of their sides, and the glitter of the shields on their bows? By the side of the king on the altar burns the eternal fire, — kindled in Chaldæa by sages who had seen Noah. Well may he bow and worship Nisroch, his God, who had set his favored son on such a pinnacle.

Of the deeds of Sennacherib, the expedition against Judæa alone will have much interest for us. On the walls of the palace opened by Layard are represented the siege and sack of the fenced cities of Judah. Lachish in particular, mentioned more than once in Scripture, is carefully drawn and described.

The reign of Hezekiah was marked by important internal

reforms in the Jewish state, and an extension of its power abroad. The old theocratic polity was restored, and the sceptre of Judah was stretched over several of the neighboring countries. At length, growing bolder and relying upon the support of Egypt, Hezekiah dared to throw off the yoke of the Great King. Presently from his high throne came rushing the insulted sovereign. The passes in the mountains to the north are choked with his host. The waters of the Jordan in its lower course trickle feebly in a diminished stream, so great is the multitude of men and animals who drink at its source. Samaria is crossed, already desolate. The frontiers of Benjamin are invaded; and, like trees one by one isolated and consumed by a flood of lava, city after city is enveloped and crushed by the red and glittering array. Hezekiah strips the very temple of its treasures to appease Sennacherib; but the impious Assyrian is determined to establish the altars of Asshur on the soil of Mount Zion. Like forest-leaves, the invading host at sunset is seen drawn up for battle. The resources of the Great King have been taxed to the utmost; for, after crushing the insignificant power of Judah, he means to pay Africa the debt of revenge due since Sesostris. The host is in battle array, for scouts in the van bring tidings of the approach of Tirhakah from Ethiopia, with a swarthy multitude. The light-armed troops are slingers and archers. They are dressed in short embroidered tunics, their hair surrounded by bands. Like the Saxon bowmen, the archers draw their arrows to the ear. Their arms are handsomely decorated. The heavy Assyrian infantry carry spears and shields. On their heads they wear helmets of burnished brass, cross-belts support small arms at the side, and shining discs of metal cover their breasts. They stand in regular ranks, file behind file. To-morrow, when the cavalry of Judah makes its onset, the first rank kneeling, the second stooping, will form with their spears a bristling hedge, and from behind the bowmen will discharge their arrows. So, twenty-five centuries hence, the French regiments will receive the Mameluke charge on ground not far distant. But the strength of the host is in the swarming cavalry and chariots. The horses are spirited Armenian and Arabian steeds. The riders sit upon decorated saddles,

clad in armor, with helmets and lances. But the chivalry and flower of Asshur is in its chariot bands. The steeds are caparisoned with purple silk and embroidered cloth; from their heads hang plumes and heavy tassels. As they hurry to and fro, flashing behind them with gold and jasper, with ivory and enamel, roll the chariots. The warriors within, the veterans of a hundred battles, are clad from head to foot in gleaming steel; embossed upon their shields are the heads of lions. Their helmets are crested and plumed; lofty embroidered standards of precious stuffs wave over them, and all along the line hover pennons of scarlet. In the rear are the rams and catapults, the ladders for escalading, the steel tools for the mines, battered and blunt with hard service before Lachish and Libnah. In tents of costly and gaudy stuffs, the concubines and eunuchs of the Great King and the Ninevite nobles outnumber even the soldiers. Everywhere, from fertile Jericho to the sea-coast of old Philistia, range the foragers; and, innumerable as a locust swarm, the beasts collected for burden and provision consume the pastures. Here and there some great officer — the chief cupbearer, or the insolent Rabshakeh it may be, or perhaps even Sennacherib himself — goes by in his canopied chariot, attended by stately bodyguards.

Some youth of true old Hebrew fire, from his high watch-tower, as the sun descends, looks down upon the scene. In his mind come crowding the grand old traditions of Judæa; — how Jephthah smote the Ammonites, hip and thigh, from Aroer even unto Minnith; how Caleb slew the Anakim in the fastnesses of Hebron; and how the mighty Joshua said in the sight of Israel: "'Sun, stand thou still on Gibeon, and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon'; and the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies." When from the Assyrian lines the drums and dulcimers throb upon the still air of twilight, clear and far out of the height, from a Jewish trumpet, rings a blast of defiance. The Lord's chosen people will abide the battle.

By the side of Hezekiah, as counsellor, stands a venerable figure. In the year that King Uzziah died — half a century before — he had seen "the Lord sitting upon a throne, high

and lifted up, with a train that filled the temple"; and while he looked, an attendant seraph, seizing a coal from off the altar, had laid it upon his lips, and the voice of the Lord had bidden him "go forth and speak his will until the land was utterly desolate." Under the restored theocracy, the sacred interpreter of the Lord's messages, the great prophet Isaiah, determines the counsels of the king.

"This is the word that the Lord hath spoken concerning Sennacherib The virgin, the daughter of Zion, hath despised thee and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee. . . . . By thy messengers thou hast reproached the Lord, and hast said, With the multitude of my chariots I am come up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon, and will cut down the tall cedar-trees thereof, and the choice fir-trees thereof: and I will enter into the lodgings of his borders, and into the forest of his Carmel. I have digged and drunk strange waters, and with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the rivers of besieged places. . . . . And the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall yet again take root downward and bear fruit upward. . . . . Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria: He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a shield, nor cast a bank against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the Lord. . . . .

"And it came to pass that night that the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and . . . . in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer, his sons, smote him with the sword. . . . . And Esarhaddon, his son, reigned in his stead."

During the reign of Esarhaddon the empire flourished in full vigor. In his breast throbbed in full force the old warrior heart of his line. He carried his arms into regions whither the mightiest of his predecessors had not penetrated. He claims to have built near Nineveh thirty new temples. But the day had come when the great power was to suffer decline. From a remote epoch it had floated down upon the currents of Time, growing more and more gorgeous with each new generation; but now at length the old Assyrian grandeur — near-

ing its death-hour — sent forth its swan-song. The energy of the empire was departing, but not yet its splendor. In the remains of this period explorers find traces of taste and elegance surpassing all that had gone before. But the glory was transient. A rapid decadence ensued, and at length, toward the close of the seventh century before Christ, the Mede smote her with the sword, and lighted her funeral pyre. The tale of Sardanapalus is believed to be purely legendary. The halls of Nineveh at the time of its capture were the seat of a voluptuous king and court; but the heroic defence and death are probably the imaginations of a subsequent period.

Such was Assyria. Until the late discoveries, the tale of the splendor of ancient Oriental nations was believed to be enormously exaggerated, if not fabulous. But after all it was not so far beyond the truth. Grant that the records of the kings are boastful. The vast artificial mounds, crumbling so long, but still deserving almost to be called mountains, the palaces covering acres, the leagues of sculptured masonry, are a testimony to the power and state of the kings not to be invalidated. They are remains of a nation not much behind the moderns in the useful arts, and in those which contribute to luxury and splendor — the arts among them especially cherished — they were perhaps far superior to our now existing civilization.

We say the modern world grows dizzy with the spectacle, and is disposed to recall its boastful claims to power and knowledge. But a second glance may reassure us. As the eye becomes accustomed to the glare, those red and shining characters repeat a terrible story of violence and wrong. The glory on the brow of Assyria beams like the pearl indeed; but like the pearl, too, it is no normal or healthy product. The glitter upon her ivory and jasper is from the tears of captives. Her scarlet and vermilion dyes are from the life stream of crushed nations. "The stone cries out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber answers it, 'Woe to him that buildeth a tower with blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity.'"

ART. III. — 1. *A Cyclopædia of Commerce and Commercial Navigation.* Edited by J. SMITH HOMANS, Corresponding Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York, and Editor of "The Bankers' Magazine"; and by J. SMITH HOMANS, Jr., B. S., Author of "An Historical and Statistical Account of the Foreign Commerce of the United States." Second Edition. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859.

2. *Report on the Commercial Relations of the United States with all Foreign Nations.* By EDMUND FLAGG, Superintendent. Prepared and printed under the direction of the Secretary of State, in accordance with Resolutions of the House of Representatives. 4 vols. Washington City. 1856, 1857. 4to.

3. *Annual Report on the Foreign Commerce of the United States for the Year ending September* 30, 1858; *with a Letter of the Secretary of State to the Senate, dated February* 5, 1859, *transmitting a Statement of the Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Nations.* Washington. 1859. 4to. pp. 661.

4. *The Annals of British Legislation.* Edited by LEONE LEVI, Esq., F. S. A., F. S. S., &c., of Lincoln's Inn, Professor of the Principles and Practice of Commerce at King's College, London. Author of "Commercial Law of the World," "Manual of Mercantile Law," etc. Dedicated by special permission to H. R. H., the Prince Consort. London. 1857, 1858. Published monthly. Royal 8vo. pp. 144 each number.

5. *A Dictionary of Trade-Products, Commercial, Manufacturing, and Technical Terms; with a Definition of the Moneys, Weights, and Measures of all Countries, reduced to the British Standard.* By P. L. SIMMONDS, F. R. G. S., F. S. S. London. 1858. 12mo. pp. 422.

6. *An Historical and Statistical Account of the Foreign Commerce of the United States, and of each State, for each Year,* 1820 – 1856; *the Exports to and Imports from every Foreign Country, each Year,* 1820 – 1856; *Commerce of the Early Colonies; Origin and Early History of each State.* By J. SMITH HOMANS, Jr., B. S. 8vo. pp. 200.

THE aim of the "Cyclopædia of Commerce" is to present, in the first place, a view of the commerce of the United States; and, secondly, the history and statistics of the great staple productions of the world. With this view the editors have given an elaborate history of the foreign commerce of all the importing and exporting States since the year 1821, showing the aggregate imports and exports of each year, together with the amount of transactions in bullion, and the registered and enrolled tonnage. They also show the aggregate commerce of the United States for each year with England, France, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Turkey, China, Brazil, and all other nations with which we have intercourse. This information has never before been published in so complete a form. On its first appearance we expressed our high sense of the merits of this work, both in itself considered, and as compared with other works of a similar character. We are glad to announce the issue of a second edition, with recent statistics. Prefixed to this new edition is a map of the bay and harbor of New York, showing the soundings of Harlem River, East River, North River, Newark Bay, Raritan Bay, and New York Bay; and sailing-directions for the various channels from the city to Sandy Hook. This map is the result of more than ten years' labor on the part of the officers of the United States Coast Survey, and has been prepared under the supervision of Professor A. D. Bache, Superintendent of this department.

The late Secretary Marcy conferred a permanent benefit by the preparation of the four volumes entitled "Commercial Relations of the United States with all Foreign Nations." These four volumes contain a succinct account of the history, character, and extent of the commercial relations of our country with about fifty foreign nations, together with their numerous dependencies, accompanied by nearly a thousand tabular statements, and followed by a summary of the commercial stipulations of all treaties between our own and other nations. The report for the year ending September 30, 1858, is a continuation of this series.

The objects and scope of the next work on our list are clearly shown by the title-page. It embraces much valuable information in a condensed form. Each subject is necessarily

treated of briefly, as there are upwards of twenty thousand in the volume. It contains many foreign names for trades and products; but is especially a dictionary of substances or articles manufactured, bought, sold, or dealt in, in the entire mercantile world.

"The Annals of British Legislation" is a work published under the supervision of Professor Leone Levi of London, and the patronage of the British government. Its successive numbers contain the latest official intelligence relating to the finance, revenue, debt, expenditure, trade, etc. of the United Kingdom, and an abstract of all the Parliamentary papers bearing upon commerce.

The remaining work on our list is an historical and statistical account of the "Foreign Commerce of the United States." This volume shows the foreign commerce of each State, with the aggregate exports to and imports from each foreign nation, from the year 1820 to 1856, and the foreign commerce of our own with every important maritime country in the world during the same period; including a review of the progress of American commerce, and a preliminary sketch of the trade of the American Colonies. It presents also a summary of the present commercial condition of the country, its commerce with other countries, and the regulations respecting commercial intercourse, with a description of the principal ports and harbors in each country.

Among the prominent features of our time is the rapid growth of commercial intercourse between the nations, and within each nation. Our own commerce, internal and external, has gone on increasing, with occasional but only temporary interruptions, at a rate which has far surpassed the expectations of our fathers. Already, within eighty-four years, we have risen, from colonial dependence, to the position of the second, if not the first, among the nations in maritime tonnage. This wonderful progress is not confined to us. Other nations are advancing, not perhaps as rapidly, but none the less steadily, in the same direction. All are now brought within the great family-circle of intercourse and correspondence, the empires of China and Japan having at

length abandoned the system of exclusiveness which had been made sacred in their eyes by usages and precedents dating back thirty or more centuries. It is to the progress of commercial enterprise that we are indebted for the opportunity of extending the blessings of civilization to nearly one half of the human family, hitherto shrouded in superstition and ignorance; for whatever may have been the development of the Asiatics, they have been so long stationary that we cannot assent to the theory, advanced among us very recently, that they have proved themselves intellectually the equals of the European races. We probably shall be disappointed in our expectations of speedy and cordial intercourse with the people of both the great Asiatic empires. But the work has been commenced, and we shall in future ages, if not in the present, be enabled to enlighten those dark corners of the earth, with which our own territorial expansion has brought us into immediate intercourse on our Western coast.

This rapid growth of commerce in and between the nations is an event of no ordinary moment to us. Aside from the mere fact that we are one of the principal commercial powers, there are other considerations, growing out of our geographical position, which render it more interesting and important to us than to any other people. With Europe and Africa on one side of us, and Asia and Australasia on the other, every commercial movement tending to promote more intimate relationships among the nations must eventually be advantageous to us; for the course of empire points to the ultimate establishment of the centre of the world's exchanges upon this continent. Our far-stretching lines of coast and commodious harbors invite the maritime fleets of both old worlds to load and unload and exchange here, in this half-way house, so convenient and economical for the general distribution of the commodities of every clime. Our own internal development, with railways and canals forming a network between centre and circumference, pointing to transit by steam overland between the two great oceans, and augmenting those facilities which nature had already secured to us in no stinted measure by means of navigable streams extending far into the interior, can hardly fail to aid in consummating, before many decades

have passed away, that concentration of commercial intercourse which promises to be witnessed on the American continent. Hence it is that this progress which the nations are making in an exchange of commodities within themselves, or with each other, conveys to us tidings of a future full of great events. It speaks of large accessions of wealth, and power, and influence, as well as of serious responsibilities, anxieties, and cares, commensurate with the magnitude of the gifts, privileges, and honors to be conferred. It has never before been given to any people in any age to occupy so large a field as ours for maritime enterprise. In no other age have there been bestowed upon one nation so many millions of acres of fertile territory, so many thousand miles of coast on the two great oceans of the earth, so many spacious harbors, such unbounded stores of undeveloped material wealth. Never, in the whole history of mankind, have large gifts of this nature accrued to a people so well fitted as we are, by knowledge of the experience of many preceding ages, and by freedom from the trammels of antiquated systems, to establish a basis for new and improved forms of civilization. We are one people, speak one language, worship one God, and cherish one form of government. We have a national history glowing with exalted patriotism. Our fathers have left us examples which equal, if they do not excel, any that have been bequeathed to mankind in previous ages by the most illustrious founders of states or nations. They exhibited a valor on the battle-field, a wisdom in council, a capacity for self-government, and a purity of conduct in all the relations of life, which have made them the admiration of the great and good of every nation. Our presidents and their respective cabinets will at least suffer nothing by comparison with an equal number of the best kings and the wisest counsellors in the history of contemporary nations. Our people, selected from the best of the European races and transplanted to this fruitful region, have not shown any deterioration in physical vitality or intellectual power, but the contrary; for in the older settlements, particularly New England, the average term of life exceeds that of the most favored localities of Old England, while the inventive powers displayed in our Patent-Office, the genius of

our poets, and the abilities of our statesmen, prove that the race has suffered no abatement of mental vigor by change of residence or climate. We have doubtless committed grave errors in the education of our children. We have, probably in too many instances, reared them like hot-house plants, or taxed the mental and dwarfed the bodily faculties to a ruinous degree. We have disregarded manly sports and womanly exercises, by which sounder minds might have been reared in healthier bodies. But we have not slaughtered our children by wholesale in factories, nor buried them alive in coal-pits.

With the elements of greatness that we possess, in our geographical position, our internal resources, our historical reminiscences, our educational facilities, our form and system of government, and our physical and intellectual powers, what shall arrest the great work of making this favored land the commercial centre of the world? Whence shall come the fatal stroke to destroy those energies, yet in vigorous action, which have brought us so far on the highway of national prosperity? The evil genii, the canker-worm, and the slow poison that threaten us, are not to be found in other lands, nor in the reigning dynasties of kingdoms and empires. Our enemies are within our own borders. In the full confidence of youthful vigor, we neglect the teachings of experience, and it is only when the chastisements of the hard schoolmaster fall heavily upon us, that we consent to learn.

The present century has already witnessed in the commercial nations the discovery and development of steam navigation on rivers, oceans, and canals; land-transit by steam; telegraphing by electro-magnetism; and a host of minor improvements tending to accelerate the progress of civilization; while in the discovery of gold the demands of commerce for the means of a more general exchange of products between the nations have been supplied. Obviously the future is to witness a more general intercourse among the nations, and consequently a moral and political improvement in those countries which are to be brought into intimate commercial relations with the great maritime powers of the civilized world, by the irresistible attraction of self-interest. What principles of gov-

ernment, of morals, and of civilization are to triumph in these approaching revolutions, the history of the past — the history of those eventful periods which followed the full outpouring of the precious metals upon Europe after the discovery of America — has long since told us. We need no interpreter of annals so clear and explicit. Commerce is the lever of the world's progress. Governments may or may not seek its peaceful and humanizing influences, by granting it that free scope which is best adapted to promote the active employment of every function in society. It matters little so far as the ultimate result is concerned; for man everywhere will soon find himself endowed with increased resources and energies.

It is the standing reproach of our commercial life, that it involves more intellectual suffering, from violent fluctuations and revulsions, than any other pursuit. With all our recuperative powers, there is a vast waste of life among us as a people, growing out of our financial disasters. Witness the fact, stated to be derived from accurate statistics, that, "among one hundred merchants and traders, not more than three ever acquire independence." Add to this the other fact, also deduced from trustworthy records, that commercial and financial revulsions produce excessive mortality among business men in maritime cities. Here we have the cause and the effect. Meanwhile we have not the statistical data of the still severer calamities which ensue to widows and orphans.

Surely there is some radical error in our system, else why these disastrous crises in the trading, commercial, and financial affairs of the country, by which calamities are multiplied and misfortunes entailed? Were we living in some volcanic region, where the earth in her violent convulsions overwhelms life and property in one common ruin, we should have at least the satisfaction of knowing the cause of the terrible misfortunes that from time to time befell us. But here, where all nature is propitious to life, health, and wealth, in the midst of plenty, blessed with peace, enjoying every bounty which a beneficent Providence can bestow, and living under laws of our own making, to be suddenly and unexpectedly hurled into distress and misfortune, without stopping to inquire the cause

or to seek a remedy which shall, if possible, prevent a recurrence of such calamitous visitations, is neither creditable to our intelligence, nor just to those who are erelong to fill the responsible positions in society of which we are now the occupants. If these revulsions involved only the ruin of merchants and traders, then there would be less cause for state or national sympathy. But it is not so. We are all mutually dependent. No portion of the community, no section of the Union, can be plunged into affliction, without involving all other portions and sections of the great body politic. It becomes us all, then, to investigate earnestly the principles upon which we have established our mercantile and financial systems, to ascertain where the evil lies, if by any possibility we can find it.

We all know that labor is the foundation of wealth. Our strong arms, rugged frames, and active minds are the means which Providence has placed in our possession to obtain the necessaries and the luxuries of life; and it is by labor, whether of the head or the hands, that the material wealth of society is produced, preserved, accumulated, distributed, or exchanged. If intelligence and industry be active, — if physical and mental ability be well and profitably employed, — wealth flows into and throughout the commonwealth in a steady and uniform stream. It is only when labor or productive industry is paralyzed by famine or war, that a well-regulated system fails to secure an equitable distribution of wealth among an industrious and intelligent people, occupying a salubrious and fruitful region of the earth. If this distribution be defeated, and calamities arise, then there must be some grievous defect in the prevailing system. What is this defect? In one of the publications under review, it is traced to our vicious system of banking, or currency. The revulsion of 1857 gave rise to prolonged discussions of the currency question, and in our number for January, 1858, we reproduced the views which had been published by "A Merchant of Boston," in his work on "Currency or Money." There were other writers pursuing the same line of investigation, not exactly in the same path, although guided by similar views of what constitutes a sound currency. By these writers opinions were promulgated that

attracted attention, particularly among persons in New York who had long been eminent for financial skill. Among the results of this interest was a series of weekly meetings during the ensuing summer, in the Mercantile Library Rooms, attended not only by residents of New York, but also by gentlemen from Boston, Salem, Louisville, Lexington, and other cities. From these meetings emanated "A Report on the Currency," in which we have a clear and thorough exposition of the influence exerted upon the currency by bank deposits. Hon. George Opdyke, of New York, was chairman of the committee which made the report. The late Albert Gallatin explained the action of deposits, in his work on the Currency and Banking, as early as 1830. Lloyd Jones (now Lord Overstone) gave publicity to his views on the same subject about the year 1837. In this country there has always been a disposition to limit the power of discount by legislation. Yet the fact that an inflation of the currency may arise from irregularities in discount banking, quite as disastrous in its tendencies as an inflation from excessive issues of a circulating paper medium, seems to have been either overlooked or ignored in the Bank Reform Act which Sir Robert Peel carried through Parliament in 1844.

Next to the origin of wealth, the inquiry which most interests us is with regard to the means used to distribute, with uniform equity, among all classes, the wealth which labor produces, which means should be so regulated as to secure to labor such sure and liberal compensation as shall preserve its energies and satisfactorily reward its toil. Our machinery for this purpose is, it must be confessed, as full of defects and imperfections as man himself; but we cannot afford to destroy it, for the whole fabric of society rests upon it, and our only hope is in regulating, repairing, improving, and adjusting its various portions with judicious care. The world recognizes only the precious metals as a common measure of value or price among nations, and in proportion as the quantity of this money in use is increased or diminished throughout the world, prices rise or fall, other things being in a normal condition. So in a state or nation, with an increase of money or currency prices rise; with its decrease, they fall. If every nation could transact its business with a currency peculiar to itself, pieces

of soap might be used for money, as was the custom in California before the discovery of gold. But all nations being intimately associated in commercial relations, each is forced to use the precious metals in dealing or settling balances with every other. Hence it is that no civilized people is able to dispense with the metals in local or internal trade; and although paper be used as a substitute, the quantity of metals in circulation determines finally the prices of all commodities, unless restrained by the power of the law or the customs of society. If law and custom consent to the use of paper money in a nation, that becomes as powerful in its influence upon home prices as actual money. With the increase or decrease of paper money or currency, prices rise or fall in the same way that they would if the currency were increased or diminished by an equal volume of gold coin. But, in the case of coin, the measure of price can be increased only by labor, the producer of all wealth; and in adding to the stock of coin, a nation augments its real capital. Paper money, on the contrary, may be increased without labor or capital, and in its issue, as a measure of price, it creates price without value. In adding coin to the currency, we accumulate wealth; by adding paper money to it, we create bankruptcy; for, such currency being generally based in part upon coin, or professing to be redeemable in coin, when an adverse turn in the foreign exchanges calls for a withdrawal of a portion of the coin to settle balances of trade due to other nations, every dollar which the banks call in helps to undermine the basis of the prices of estates and chattels which had been relied upon for the payment of debts. It is the result of careful calculation, that, in the present state of our monetary system, every dollar of paper issued or discounted upon as currency creates ten dollars of price without value; and if this be the case, it is easy to account for the alarming fluctuations of prices which so often occur in our mercantile world. But if it be in the creation of price without value that the cause of our revulsions is to be sought, the recognition of this cause should be made to strike at the foundation of credit currencies; for we take it to be a settled principle of good government, that legislation cannot permit the extension of an evil which tends

directly to the production of bankruptcy in every occupation of life; and although we may not be able to effect a speedy cure, we can arrest the progress of the economical disease by the adoption of measures which shall confine it at least within its present limits, and thus prepare the way for the gradual application of sound remedies.

Perhaps there is no interest more intimately connected with our monetary institutions, so far as they influence the measure of price, than that portion of our domestic industry which is engaged in the manufacture of commodities for home consumption or export, and which contributes so largely to our domestic and foreign commercial enterprises. If it be true that the volume of the currency determines the prices of commodities, then it follows that a paper currency, which may be expanded *ad libitum*, can rapidly increase prices to an extent which may drive our manufactures (because of the enhanced cost of production) out of both domestic and foreign markets. We are in direct competition with manufacturing communities that have the protection of currencies which exert upon the cost of production an influence directly opposite to that which our system exerts. Their currency is uniform, upon a basis which nearly corresponds with the fluctuations that would take place if it were composed wholly of the precious metals; ours, on the contrary, is subject to the most extraordinary contractions and expansions, which "make a lottery of all private property." Hence it has resulted that our home manufacturers, lacking that uniform measure of price so indispensable to permanent success in occupations which involve large investments of capital, have not been employed as profitably and advantageously as they might have been under a more stable currency. Commerce and agriculture share in the consequences, so far as their interests are identified with increased production and a uniformly prosperous condition of all sections of the Union. When we increase our prices above other nations, what we buy costs us our prices, while what we sell returns us only their low prices. We buy dear and sell cheap. There are natural causes always in operation to produce fluctuations in prices, and these cannot be avoided. They may arise from variations in the crops, as well as from the

changes that occur in the volume of the precious metals. But when we add to these the influence of an artificial measure of price, of great volume and vast power, we inflict grievous embarrassments upon all our interests. Among the remedies proposed by the New York report are the following: —

"To recapitulate the measures recommended. They are, —

"*First.* That the banking laws of this State be so amended that no bank shall hereafter be permitted to extend its loans, discounts, and other investments beyond an amount equal to the sum of its capital, half its capital and the specie in its vaults; nor shall it be permitted to let its specie at any time fall below twenty per cent of its immediate liabilities, exclusive of its circulating notes. That banks hereafter to be organized under the banking laws of this State also be required, before commencing business, to have their entire capital paid up in full in specie; and that all banks be hereafter prohibited from making loans, either directly or indirectly, on their own stock.

"*Second.* That all laws against usury be repealed.

"*Third.* That the circulation of all bank-notes of a less denomination than ten dollars be suppressed by means of a tax or stamp duty to be levied by Congress.

"*Fourth.* That the government of the United States, through its different treasuries, receive gold from the people, and issue receipts or certificates of deposit therefor, in sums of not less than one hundred dollars.

"These four measures constitute the system of reform your committee venture to recommend. They have pointed out the necessity and propriety of each under the proper heads. They may here add their belief, that the adoption of the entire series would be likely to so elevate the character of our currency as to make it the best extant, instead of being about the worst, as it now unquestionably is. It would render our currency better than that of Great Britain, because the restraints which she has placed upon her banks do not embrace deposits. Sir Robert Peel's bill has made this fatal omission, and is thus rendered of little practical value. Its limitation of the movements of the Bank of England applies only to the circulation, requiring all that is issued in excess of £14,000,000 to represent an equal amount of coin in its vaults; but leaving it, and all other banks in the United Kingdom, including the private bankers and discount houses, free to transmute debt into currency, by loaning their credit to whatever extent their inclination and ability may dictate. They had abused this privilege, prior to the crisis of last year, to a much greater extent than

even our own banks. In other words, their currency was much more inflated than ours. This assertion will surprise many, but it is, nevertheless, strictly true. And had not the government wisely come forward and authorized the bank to violate its charter, by increasing its issues regardless of the specie in its vaults, and thus breaking the force of the reaction and panic before they reached their culminating point, as they were permitted to do here, the whole debtor class in that kingdom would have been involved in hopeless bankruptcy. As it was, they suffered more than we did. There were, perhaps, less of suspended debts there, but vastly more of actual insolvency.

"The banking system of France is liable to the same objection. Its discounts are not subject to any legal restraints whatever, nor is its circulation as well guarded as that of the Bank of England. But the commerce of that nation was less seriously affected by the crisis than was that of Great Britain or the United States, because it is prosecuted on the principle of cash payments or very short credits.

"But to return to the measures of reform here recommended. Why should they not be adopted and moulded into laws? Sound views of public policy and a due regard for the general welfare alike demand it. From what quarter may we anticipate objections? Surely not from any well-managed bank, for the proposed measures will not lessen its average profits, while they will add greatly to the security of its business. And if well-grounded objections cannot come from this quarter, they cannot come at all, for their adoption would greatly benefit every other interest."

The arguments by which these measures are supported embrace an appeal to the general government, as having power over the whole question of the currency. This view of the constitutional power of government was entertained in our early history. But the power of the States to establish banks, and thus to create currency, has been sustained by the decisions of the United States courts. The views of the committee imply a doubt of the constitutionality of these decisions. As to the suppression of small notes, of course no one State could do this effectually, even within its own limits, so long as a neighboring State permitted their issue. As to the opening of the treasury to deposits of gold, this is doubtless within the power of the government; its expediency, however, involves serious considerations. Of the other measures — a limitation of the bank discounts, and the requirement of a reserve of coin — the States

have cognizance. Inflation may still be effected through an increase of bank capital and circulation; but the committee no doubt concluded that they had gone far enough for the present in their efforts toward reform. On the question of a repeal of the usury laws, it is justly observed, that, since they have been repealed by the principal commercial nations with which we hold intimate relations, we are liable to have our capital drained away from us whenever those nations please to offer a higher rate of interest than our banks are permitted to take; and thus we may, in great emergencies, be forced to experience serious embarrassments from the operation of these laws.

In framing the Constitution, it was unquestionably the intention to confer upon the general government full power over the current money of the Union. To regulate measures of capacity, time, and length, as well as standards of weight, is among the powers conferred upon every civilized government, and closely analogous to this power is the regulation of money or the measure of prices. The power of regulating the currency has been exercised twice by the general government, in the establishment of national banks. And, in the absence of any regulating power, it is evident from past experience that we shall continue, as a nation, to suffer from the financial disease of alternate plethora and collapse, very much in the same way in which the human frame suffers from intermittent fever.

In the national effort which we have made to obtain a regulating power through the establishment by the government of an independent treasury system, we have to some extent been disappointed, not from defects in the working of the system itself, but from the unwillingness or neglect of the States, cities, and great corporations to extend the same principle to their own financial affairs, and thus to make it general. A financier in New York suggests that bullion banks be established by private capitalists in the principal mercantile cities. If such institutions should become the depositories of States, cities, savings banks, trust companies, executors, and trustees, a large amount of funds, now lodged in banks merely for safe-keeping, could no longer be used to swell the currency

through the instrumentality of discounts. We need not dwell upon the vast influence which the wide-extended application of this system would exert upon the currency. The mere suggestion of the idea as a practicable measure, which has been favorably received by many experienced merchants, who express their willingness to try the experiment, is full of admonition to every interest identified with existing systems of banking. May we not, then, appeal to the self-interest of the banks themselves, in behalf of sounder principles and more conservative management?

What the banks can do in this behalf we see evinced in the Bank of Mutual Redemption at Boston, and the Clearing-House at New York. These, we are aware, pretend to nothing more than the management of the exchanges, or the settlement of balances. But there is the germ of something more in the New York Clearing-House, which might be made to grow into a State or national self-regulating power, under the immediate direction and control of the banks themselves. At present, however, great and efficient as the management of the New York Clearing-House unquestionably is, the system is too feeble for the purpose of restraint and regulation. True, it governs inflation and contraction to a certain extent; but the power of inflation in 1857 reached the point of suspension, and although a small number of conservative presidents could have gone out of the Clearing-House, and maintained specie payments through the whole crisis, they yielded, perhaps as much from sympathy with the misfortunes of others as from a conviction that the interests of the whole country would be sacrificed or placed in jeopardy if they did not make a sacrifice of their own preferences. But the worst results of this suspension were prevented; for the judges of the Supreme Court interfered, extra-judicially, and conveyed all the great interests of the Commonwealth safely away from the doom which the constitutional provision, that bank-suspension is legal death, had pronounced. If the judges had not interfered, as was justly remarked by a distinguished New York merchant, the property of the whole city would have passed into the hands of a few men. In fact, the State of New York was on the brink of revolution, when the judicial power,

flinging itself headlong under the wheels of the advancing Juggernaut of popular commotion, prevented the destruction of law and order, quelled the storm, and insured peace throughout the Commonwealth. The Legislature, meeting a few weeks after this event, passed rapidly through both houses, with a silence ominous of deep feeling, an act calling a convention to revise the Constitution. That act was submitted to the people in November, 1858, and rejected. This indorsement of the Constitution as it is by the highest authority of the State, leaves no room for cavil or delay. The duty of the New York banks is plain, and their true interests have doubtless been consulted by the authors of "A Report on the Currency." Other States must prepare to meet the question; for if New York plants herself immovably on the basis of specie payments, her controlling influence, from the magnitude of her business, will explode every paper inflation that is undertaken by neighboring States. But if New York were not about to reform, sound policy demands that each State, for the sake of its own best interests and the common weal, should endeavor to control that fluctuating measure of price which unsettles all occupations.

This subject of the measure of price, which has also been brought forward in a message of Governor Banks, in our own State, we ask leave to elucidate still further. We will suppose the money of the country, in paper and specie, to be five hundred millions, and the assessed valuation or price of all property of every kind to be five thousand millions. The theory under consideration is, that, if we reduce the currency one half, we shall also reduce the valuation or price of all our property one half, and *vice versa*. Increasing currency or money increases prices or valuations of property; and as paper money can be made and issued without the outlay of capital and labor by which metallic money is produced, the paper money creates prices without producing any real values to represent such prices, and these factitious prices are cancelled in the revulsion which takes place when the precious metals become the only measure of price. This theory seems to find strong proof in the following statement, in round numbers, of the condition of all the banks in the Union.

	1837.	1843.	1851.	1856.
Loans and discounts,	$ 525,000,000	$ 254,000,000	$ 413,000,000	$ 634,000,000
Specie,	37,000,000	33,000,000	48,000,000	59,000,000
Circulation,	149,000,000	58,000,000	155,000,000	195,000,000
Deposits,	127,000,000	56,000,000	128,000,000	212,000,000
Circulation and deposits,	286,000,000	114,000,000	283,000,000	407,000,000

The New York Currency Committee assume the ability of the banks to create deposits as well as circulation by the power of discounting, and that committee also include in the volume of the currency, or measure of price, both deposits and circulation. That which had been generally accepted as true, half a century ago, was, that the measure of price consisted principally of the money circulating from hand to hand; but in the case of institutions such as the New York banks, almost wholly banks of discount and deposit, the inscriptions of credit on their books, called deposits, are checked against, and thus circulated, nearly to their full extent, as if they were passing from hand to hand like bank-notes. Circulation has ceased to be a prominent object with the banks of that city, since book-credits are found to answer all the purposes of bank-notes.

In 1843, as shown above, the circulation of all the banks had fallen ninety-one millions within six years, and the insolvency which resulted from the coincident revulsion was returned by the United States Courts of Bankruptcy at about four hundred millions. We incline to the opinion, that, in endeavoring to arrive at a true estimate of what constitutes the real measure of prices for the whole country, without questioning the correctness of the opinion which the currency committee express as to the deposits of the New York city banks being currency, we ought not to add the entire amount of the deposits to the notes in circulation. Yet in the case of the revulsion of 1837, if every dollar of deposits and circulation cancelled had been represented by ten dollars of fall in prices, the whole reduction of prices throughout the Union would have been seventeen hundred and twenty millions, and this is probably nearer the actual fact than would be the estimate of seven hundred and ten millions deduced from the reduction of seventy-one millions in the circulation; for if the Courts of Bankruptcy acted upon four hundred millions of insolvency, it is reasonable to estimate the universal reduction of prices

throughout the country at more than a thousand millions, there being a vast amount of insolvencies not passed upon by the tribunals.

The cancelling of prices, from the revulsion of 1857, may be estimated at very much less than that from the revulsion of 1837, as the former occurred at a time when prices were ascending under the influence of augmented supplies of gold circulating among the people, this gold constituting a real measure, which prevented the destruction of the paper measure from exerting its whole power. During 1858 prices of many commodities fell at specie-paying localities about one third below the prices of 1857; and assuming this fall as a basis of calculation, if the banks in all sections had resumed specie payments with those of New York, the bank circulation would have sunk from one hundred and ninety millions in 1856, to one hundred and thirty millions in 1858, and the deposits from two hundred and twelve millions to one hundred and fifty-two millions. But the gold hoarded by the people, estimated at nearly two hundred millions, began to come from its hiding-places as soon as the panic subsided, and this process still continues. Without it, reasoning from the data we have cited, the destruction of price, if all the banks had resumed specie payment together, would have been about thirteen hundred and sixty millions, and the coincident bankruptcies of large estates not less than three hundred and forty millions. With this process, and with continued supplies from California, the force of the revulsion has been much reduced, although the entire volume of bankruptcy, including estates both large and small, has been estimated at eight hundred millions, or a little less than one half the sum total of the destruction of price that occurred within the six years following the revulsion of 1837. Yet the intensity of mental suffering in some localities in 1857 doubtless exceeded the distress that prevailed anywhere in 1837.

There being now an abundant supply of gold, prices are everywhere increasing, or, more correctly speaking, gold is falling in price. We have, therefore, a most favorable opportunity to place our financial affairs upon a more enlarged metallic basis, and if those who have the power do not consent

to do this, there is an evident determination among the people to do it for themselves. Gold, it is true, cannot prevent revulsion, but being more uniform in its movements than mere paper, our interests would no doubt be greatly promoted by making it the regulator of our monetary systems.

ART. IV. — *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1855 – 1858, with Accompanying Documents.*

THE improvement of the Indian tribes in the territory of the United States is a subject which appeals at once to the philanthropy and the statesmanship of the country. But the public mind slights it. We venture at this time to submit a few remarks in regard to the civilization of the Indians, and hope that, if they are of any worth, they may seasonably result in some practical good.

In the first place, it will be interesting to glance at the political condition of the Indians, our authority being the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and the opinions of the Attorneys-General. The Indian tribes are considered, not as foreign nations, but as domestic dependent nations. Chief Justice Marshall says of them : —

"Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian. They look to our government for protection ; rely upon its kindness and its power ; appeal to it for relief to their wants ; and address the President as their Great Father. They and their country are considered by foreign nations, as well as by ourselves, as being so completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States, that any attempt to acquire their lands, or to form a political connection with them, would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory, and an act of hostility."

They have a possessory title to the lands they occupy, subject to the sovereign title existing in the government by right of discovery. But that title is considered as sacred as a title in fee simple, until it is extinguished by voluntary cession to the United States. Within their territory they can make laws for

their own government; but for acts done to our citizens in their territory they are answerable to our laws. They are not citizens, and cannot be naturalized under the general naturalization laws; neither are they capable of obtaining the public lands of the United States by pre-emption. We treat with them ostensibly as if they had the attributes of sovereignty; and yet they are virtually subjects. Our relations with them are peculiar, and such as are not known in the laws of nations. They resemble in some respects relations which existed under the patriarchal institutions of antiquity, and the best idea of which is perhaps conveyed in the common phrase of "our red children." * It may be further remarked, that Congress has declared that "all executory contracts made and entered into by any Indian for the payment of money, or goods, shall be deemed and held to be null and void, and of no binding effect whatsoever."

Of course the status of some tribes has been changed by treaty stipulations, as in the case of the Stockbridge Indians and the Wyandotts, who have been invested with citizenship.

It is estimated that there are now within the United States about one hundred different tribes or bands of Indians, exclusive of the remnants in the New England States, numbering in the aggregate from 320,000 to 350,000 souls. Of these there were in 1854 thirty-nine tribes, numbering 46,355, which received annuity payments from the government under treaties. The amount paid to them that year was $680,000, which gave the average of $14.66 for each Indian. Allowing five persons to a family, each family would on an average have received $73.30. The Secretary of the Treasury stated in his Report for 1856, that in addition to the public debt "there is due under treaties with various Indian tribes, payable on time, the sum of $21,066,501.36." This, he stated, arose out of the extinction of the Indian possessory title to the public lands, and is a charge on the annual sales. The estimate of annual expenses of the Indian department for 1856 was $2,593,483.88. The army proper may almost be charged to our Indian expen-

* See Cherokee Nation *v.* State of Georgia, 5 Pet. Rep. 1; Worcester *v.* State of Georgia, 6 Pet. 515; Johnson *v.* Mackintosh, 8 Wheat. 543; Opinions of Attorneys-General, I. 465, 645; II. 402; VI. 49; VII. 746.

diture; and the army estimate for the same year was more than twelve millions of dollars. Then there are to be considered various additional expenditures annually incurred on account of Indian troubles. For instance, a commission began in 1856, and sat more than a year, to "ascertain the sum of money fairly due to the volunteers of Oregon and Washington Territories for their services in the Indian wars which threatened to lay waste those Territories." And the Secretary of War informs us in his Report for 1857, that "the amount ascertained to be due is a very large one." In the Indian Deficiency Act of 1858, $200,000 were appropriated "for restoring and maintaining, by peaceable measures, friendly relations with the Indian tribes in Oregon Territory," and $20,000 to defray the expense of the several expeditions against Ink-pa-du-tah's band which committed the atrocities at Spirit Lake in Iowa. From these figures and items, cited at random, a general idea may be conveyed of the great expense the United States incur in respect to the Indians; and we will hereafter show the disproportion between this expense and the good that ensues.

The character of the Indians and their capability of civilization are hardly yet, we think, understood and appreciated. When, in 1824, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions memorialized Congress on the subject of Indian civilization, they were met with the assertion, first, that their project was impracticable; and, secondly, that, if carried out, it would destroy our valuable fur-trade! Public opinion has advanced since that time; but it is still a common opinion, that there are such inherent obstacles in the Indian's character that he cannot become a peaceable, industrious, and humane citizen. He is thought to be untamable. But, in fact, the main reason why the race has not advanced more is their ignorance. They have been ignorant of government; with no law except that of retaliation; and subject to no restraint except what might now and then be enforced by the genius and adroitness of a chief. In war they have exhibited no great capacity. In no instance have they planned and carried on a campaign with comprehensive skill, or with enterprise adequate to final success. Even the conspiracy of Pontiac,—

rescued from oblivion by a classic pen, — and the wars of the Six Nations, will bear us out in this remark. As their exploits have been characterized by wild ferocity, so their success has been the result of treachery. The disposition to take advantage by cheating or duplicity has always been a characteristic of an ignorant race. Thus, with the Indian it is a feat worthy of boasting, if he can fall on his enemy unawares; and it is a rare triumph indeed, if he can, by stealth, take a scalp and incur no danger. The case is the same as in ancient Crete, where, we are told, even theft was regarded as lawful when performed with skill. Quacks, indeed, have imposed on the public by vending so-called Indian medicines; but the Indians are sadly deficient in the healing art. Except for wounds, to cure which they have some vulnerary salve, they rely in sickness upon conjuration and necromancy; and how vain these remedies are, the ravages of disease among them have too often shown. In the domestic arts their knowledge is confined to the most simple tools and works. Their only successful manufactures are of beads and skins, except that among the Navajoes of New Mexico blankets of a very excellent quality are made.

There are other circumstances besides their ignorance which have contributed to their abject state. Their isolated condition and the smallness of their numbers have precluded the mutual intercourse, imitation, and rivalry which have been powerful aids to civilization in more populous states. Furthermore, their peculiar habits have held them back in barbarism. Their education, if it can be so termed, has kept them in intellectual nonage. The traditional stories and songs rehearsed in their wigwams celebrate the achievements, in war, of their ancestors. They learn to revere the memory and to emulate the example of him who has performed the most remarkable athletic feat, suffered the greatest exposure, or taken the largest number of scalps. They also aspire to oratory, and, while they are guiltless of the rhetorical atrocities often put into their lips by historians and novelists, their short, popular harangues are not without a certain rude eloquence. But manual toil they have not been taught to honor. "Labor to them," say Messrs. Cass and Clarke in their communication to the War Depart-

ment in 1829, "is a disgraceful employment; and this sentiment, the cause or the consequence of their idleness and improvidence, encourages their attachment to war and hunting, the only occupations to which a warrior devotes himself." There is also equal truth in the following statement of the Commissioner, (Mr. Manypenny,) in his Report for 1856: —

"As a man he [the Indian] has his joys and sorrows. His love for his offspring is intense. In his friendships he is steadfast and true, and will never be the first to break faith. His courage is undoubted, his perception quick, and his memory of the highest order. His judgment is defective, but by proper training and discipline his intellectual powers are susceptible of culture, and can be elevated to a fair standard. He can be taught the arts of peace, and is by no means inapt in learning to handle agricultural and mechanical implements, and applying them to their appropriate uses." — p. 22.

Undoubtedly the Indian is intensely fond of his offspring, and especially of his male children. But how is it with his wife, or *wives* (for the more he has, the greater man is he)? The wife is compelled to do the drudgery of the *manège*, and is looked upon as immeasurably her lord's inferior. She is not even so far elevated as among the Oriental tribes, where woman is

"A toy for dotards' play,
To wear but till the gilding frets away."

This accounts in great part for the uncivilized condition which it indicates. "All great men," says Sir James Mackintosh, "have had able mothers." Surely no race or tribe of men, born of mindless and degraded women, was ever known to be enlightened. The most important part of a man's education is derived from the instruction and moral influence of his mother; and before we can succeed in elevating the Indians to a fair standard, we must reform their domestic habits, and let the light of knowledge and religion shine in upon the hearts of their timid and benighted women.

Notwithstanding the excessive pride of the Indians, and their contempt for labor, they are ever ready to admit their poverty, and accept with strange satisfaction whatever charity bestows on them, be it a repast at the second table, a piece of tobacco, or an old garment. This admission of poverty will be noticed

in the following report of a dialogue, which took place at Washington two years ago, between the President and delegations of the Pawnee, Ponca, and Pottawatomie tribes.

"The meeting took place in the favorite east room of the White House, in the presence of a large number of interested spectators.

"The President, after the Indians had been separately introduced to him, said: —

"'I am very glad to see you here, my children of the Far West. I have ever felt a deep interest in your welfare. You have come a great way to see me, and I give you a cordial welcome, and should be glad if you should explain to me what you desire me to do for you, and I should be glad to hear your suggestions.'

"The President's remarks received frequent marks of approval from the Indians.

"La-sharo-larl-a-oo, or the 'Big Chief,' of the Pawnee delegation, spoke as follows: —

"'My Grand Father, I have come a long ways to see you to-day; and I am glad as well as you are. We would like to see you make haste and give us what is promised in the treaty, so that we may not be poor. I am very glad to see you in the situation that you are, — to see your fine dwelling-house, and that you are not poor. I do not think we will be poor and you will be the cause of it. I am in a hurry to get back and tell the news that we will not be poor.'

"Na-sharo-ce-ted-a-co, also of the Pawnees, came forward, and spoke as follows: —

"'Since I have seen you, I think I will not be poor hereafter. I come here to-day, and look about and see your splendid mansion, and it surprises me; but still I know a white man can do anything and make anything, and I hope we will be put in the way to do these things, and not be poor. I hope you will take pity on us that we may not be poor, and may get all that is promised in the treaty.'

"Na-hock-tara-wa-sharo, also of the Pawnees, was the next speaker, as follows: —

"'I am a young man, — not quite a man, for you can see my naked skin, which is smooth, — and I hope you will take pity on me. I have the prospect of being made a white man if I am spared. It makes me have a big heart to-day to see you, and I think I will not be poor hereafter.'

"Wae-gah-sah-pi, or 'The Whip,' a chief of the Ponca tribe, said: —

"'My Grand Father, I call you Grand Father for no other reason than this: God made me of one color and you of another; but God

was partial to you, and made you of a better color. You came into existence, and so did I. It was the will of the Great Spirit that we both came into existence. We have never had a chance to see our Grand Father until this time, and I am very glad you asked me to visit you. It was the will of the Great Spirit that made you more powerful than me; it was the will of the Great Spirit that you should take this land from us, — this land that you stand on to-day belongs to me. You are a man, my Grand Father, and so am I. Everything that you have made, Grand Father, is worthy of attention, — is worthy of looking at. There is one thing that attracts the eye more than anything else, and I hope you will give me plenty of it, — money! We want money, my Grand Father. With it we can get anything we want. We do not want goods; but if you give us money, we can buy what we please, and it lasts longer. My Grand Father, we want all the tools of the white men. We want the blacksmiths, the farmers, the millers, &c. to live with us, and hope you will open your heart to us to-day. My Father, I do not speak from the end of my tongue; it comes from the bottom of my heart, and I hope that what you say will come from the bottom of your heart.'

"Me-she-ke-ah, of the Pottawatomie Indians, said: —

"'For years past you have been advising our people to reform, and to assume other habits from what they had before, and to give themselves to work and imitate the white people. This has been your advice to us for years past. Prosperity has been with you. We wish prosperity to live with our people. We have come with the full intention of getting those things which are within treaty stipulations, to enable us to go on with our work. I am going to lay down my gun, and pursue something else for a livelihood.'"

The President, in his reply to these speeches, gave them some sensible advice: —

"'I am glad to see you all on this bright and beautiful day, and hope the Great Spirit is smiling on our meeting, and that henceforth this meeting may be the sign of peace between the red children and the white children and the Great Spirit above.

"'Why is it that our red brethren are poor? I will tell them how to become rich. They will always be poor while they live by the chase and make war upon each other, — whilst they live in this way they must be poor. The white men are rich because they work, because they plough the soil, and sow the grain, and reap the harvest, and live in their own houses. If the Indians will follow their example they will be rich too, because the Great Spirit looks down with the same

kindness upon his red and his white children; for they are all brethren, and without work no man can become rich.

"'It is my desire that my red children should have separate houses of their own; that they should have their own land in their own place; that their young men should learn the useful trades of blacksmiths, carpenters, and millers, and have all the comforts of the white man; and whenever they shall do this — and they have it in their power to do it — I will always protect them in it.

"'I have one request to make of my children of the Pawnee and the Ponca tribes, and if it is granted it will make me very happy, and I will feel that their Great Father and my Great Father will approve of the deed. I understand that these tribes — both brave men, all brave men — have been at war; and whilst they are at war with each other they can never improve their condition; and I pray that the Great Spirit may at this moment appear before me; and, I being a party to it, I hope that he may cause them to make peace and shake hands with me, and shake hands with each other in token of perpetual peace among each other.'

"The President at this point stretched out both his hands, and invited the representatives of the Pawnee and Ponca tribes to make peace, which they most willingly did; and a more hearty shaking of hands or more satisfied body of Indians cannot readily be conceived. At the conclusion of this part of the ceremony, the President said: —

"'I hope this peace will last as long as the sun shines and the rivers run.'"

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that all the efforts of the government and of private philanthropy have thus far availed but little towards civilizing the Indians. The wild tribes that have been left to their own resources are probably better clothed and fed, and altogether more creditable members of the human family, than the majority of those which, by treaty stipulations, have come under the direct influence of the government. The latter have received enough aid to make them dependent, to relax their vigor, and hasten their decay. They are not wholly exempt from our authority, and yet are not brought under the wholesome restraint imposed on our own citizens. Instead of being governed by our laws, they are kept in awe by our arms. They are confined within limits too small for prosperous hunting, and too large to conduce to their ambition as agriculturists. They are brought into con-

tact with the whites just enough to catch their vices, and to learn to despise them. Prone to idleness, they are also victims of intemperance and of contagious disease, and seem to be lingering out an existence as wretched to themselves as it is unprofitable to the world. Yet our government has not been unkind to them, unless we may call indifference unkindness. For years and years they have furnished ample topics of pathetic rhetoric for our statesmen, who have declared with Delphic gravity that the only way to save the Indians was to teach them the arts of civilized life. For many years the policy pursued was to get rid of them by removals. This answered till it began to be apparent that our emigration would extend even to the Pacific, and cover the whole domain of the West. In 1826 the Secretary of War (Mr. Barbour) submitted with his report the outlines of a bill, whose provisions he recommended as tending to their civilization. It provided that the country west of the Mississippi, and beyond the States and Territories, and the territory east of the Mississippi and west of Lakes Huron and Michigan, should be set apart for their exclusive abode; that they should be removed as individuals, and not as tribes; that a territorial government should be maintained by the United States; and that there should be an extinction of tribes, if circumstances should justify it, an amalgamation of the whole into one body, and a distribution of property among its individual members. He also recommended that, as soon as the civilization of the Indians would admit of it, they should have a legislative assembly, composed of Indians, to be selected in the early stages by the President, and eventually to be chosen by themselves.

A bill somewhat more practicable in its provisions was introduced into the House of Representatives in 1834, providing for the establishment of an Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, extending from the Platte River on the north, and the State of Missouri and the Arkansas Territory on the east, to the Spanish possessions south and west. It was the plan of the government to persuade all the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi to migrate to that territory, and settle as a confederacy of tribes. The bill provided a government for the confederacy, to be established with the consent of all the

Indian chiefs, and to be governed by the chiefs, under the control and patronage of the United States. It also provided that the territory might be represented by a delegate in Congress. The bill was laid on the table, and never called up. Nor has any general law been passed to promote the civilization of these tribes. A common expedient to which the government has resorted to keep peace among them has been to make them presents. But the President tells us, in his Message for 1857, that this system "has proved ineffectual." During the administration of General Pierce, the policy began to be adopted of concentrating the tribes on reservations for their permanent homes. In 1854 and 1855 several treaties were made with different tribes, in which was a provision substantially like the following: —

"That at such time or times as the President may deem advisable, the land herein provided to be selected as their future home, or such portion thereof as may be necessary, shall be surveyed; and the President shall from time to time, as the Indians may desire it, assign to each head of a family, or single persons over twenty-one years of age, a reasonable quantity of land, in one body, not to exceed eighty acres in any case, for their separate use; and he may at his discretion, as the occupants thereof become capable of managing their business and affairs, issue patents to them for the tracts so assigned to them respectively; said tracts to be exempt from taxation, levy, sale, or forfeiture, until otherwise provided by the legislature of the State in which they may be situated, with the assent of Congress; nor shall they be sold or alienated, in fee, within fifteen years after the date of the patents, and not then without the assent of the President of the United States being first obtained." — *Treaty with the Winnebagoes, 27th February*, 1855.

This would seem to be a wise provision; but we have yet to learn that it has in a single instance, under any treaty, been carried into effect.

Here we might pause to inform our readers how Indian treaties are *made*. We cannot indulge them with any satisfactory statement as to the manner in which such treaties are *fulfilled*. If the tribe is very remote and wild, the practice is to send out an agent or commissioners, with a large quantity of presents, and accompanied by an interpreter and witnesses.

If the presents are well selected and sufficiently numerous, a treaty is certain. The favorite plan, however, is to have delegations of Indians go to Washington and treat with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This is done if the tribe is not very populous. But it is often a source of jealousy and trouble in the tribe, it being almost as difficult for them to select delegates having the confidence of the whole body, as for their white neighbors to choose satisfactory representatives. To obviate this difficulty as far as possible, they send as many delegates as the government will provide for from the public chest. The delegation is often detained in Washington more than a month before the treaty is concluded. The government agent and interpreter attend them during their sojourn at the capital, and they are sure to receive a share of favorable attention on public occasions and at the President's levees.

We have not directly said, but we wish it to be fully understood, that, in our opinion, the Indians are capable of being educated and civilized. We do not mean merely that they can be induced to adopt the domestic and social habits of white men, — to till the soil, learn the mechanic arts, and engage in trade. We believe that they can be brought up to that supreme standard of civilization which is inculcated in the precepts of Christianity. Nor have they shown any absolute repugnance to being civilized. Some tribes, indeed, have, from the force of example, wrought out their own reformation. The remnants of the Six Nations in New York, the Choctaws, Cherokees, and other tribes west of Arkansas, not to mention some tribes in Kansas, have exhibited an inclination to industry and a capacity for self-government and self-restraint which would be creditable to any community. That others have not improved is owing principally to the inefficiency of the means applied, and to a want of system in their appliance. When, more than twenty years ago, a missionary went among the Chippewas of Lake Superior, the chiefs said to him: "We will give you a home among us, and you shall be secure. You may instruct our children, but we cannot spend time to be educated; we must hunt. The traders will not take our education in payment for blankets and provisions."

There are many remote tribes which cannot be expected

soon to be brought under the influence of civilizing agencies. All that can be demanded of the government at present in respect to them, is that they shall keep the peace with one another, and cease from their depredations upon our emigrants and travellers. With all these tribes, or nearly all, the United States have made treaties of amity and peace. Being under no pecuniary obligation to them, the government has had no means of controlling them beyond the effect of a few presents and of military force. Both these means have been too sparingly employed to serve a useful purpose. The army is too small to operate as a police force over so vast a territory. One or two companies, in the extreme wilderness, among ten thousand Indians, are more likely to be awed than to inspire awe. The Indians seldom see enough of our force to respect it. Hence the protracted, expensive, inglorious, skirmishing wars that have occurred, and still continue in Texas and New Mexico. Our readers may remember an occurrence in 1854, at Fort Laramie, in the western part of Nebraska. There was but one company stationed there, and that was not a full one. The Indians had often plundered the Mormon and other emigrants who passed, and, when remonstrated with, had even threatened to "wipe out" the fort itself. At length notice was taken of a particularly bold trespass, and a lieutenant was ordered, with a detachment of twenty men and a field-piece, to approach the camp of the Indians and seize the offender. His delivery was refused. The lieutenant ordered the field-piece to be discharged, which was done, and in a few moments the Indians, returning the fire, killed the entire detachment save one, who, wounded, dragged himself to the fort to tell the story of their fate. Then followed, the next year, General Harney's expedition against the Sioux, resulting in his chastisement of them at Ash Hollow. The existence of permanent posts, thus scantily garrisoned, has been so utterly unavailing to keep the Indians under control, that some have urged the discontinuance of this policy. One officer of great experience (General Jesup) considers that the better use of our small army would be to withdraw it entirely from the Indian country; when the Indians deserve chastisement, to send a sufficient force among them thoroughly to quell and punish them;

and never to permit them to see or encounter our arms, unless in sufficient strength to overawe and subdue them. With much deference to the opinion of so sagacious a soldier, we would urge that there should be established an increased number of military posts, and that they should have men enough to protect, by their presence and the known prestige of their strength, the country surrounding them. It occurs to us, also, that it would not be impracticable to curtail the expense of the transportation and subsistence of the army, by producing on the military reservations, under the patronage of the government, the forage and provisions necessary for the several posts. This might be effected in part by Indian labor. When our white citizens commit crimes, they forfeit their liberty and are obliged to serve the public. Why should the Indians escape a similar punishment if they violate their treaties of peace? Let the experiment be tried of compelling those who are captured to labor for a certain period of time. At any rate, the cause of humanity demands that the different tribes shall desist from their hostilities among themselves and their attacks upon peaceable emigrants. As the guardian of the weaker and innocent tribes, and as the power pledged to secure the neutrality of the great highways across our territory, the government is under the most solemn obligations to see that this is done; and we cannot but believe that the most economical way of doing it is to increase the number and strength of our military posts.

It has been remarked, that the *theory* on which the government now proceeds towards the half-civilized or annuity-receiving tribes is to retain them permanently on reservations. The practice of removing tribes has of course retarded their improvement. A tenant at will does not take so much interest in an estate as the owner. Could it be expected that Indians would take much interest in cultivating land which they were destined to abandon to others? Assure them they are to remain on their farms, and that their children will inherit and enjoy their improvements, and they will be incited to labor. Their reservations should be surveyed and distributed among them, so they may know what is their own. They have generally had the privilege of selecting their locations from excel-

lent land. It was so with the Winnebagoes in Minnesota, and the Shawnees, Kickapoos, and Delawares in Kansas. The latter selected for themselves a reservation in the valley of the Kansas River, including as luxuriant, diversified, and well-timbered a tract as could be found in the territory. When the tribes are once located, a deaf ear should be turned to all propositions for the sale of their reserves, unless it be of a surplus portion. As settlements surround them, their lands will rise in value, and many will be eager to buy them; while there will always be some discontented Indians, who will be willing to remove for the sake of the money their lands will bring. White settlers, who voluntarily emigrate to the neighborhood of the Indians, with a strange inconsistency, are often found clamorous for their removal. This absurd disposition lately received a sharp rebuke from the Dacotah tribes, who memorialized the President to remove the *whites* to the east side of the Mississippi!

But on the subject of reservations let the Commissioner himself speak: —

"I concur fully with those of my predecessors who have stated that there have been two great and radical mistakes in our system of Indian policy, — the assignment of an entirely too large body of land in common to the different tribes which have been relocated, and the payment of large money-annuities for the cessions made by them, — the first tending directly to prevent the Indians from acquiring settled habits and an idea of personal property and rights, which lie at the very foundation of all civilization. . . . . With large reservations of fertile and desirable land, entirely disproportioned to their wants for occupancy and support, it will be impossible, when surrounded by a dense white population, to protect them from constant disturbance, intrusion, and spoliation by those on whom the obligations of law and justice rest but lightly, while their large annuities will subject them to the wiles and machinations of the inhuman trafficker in ardent spirits, the unprincipled gambler, and the greedy and avaricious trader and speculator. Their reservations should be restricted so as to contain only sufficient land to afford them a comfortable support by actual cultivation, and should be properly divided and assigned to them, with the obligation to remain upon and cultivate the same." — *Report for* 1857, p. 4.

All this is very just. But it rests with the executive branch

of the government to carry this theory into practice; and especially is the Indian Bureau responsible for a practical realization of its maxims on the subject of reservations.

Let us now suppose that a tribe is located, in pursuance of the foregoing theory, on a reservation adapted to its numbers. This, the Indians are told, is to be their home. We will imagine that they have ceased to smear their faces with paint; that they have laid aside their bows and their loose blankets. Still the agents, the missionaries, and the teachers report that intemperance is working fearful destitution and misery among them; that it is more injurious to them than it ever was among civilized white men, because it is among the Indians almost a universal vice. The question arises, Can anything further be done to save them from this danger? The penalty for selling or furnishing ardent spirit to the Indians is five hundred dollars. The agent or any Indian can destroy liquor illegally carried into the Indian country, and Indians are made competent witnesses in prosecutions under the statute. These are the principal or only remedies; and the consequence is that the law is frequently evaded. We think that the agent should be clothed with some judicial authority, and that a more summary process should be authorized to reach the wanton offender who is instrumental in furnishing "fire-water" to the Indian. If the penalty were less for the first offence, doubtless convictions could be more certainly secured. This subject demands the prompt attention of Congress.

The abolition of money-annuities would indirectly aid in suppressing intemperance. We could produce the testimony of every government officer or missionary, who has had any experience among the Indians, to prove that it is absolute folly to pay them money. There are some doubtless who turn it over to the trader for a fair equivalent. But generally it all goes in mass, and it does the Indians more harm than good. Instead of money, the treaties should provide for the payment for their lands in goods, provisions, and the means of education. This reform rests with the executive.

But how shall we break up the community system? The Indians virtually live in common. If one Indian is industrious and accumulates something for the future, the others, no mat-

ter how indolent they may have been, regard him as a mean fellow if he does not freely share it with them. This of course discourages individual effort, and takes away the chief stimulus to industry. Probably the survey and distribution of their reserves in severalty will contribute much to break up this system. We believe, however, that the main cause of this mode of living has been their tribal wars. Dreading an attack from a hostile tribe, they unite together in villages, and have all things in common. What renders these attacks doubly aggravating and horrid, is the fact that the innocent are liable to suffer for the provocation given by others. Witness the sickening brutality of a stealthy attack made on a Chippewa family near Crow Wing, in the spring of 1858, by a party of Sioux. The following is from an authentic report of the massacre, written the day after it occurred.

"Ottawa, a Chippewa past middle age, had been out with his family for several days, making maple-sugar. Hearing that the Sioux were about, they came into town with what sugar they had, being over two hundred pounds. This was quickly disposed of for whiskey. Their lodge was on the island at the mouth of Crow Wing River, just opposite the village, and was very much exposed to any stealthy attack. In fact, Ottawa's friends had advised him to move from the island on account of the suspicious proximity of the Sioux. But he replied that he had a spear and could kill a Sioux. At about one last night, the report of guns at their lodge, and the cries of the murdered, were heard on this side of the river. It was discovered early this morning, that the whole family, eleven in all, were horridly butchered. Nine were dead, all were scalped, and the heads of some cut off and carried away. The youngest, a child, with its stomach cut open, was yet alive, but its tortures were ended by the friendly blow of a Chippewa. The mother, the squaw, was stabbed, shot, and scalped." — *Correspondence of the* (St. Paul) *Pioneer and Democrat.*

Can it be expected that Indians will live separately from one another, and cultivate their farms, if they are to be liable to such havoc as this? Before the community system can be broken up, and thus the first important step taken for their civilization, a stop must be put to the tribal wars. The government must inspire them with confidence that they will be safe. We will not attempt to say, in detail, how this is to be done.

One means will be to require the agent to be constantly on the reservation with them. He should have sufficient military force to enable him to prevent war-parties from sallying out upon other tribes. When depredations are committed, the offenders should be pursued and brought to punishment, instead of holding the whole tribe responsible. We doubt if the Indians who committed the massacre above narrated have even been reprimanded for their atrocious act. Certainly they might have been detected; for they went through the settlements to their home, carrying their fresh scalps in a bag, and proudly exhibiting them as honorable trophies.

After making it for the interest and convenience of the Indians to labor, it will be comparatively easy to educate them, and to foster among them habits of self-reliance and self-restraint. The efforts to give them a literary education have most forcibly shown that "a little learning is a dangerous thing." In most of the half-civilized tribes, the individuals who have received some book-learning have generally proved rogues, and exerted a bad influence. But these results, instead of discouraging the efforts of sensible and philanthropic men, will only impel them to greater exertions. The ignorant cannot appreciate the advantage of education, and never, of their own accord, will strive for it. This has been the case with the Indians. When missionaries and teachers have gone among them, and offered to instruct their young, they have appeared to think that they were doing the teacher a favor in sending their children to school, even when the children were fed and clothed without expense to themselves. The general fund for the education of the Indians was created by the act of 1819, which provided an annual appropriation of $10,000. During some years since that enactment, not more than half of the appropriation has been expended. The Commissioner states, in a communication to the Secretary of the Interior, November 20, 1855, that for the previous ten years the amount drawn from that fund was $102,107.14; and that the aggregate amount expended for educational objects during that period was $2,150,000, of which the sum of $830,000 had been contributed by private benevolence.

The reports for many years past exhibit very imperfect re-

turns as to the number of pupils who have attended school. It appears that in 1828 the whole number of pupils in all the Indian schools was 1,291. There was but a small increase in the number till 1842, when the number returned was 2,132. In 1848 the number was 3,682. In 1853 it was 3,302. It does not appear how many of these were of either sex. The reports are exceedingly meagre and incomplete, and indicate that little or no interest is taken in the subject at the Indian Bureau. Good success has attended manual-labor schools as a means of literary instruction. On such means the country must rely for the education of the rising generation of these tribes. It is no longer a matter of experiment; for where the system has been applied with fidelity and patience, the best results have ensued. If more money should be appropriated and carefully expended for the education of the Indians, it would prove in the end wise economy.

Whether our Indian policy remains unchanged or not, it is certain that the success of any civilizing measures will depend to a very great extent on the powers and exertions of the agents or other officers who are brought into direct intercourse with the Indians, and who are charged with the execution of those measures. Within a few years the government has withdrawn some of the trusts before reposed in the agents. As men they perhaps have had too much patronage, though as officers they have too little power. The Commissioner says: —

"Power should be conferred on the agents to eject summarily all intruders from the reservations. They should also be clothed with executive and judicial authority in matters pertaining to their agencies, and appeals from their decisions be allowed to the superintendents, and thence to the Department." — *Report*, 1857, p. 5.

Formerly agents were permitted to make the annuity-payments; but now the Department imposes this duty on the superintendents. This is a significant fact, which admits of but one construction. It is certainly entirely inconsistent with the general theory of the government, that it should be represented among the different tribes by men who do not deserve its entire confidence. The salary of the agent is fif-

teen hundred dollars per annum, and he is required to reside among the Indians. How is it that prominent and influential men seek such offices from mere pecuniary motives? It is because they find opportunities to make money. Burke would have had much less indignation against the plunder of the Carnatic, if he could have foreseen the thrift which follows in the wake of one of our Indian agents. It is calculated that an agent can make a fortune during a term of four years; but how they can do it remains a mystery. One way, of course, is to impose on the Department by false vouchers. In one instance an appropriation was made for a certain amount of agriculture for a tribe. A piece of ground was to be broken. The agent employed a friend to do this work, paying him the nominal price of sixty dollars an acre. Yet the "breaking" consisted merely of ploughing a piece of land which had once before been broken. Out of such a job the agent would perhaps make several hundred dollars. These officers are selected, not on account of any peculiar administrative ability, nor yet for their philanthropy, but because they have done some service for their party. Occasionally upright and estimable men are appointed; but, however useful, they are liable to be removed through party influence, to give place to one who may be dishonest or incapable. The Indians form their opinion of the government from the capacity and character of the agent. It is of the greatest importance that he should be a trustworthy, able, and energetic man. Admitting him to be fit for the office, we think that he should be clothed with more authority. If the government has the right to keep military posts in the Indian country to awe and restrain them, it has the right to be represented there by a civil officer who has power to enforce just and wise regulations. It is necessary that the influence of the government should operate more directly upon the Indians. Our policy for their civilization should be carried out with more zeal than has heretofore been evinced. Instead of being passive and indifferent, it should be active and earnest, with a view to far higher results than have been realized or attempted.

Our object in what we have written has been to render service to a race which has both inflicted and suffered many

wrongs. In our judgment, no documents issued from the executive departments of our government are more interesting, or more deserving of general attention, than the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the accompanying documents. These latter consist of the reports of the several superintendents, agents, and teachers. No one can peruse them without becoming deeply interested in the condition of the Indians.

May we not hope that Congress, before the present session expires, will give candid and patient deliberation to the duties and interests involved in this important subject?

ART. V. — 1. *George Canning and his Times.* By AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE STAPLETON. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1859. 8vo. pp. xviii. and 614.

2. *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin: comprising the celebrated Political and Satirical Poems, Parodies, and Jeux d'Esprit of the* RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING and others. With Explanatory Notes by CHARLES EDMONDS. Second Edition, considerably enlarged. With six Etchings by the famous Caricaturist JAMES GILLRAY. London: G. Willis. 1854. 16mo. pp. xvi. and 248.

3. *The Speeches of the* RIGHT HONORABLE GEORGE CANNING. With a Memoir of his Life by R. THERRY, ESQ., of Gray's Inn, Barrister at Law. London: James Ridgway. 1828. 6 vols. 8vo.

MR. STAPLETON was for several years private secretary to Mr. Canning, and he is also known as the author of a "Political Life of Canning from 1822 to his Death." This work, which was published nearly thirty years since, is a production of ability, and the authenticity of its materials renders it of permanent value; but it is fragmentary in design, and partisan in tone. "George Canning and his Times" is based partly on personal recollections and partly on Mr. Canning's private papers, and it is open to the same criticism as the earlier

biography. It omits all reference to Canning's school and college life, and takes up the narrative only on his removal from Oxford. Its materials, though valuable, are ill-digested; it contains much irrelevant matter; and it is written in a partisan spirit. From many of the author's opinions we totally dissent, and some of his statements we must pronounce utterly unfounded. But the discussion of these matters is altogether alien to our present purpose; and we take leave of the volume with the single remark, that its real and permanent value consists in its copious citations from the Canning Papers. A thorough, exact, and impartial record of Mr. Canning's life and services is a desideratum still to be supplied.

Nevertheless several attempts have been made to furnish a satisfactory memorial of him; and, in the early part of 1830, negotiations were opened with the poet Moore with a view to the preparation of such a Life. At first the proposal seemed very inviting to Moore, on account of the importance of the period, the abundance of the materials, his general coincidence with the principles of Canning's latter line of politics, and the pecuniary advantage which he would derive from the undertaking. "But upon coming to consider the matter more closely," he says in his Diary, "an obstacle presented itself in the person of Lord Grey, which at once put an end to the whole speculation. The decided hostility in which he and Canning were placed during the period in question would make it wholly impossible for me to enter into the subject, without such a degree of freedom in speaking of the conduct of Lord Grey as both my high opinion of him, and my gratitude to him for much kindness, would render impossible." The proposal was accordingly declined; and since that time several Lives of Canning have appeared without exhausting the subject. Their writers did not have access to much unpublished material, and the works do not demand special notice.

Of the other works mentioned above it is only necessary to say that the little volume edited by Mr. Edmonds contains all the poetry of the Anti-Jacobin, with much illustrative matter, and that Mr. Therry's edition of Canning's Speeches includes an excellent Memoir and introductory notes to the different

speeches. Most of the speeches, we may add, were revised for the press by Mr. Canning himself.

George Canning was descended from a respectable Warwickshire family, who traced their lineage back to the time of Edward III., when one William Canning was Mayor of Bristol. Early in the seventeenth century the branch from which the statesman was descended received the grant of an estate in the north of Ireland, and removed to that country. There Canning's father was born; but at an early age he was compelled by family dissensions to leave his home, and to seek his fortune in London. In 1768, he married Miss Mary Ann Costello, an Irish lady of considerable personal beauty and of not a little intellectual culture. She was, however, inferior in social position to her husband; and the marriage gave great offence to his relatives. Mr. Canning was disinherited; and after a vain struggle with adverse fortune he died, in April, 1771, leaving one son, George Canning, who was born on the 11th of April, 1770. After Mr. Canning's death his widow went upon the stage, was twice married, and survived her third husband several years. By her first husband's family she appears to have been treated with much coldness and neglect. But her son never failed in affection toward her. When he went to college, he appropriated to her use a part of his own allowance; and when he retired from office in 1801, he caused the pension to which he was entitled to be settled on her. He survived her but a few months; and to the close of her life he made it a rule to write to her once a week, and to pay her an annual visit.

The care of his education was intrusted to his father's brother, a prosperous London merchant, and its expenses were defrayed from a small estate which was settled on him by his grandfather. At an early age he was sent to school at Hyde Abbey, Winchester, where he was thoroughly grounded in the rudiments of liberal culture; and subsequently he went to Eton. Here he soon distinguished himself as a scholar, and finally became captain of the school. While at Eton he was one of the principal contributors to the Microcosm, a college miscellany, which also counted among its contributors John Hookham Frere and Robert Smith (Bobus). Canning was

the largest contributor; and several of his contributions have much merit.

At the age of eighteen he left Eton and was entered of Christ Church College, Oxford. Here he fully maintained the reputation which he brought with him from Eton, and soon rose to a very high rank as a scholar. Among his most intimate friends at the University were Robert Jenkinson, afterward Earl of Liverpool, Lord Holland, Sturges Bourne, Lord Granville, and Lord Boringdon, afterward Earl of Morley. With several of these he was subsequently brought into the closest official connection, and his friendly relations with all remained unbroken through the vicissitudes of political life. On leaving Oxford he went to London to read law, and was entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. He does not seem, however, to have devoted himself very zealously to the study of the law. His mind was of too imaginative a cast, and he was too much devoted to literature and society to feel a deep interest in the abstruse questions of legal science. Political life was the goal of his ambition, and he was interested in his law-books only so far as they illustrated constitutional law.

At this time all his associations were with the Whigs. His uncle, Stratford Canning, was a Whig; and he had been introduced, while still a boy, to Burke, Fox, General Fitzpatrick, and other prominent men in the party. At a little later period he became an intimate friend of Sheridan. His subsequent adhesion to Mr. Pitt has, therefore, sometimes been regarded as a dereliction of principle and a betrayal of his early friends. "That Mr. Canning passed over, at once, from the one party to the other, cannot be denied," says Mr. Bell, in his Life of Canning; and this opinion has been generally entertained by other writers. But it is clear from a letter to Lord Boringdon, written in December, 1792, and now first printed by Mr. Stapleton, that, before his entrance into Parliament, Mr. Canning differed from his Whig friends upon several questions which were then considered as test questions of genuine Whiggism. At the end of this letter, in which he sets forth his own political views at considerable length, he observes that, if he were then in Parliament, he should support Mr. Pitt. This explicit declaration we regard as the more important,

since it not only shows the exact state of his political opinions, but also relieves his memory from much of the opprobrium which always attaches to a mere political adventurer.

From a consideration of Mr. Canning's later opinions and policy, it is, indeed, certain that the principles of his Whig friends made a deep impression on his mind; but at this time his allegiance to them must have been very slight, and it required no sacrifice on his part to enter Parliament under the avowed patronage of Mr. Pitt. That great man had long seen the importance of strengthening himself in the House of Commons, and, with his accustomed sagacity, he perceived that there was no more effectual way of doing this than by securing the personal support of some young men of promise. Accordingly an intimation was conveyed to Mr. Canning, then in his twenty-fourth year, that a seat would be procured for him if he were disposed to support the ministerial measures. The proposition was accepted, and in the latter part of 1793 he was returned for the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight. In Parliament he found a splendid array of accomplished orators on the Opposition benches, and a few men of note in the ministerial ranks. Among the members of the House of Commons at that time were Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, Grey, and Windham; and Burke also still lingered for a brief period in that august assembly. For more than the lifetime of a generation Canning retained a seat in the House of Commons, but never did he encounter there men of greater ability than was possessed by these masters of Parliamentary eloquence. In listening to them his own style was formed, and he acquired all that the best models could teach.

His first speech was not delivered until the 31st of January, 1794, when he spoke in favor of Mr. Pitt's proposed grant of a subsidy to the King of Sardinia. The debate had been conducted with much animation and ability, and had involved a general discussion of the ministerial policy. Every eye was turned toward the new adherent of the ministry, as he rose to justify the fame which had preceded him, or to disappoint the general expectation. He began his speech with some degree of embarrassment, trembling, he says in a letter to Lord Boringdon, lest he "should hesitate or misplace a word in the

first two or three sentences; while all was dead silence around me, and my own voice sounded to my ears quite like some other gentleman's." Gradually, as he warmed in his argument, he acquired confidence; but from a feeling of self-sufficiency he was soon roused, to quote his own words, "by accidentally casting my eyes towards the Opposition bench, for the purpose of paying compliments to Fox, and assuring him of my respect and admiration, and there seeing certain members of Opposition laughing (as I thought) and quizzing me." This untimely discovery entirely disconcerted him, and it was only after he was reassured by the cheers of his friends, that he was able to proceed with his speech "triumphantly to the end." The result was a complete success; and from that moment his position in the House was secure. The speech, in truth, was marked by courage, tact, and a considerable knowledge of general politics; but the speaker's views were far less liberal than might have been anticipated from his early associations, and the whole speech was more brilliant than solid.

During his first years of Parliamentary service, Mr. Canning took but little part in the discussions. On several occasions, however, he gave the ministry a hearty support; and in his first session he spoke in the debate on the causes of the failure of the attack on Dunkirk, and in the debate on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. In his speech on the latter occasion he gave a remarkable proof of Mr. Pitt's influence over him, by avowing his own change of opinion in regard to Parliamentary Reform, and his agreement with the minister in opposition to it, adding that, "if the Chancellor of the Exchequer should hereafter return to his former opinions, it was probable that he might again agree with him." A declaration at once so extravagant and so rash did not pass unnoticed by the Whigs, and, in his reply to Canning, Mr. Courtenay dwelt upon it with bitter sarcasm. We have already shown that Mr. Canning had not sacrificed his political principles, but Mr. Courtenay was fully justified in representing him as having avowed a sacrifice of his personal independence. As long as Mr. Pitt lived, Canning yielded an implicit assent to his opinions on almost every question of public policy discussed in Parliament, and after Mr. Pitt's death he was still guided by his principles.

As late as 1812, he said, in a speech to his constituents at Liverpool: —

"To one man, while he lived, I was devoted with all my heart and with all my soul. Since the death of Mr. Pitt, I acknowledge no leader. My political allegiance lies buried in his grave; but I have, though not his immediate counsels to follow, his memory to cherish and revere. So far as I know his opinions on subjects which were in his time, as well as now, of great public interest, I have adhered and shall adhere to those opinions as the guides of my public conduct. Where I can only reason from analogy on new questions which may arise, I shall endeavor to apply to those questions, whatever they may be, the principles which I imbibed and inherited from him."

At the opening of the next session, Mr. Canning seconded the Address in Answer to the King's Speech, but he still abstained from frequent participation in the debates. The value of his support, however, was fully recognized by the government, and before the close of the session he was appointed Under-Secretary of State to Lord Grenville, at that time head of the Department of Foreign Affairs. By no one could such an honor be more highly appreciated than it was by Mr. Canning; for through life he entertained the opinion that no statesman could effectually serve his country unless in office, entirely ignoring the fact that, under a representative government, the leader of the Opposition often exerts an influence scarcely inferior to that wielded by the head of the administration. To the duties of his new place he devoted himself with zeal and assiduity, early laying the foundation of those business habits which were so useful to him in his subsequent career. The appointment excited the jealousy of some of his competitors in the Parliamentary race, and was attacked by the Opposition, who were eager for any opportunity to harass the ministry. In his reply to these attacks Mr. Canning exhibited so much ability, and was so successful in defending his own conduct, that his reputation passed unscathed through the discussion. With this exception, he spoke but little for several years; and Mr. Therry's collection does not contain a single speech between March, 1795, and December, 1798.

In the mean time, however, Canning was giving vigorous play to those remarkable powers of ridicule and sarcasm with which

his name was for many years chiefly associated. Neither in Parliament nor in the public press was the government supported by such an array of accomplished speakers and well-trained writers as were enlisted in opposition to it. In a division the ministry was united and powerful; but in a debate it was singularly weak. Nor were the papers in the interest of the government equal in ability to those in the Opposition. In this state of things Canning suggested the publication of a weekly journal, devoted to refutation and ridicule of the Whig writers; and he is said to have written the prospectus defining the objects of the publication: —

"It is our intention," he says, speaking in the name of the editors, "to publish weekly, during the session of Parliament, a paper, containing, — First, an abstract of the important events of the week, both at home and abroad; Secondly, such reflections as may naturally arise out of them; and, Thirdly, a contradiction and confutation of the falsehoods and misrepresentations concerning these events, their causes, and their consequences, which may be found in the papers devoted to the cause of Sedition and Irreligion, to the pay or principles of France."

The first number of the journal thus announced was issued on the 20th of November, 1797, in a quarto form of eight pages, without advertisements. Gifford, afterward editor of the Quarterly Review, was the editor; Canning, George Ellis, John Hookham Frere, Jenkinson, afterward Earl of Liverpool, and Lord Mornington, afterward Marquis Wellesley, were the principal contributors, and even Mr. Pitt himself is believed to have contributed to some of the numbers. From the conflict of internal and external evidence it is difficult to determine the authorship of many of the pieces, and in some instances they were doubtless joint productions; but it is known that Canning was a very large contributor, especially to the poetical department. He also wrote the Introduction in the first number, in which the editor laments his inability "to find one good and true poet of sound principles and sober practice, upon whom we could rely for furnishing us with a handsome quantity of sufficient and approved verse," and in which occurs the celebrated description of the Jacobin poet, who "points the thunder of his blank verse at the head of the

recruiting sergeant, or roars in dithyrambics against the lieutenant of press-gangs." To this number Canning likewise contributed the well-known parody on Southey's inscription for the apartment where Harry Marten was imprisoned. Among his other poetical contributions are "The Friend of Humanity and the Knife-Grinder," the lines "To the Author of the Epistle to the Editors of the Anti-Jacobin," "The Progress of Man," and "New Morality," perhaps the most famous, as it is the most malignant, piece in the whole work. We are not, indeed, aware that he ever claimed the authorship of these pieces, but he did not hesitate to admit his connection with the Anti-Jacobin; and once, when he was attacked in the House of Commons on this account, he unhesitatingly declared that he "felt no shame for its character or principles, nor any other sorrow for the share he had had in it, than that which the imperfection of his pieces was calculated to inspire."

In truth the wit of the Anti-Jacobin was singularly keen and effective; and its blows were aimed with admirable skill. No other work of its kind, except the Rolliad, was ever characterized by so much brilliancy and power, and no one ever secured so enduring a reputation. Still, it was marked by a bitterness and malignity of tone, an unscrupulousness of statement, and a disregard of the common decencies of life, which nothing can justify. Fox and the Whigs were pursued with unbounded virulence; all who differed from the writers were treated as little better than knaves or traitors; and men who had few or no political sympathies in common were comprehended in one sweeping ban. Powerful as the Anti-Jacobin proved itself in attack, it was a scarcely less dangerous ally; and at the end of eight or nine months it was discontinued,—at the instigation of Pitt, it is said. Its writers, however, had enriched the language with some of the most admirable parodies ever written; and whatever we may think of the political principles which they advocated, or of the indecency of some of their productions, the merit of much of their poetry must be universally conceded. More than any one else, Canning contributed to build up this posthumous fame for a series of fugitive poems designed by their writers for no higher purpose than to subserve a mere partisan end.

Upon the discontinuance of the Anti-Jacobin, Canning again became a frequent speaker in the House of Commons; and when Mr. Tierney brought forward his motion respecting peace with France, in December, 1798, he opposed it in a long and very able speech on the history of the war and the actual condition of the country. A few weeks later, when Dundas brought down the King's Message relative to a Union with Ireland, he again addressed the House; and both by speech and vote he contributed to the success of that great measure in the English Parliament. No man, indeed, was more active in support of the Union than Canning. After it was carried he was one of those who followed Mr. Pitt into retirement, on the alleged ground of their inability to obtain the King's consent to bring forward Catholic Emancipation. Canning remained out of office until the formation of Mr. Pitt's second administration, in the early part of 1804.

The last speech which he delivered previously to Mr. Pitt's resignation was in February, 1800, when he spoke at length on the King's Message relative to Bonaparte's overtures for peace, and strongly defended the war. In the following July he married Miss Joan Scott, daughter of General Scott and sister-in-law of the Marquis of Tichfield, afterward Duke of Portland. By this marriage Canning acquired a fortune of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and added much to his political weight and influence. His Parliamentary position, however, soon began to give him some degree of uneasiness. Pitt's relation to Addington and the new ministry was peculiar, and embarrassing to his friends and supporters. They could not, consistently with their own views of public policy, give to Addington the countenance of their speeches and votes. Still less could they join the Opposition while Pitt continued to hold his anomalous position in reference to the ministry. In this dilemma Canning and the other Pittites not unfrequently spoke against the ministers, and refuted the ministerial arguments, while they voted for the ministerial measures. But such a condition of things could not last; and though Canning hesitated to join the Opposition, his attacks soon became more frequent and more bitter.

Certainly a weaker administration than that of Addington,

or the Doctor, as he was familiarly called, had not existed in England for many years; and there had never been one for which more contempt was expressed, both in Parliament and in the private correspondence of the great party leaders. As early as February, 1801, before the ministerial arrangements were completed, Fox wrote to the Earl of Lauderdale: "Do you think they could have picked out any one fellow in the House of Commons so sure to make a foolish figure in this new situation as Addington? I think not." A year later he expressed himself still more strongly. "The truth is, I suppose," he wrote, "that Addington is a fool, and that there is no reasoning upon the actions of such, especially when they have got about them, as he seems to have done, a parcel of people as foolish as himself." This unfavorable opinion was confirmed by a longer observation, and in March, 1804, a few months before the fall of the ministry, Fox wrote to Lord Lauderdale: "The Doctor is more and more contemned every day; indeed, the contempt, both with respect to the degree and universality of it, is beyond what was ever known. Not one unpaid defender, unless you reckon Dallas, who is impatient for the Solicitor-Generalship." A fortnight later he wrote to the same correspondent: "The Doctor has exceeded, if possible, all his former lies in what he said about the Russian business. It is, I own, an ignoble chase, but I should have great pleasure in hunting down this vile fellow." Lord Grenville entertained an equally unfavorable opinion of the minister; and in a letter to his brother, the Marquis of Buckingham, under date of January 5th, 1804, he says: "Tom asked me, and seemed to expect that I should learn from my visitor, what the Doctor's mysterious declaration in answer to Fox's question could possibly mean. It meant, as usual with the Doctor's mysteries, nothing at all, and the whole assertion was, as is no less usual with the Doctor's assertions, a lie." At the outset, Pitt probably regarded him only as a useful tool to fill the office of prime minister, while he himself secretly directed the measures of the government. This opinion Pitt had occasion afterward to change; but it did not give place to a more favorable judgment. Sheridan constantly ridiculed the unfortunate premier in Parliament; and in one of his speeches he parodied Martial with great effect: —

"I do not like thee, Doctor Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell;
But this I 'm sure, I know full well,
I do not like thee, Doctor Fell."

On another occasion, when the Scotch members had deserted the minister, he threw the House into a storm of laughter by exclaiming, "Doctor, the Thanes fly from thee!" Indeed, the political literature of the period abounds with illustrations of the contempt with which Addington was regarded by all parties, and of the ridicule heaped upon him.

Canning fully shared these feelings, and his dislike of the minister is said to have found expression in verse as well as in his Parliamentary speeches. Among the pieces ascribed to him are "The Grand Consultation," "Moderate Men and Moderate Measures," and an "Ode to the Doctor," beginning,

"How blest, how firm the statesman stands,
(Him no low intrigue e'er shall move,)
Circled by faithful *kindred* bands,
And propped by fond *fraternal* love.

"When his speeches hobble vilely,
What '*Hear hims*' burst from Brother Hiley;
When the faltering periods lag,
Hark to the cheers of Brother Bragge."*

About the same time he wrote the famous song, "The Pilot that weathered the Storm," of which the chief purpose was undoubtedly to prepare the way for Pitt's return to power. In Parliament he rarely spoke of the ministers in respectful terms, and often drew invidious comparisons between them and his great leader. Thus in a speech on the Army Estimates, on the 8th of December, 1802, while supporting the ministers by his vote, he took occasion to avow his utter want of confidence in them.

* "Brother Hiley" and "Brother Bragge" were Mr. Hiley Addington, the prime minister's brother, and Mr. Bragge Bathurst, his brother-in-law. Both were zealous supporters of the ministry, and both held lucrative appointments under the government. The *sobriquet* of the Doctor was first applied to Addington by Canning. It was probably suggested partly by the fact that Addington's father was a physician, and partly by Addington's own recommendation of a hop pillow on the occasion of one of the king's attacks of insanity.

"I have no disguise nor reservation," he said; "I do think that this is a time when the administration of the government ought to be in the ablest and fittest hands; I do not think the hands in which it is now placed answer to that description; I do not pretend to conceal in what quarter I think that fitness most eminently resides; I do not subscribe to the doctrines which have been advanced, that, in times like the present, the fitness of individuals for their political situation is no part of the consideration to which a member of Parliament may fairly turn his attention. I know not a more solemn or important duty that a member of Parliament can have to discharge, than by giving, at fit seasons, a free opinion upon the character and qualities of public men. Away with the cant of 'Measures, not men'! the idle supposition that it is the harness, and not the horses, that draw the chariot along! No, sir, if the comparison must be made, if the distinction must be taken, men are everything, measures comparatively nothing. I speak, sir, of times of difficulty and danger, — of times when systems are shaken, when precedents and general rules of conduct fail. Then it is, that not to this or that measure, however prudently devised, however blameless in execution, but to the energy and character of individuals, a state must be indebted for its salvation. Then it is that kingdoms rise or fall in proportion as they are upheld, not by well-meant endeavors, laudable though they may be, but by commanding, overawing talents, — by able men."

This general contempt and distrust found expression in a series of resolutions moved by Colonel Patten on the 3d of June, 1803, condemnatory of the foreign policy of the ministry, and concluding with the declaration, "That, by all these instances of misconduct in the present ministers of his Majesty's government, they have proved themselves unworthy of the confidence reposed in them, in such an important crisis as the present." In the course of the discussion which followed, Mr. Pitt spoke briefly, declaring that he was not prepared to vote either for or against the propositions, and concluding with a motion "that the other orders of the day be now read." The effect of this motion, if carried, would be to evade a decisive vote on the motion of a want of confidence, but it was acceptable neither to the ministers nor to their opponents. On the part of the former, Lord Hawkesbury, at that time Secretary for Foreign Affairs, declared that "ministers could not acquiesce in the discredit of a suspended censure." On the other

hand, Canning, after expressing "his pain and reluctance, which nothing less than a conscientious sense of duty could enable him to subdue, at finding himself compelled to differ, for the first time in his life, from his right honorable friend," boldly attacked the ministry. "Subscribing, therefore," he said in conclusion, "to the truth of every allegation contained in the resolutions to which he had referred, he could have no hesitation in giving a hearty assent to the resolution which asserts that by these instances of misconduct the ministers had proved themselves unworthy of the confidence of Parliament, and incapable of administering the public affairs to advantage at a crisis of such difficulty and danger." In order to give even greater point to his vote, he added, "with all the solemnity which he felt to belong to such a declaration, that he did not think the country safe while the administration of its affairs was suffered to continue in such hands." The question being then put on Mr. Pitt's motion, only fifty-six members voted in favor of it and three hundred and thirty-three against it. Mr. Pitt and some of his friends immediately left the House, and the question then reverted to Mr. Patten's resolutions, the first of which was negatived. When the question was put on the second resolution, Mr. Fox rose and said, that "he should not vote for the resolution, though it was impossible for him to approve of the conduct of ministers, because he did not know but that the successors of the present ministry might be more objectionable to him than they were." He accordingly withdrew, with several of his supporters, without dividing. On a division, the resolution was lost by a vote of two hundred and seventy-five against thirty-four, — Mr. Canning being one of the tellers for the minority. Two of the remaining resolutions were likewise negatived, and the fifth was withdrawn.

The ministry had triumphed; but their victory had shown that they were able to hold office only through the divisions and jealousies of their opponents. Of this source of strength they were soon deprived. Early in the following year a junction was formed between Fox and the Grenvilles, who now united in a systematic opposition to the ministry. The new Opposition speedily commenced a series of attacks on the gov-

ernment, in several of which they were aided by Pitt; and so successful were they, that, at the close of April, Addington, finding his majorities rapidly diminishing, determined to resign. Pitt was intrusted with the duty of forming an administration, and at once proposed a ministry on a broad basis, so as to include Fox and the Grenvilles. To this plan George III. objected, peremptorily refusing to admit Fox to a seat in the Cabinet. The consequence was, that the friends of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville refused to join the proposed administration. Their refusal embarrassed Mr. Pitt; but he finally succeeded in forming a Cabinet of twelve members, including six of the late ministers. The principal members of the new government were Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Eldon, Chancellor; the Duke of Portland, President of the Council; Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary for the Home Department; Lord Harrowby, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Control. Canning had declined a place in the Cabinet, and was accordingly made Treasurer of the Navy.

In this capacity he took a leading part in the defence of his predecessor, Lord Melville, when articles of impeachment were brought against that wily Scot for embezzlement and official corruption, and at the same time justified some of his own acts which had been called in question. But he was less successful in defending Melville than in vindicating himself. "You don't meet with a single person in any company whatever," says Horner in a letter to Sir James Mackintosh, "who pretends to deny, or will suffer you to doubt, that Lord Melville has participated in the peculations of his subordinate. The cry is loud against placemen and Scotsmen." Under these circumstances, even Canning's ingenious and weighty arguments were not likely to produce much effect. Whitbread's resolutions, condemning the conduct of Lord Melville, were carried by the casting vote of the Speaker; and a few days afterward the unfortunate peer resigned his seat at the Admiralty Board, and his name was erased from the list of the Privy Council. The final result was the acquittal of Lord Melville; but the proceedings against him seriously weakened

the ministry. "We can get over Austerlitz," said Pitt, in reference to this subject not long before his death, "but we can never get over the Tenth Report." Every one saw the feebleness of the administration; yet no attempt was made to strengthen it, and on the death of Mr. Pitt, in January, 1806, it ceased to exist.

After some fruitless negotiations, with a view to the reconstruction of the Cabinet, the king authorized Lord Grenville to form a new ministry on a broad basis. His Lordship at once undertook the task, and with little difficulty constructed an administration which included most of the prominent statesmen, and which is commonly spoken of under the name of "All the Talents." Lord Grenville was First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Henry Petty, now Marquis of Lansdowne, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Fox, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Earl Spencer, Secretary for the Home Department; Windham, Secretary for War and the Colonies; Grey, then known as Lord Howick, First Lord of the Admiralty; Erskine, Chancellor; and even Addington, who had recently been created Lord Sidmouth, was admitted into the Cabinet as Privy Seal. The ministry was certainly very strong in ability; but it contained numerous elements of discord, and offered to the late ministers at least one vulnerable point of attack. In perfecting their arrangements the new Coalition had given to Lord Ellenborough, at that time Chief Justice of the King's Bench, a seat in the Cabinet without office. To such an arrangement there were obvious objections, since his Lordship might be required to try prosecutions as a judge which he had previously recommended as a minister. This incongruity does not seem, however, to have attracted the notice of the ministers; but it did not escape the watchful eyes of the Opposition. As soon as the appointments were announced, notices of motions in reference to the subject were given in both Houses of Parliament, and much indignation and alarm were expressed out of Parliament. In the discussions which followed, Mr. Canning, whose weight in the House of Commons had been much increased by the death of Mr. Pitt, made a very effective argument against the appointment. Nevertheless, the proposed censure was negatived in the Commons by a large majority,

and in the Lords without a division, though, as Lord Campbell well observes in his Lives of the Chief Justices, "the argument was all on the losing side." Canning also very strongly opposed Mr. Windham's celebrated Limited Service Bill and the annual Mutiny Bill; and it has been justly remarked, that he was even more violent in opposition to "All the Talents," than he had been in his attacks on the Addington ministry. His speeches were frequent, and he carried into the debates the same spirit of unrelenting bitterness which he had previously exhibited in the Anti-Jacobin.

The attacks on the appointment of Lord Ellenborough doubtless weakened the ministry; but it soon afterward received a severer blow in the death of Mr. Fox, which occurred on the 13th of September, 1806,—a little more than seven months after the new ministers had taken office. In the reconstruction of the Cabinet, rendered necessary by this event, Lord Howick was transferred to the Foreign Department; Lord Holland was made Privy Seal, in place of Lord Sidmouth, who became President of the Council; Mr. Thomas Grenville was appointed to the Admiralty; and Mr. Tierney was made President of the Board of Control. The new arrangements, however, were of short duration. The Catholic Question and the intrigues of the Tories soon proved fatal to the government. Trusting too much in their own strength, and desirous of removing one blot at least from the statute-book, the ministers determined, with the consent of the king, to introduce a bill enabling his Majesty to grant military commissions to members of the Romish Church. Subsequently the king withdrew his consent to the measure, and the ministers accordingly yielded the point. But the bigoted mind of George III. was not satisfied with this concession. With characteristic obstinacy, he demanded of his responsible advisers, in addition to the withdrawal of the obnoxious bill, a written declaration that they would never bring the subject forward again, and that they would not propose any further measure for the relief of the Catholics. To this extraordinary demand they refused to accede, and, with a just sense of their own duty, they tendered their resignations, which were promptly accepted.

On the fall of the Grenville ministry the Tories immediately returned to power. In the new administration the Duke of Portland was First Lord of the Treasury; Spencer Perceval was Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the lead of the House of Commons; Lord Hawkesbury was Home Secretary; Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of War; and Lord Westmoreland, Privy Seal. Mr. Canning was made Foreign Secretary. His acceptance of office at this time, and in an administration thus constituted, subjected him to much obloquy, as it was generally thought that he had sacrificed his interest in the Catholic claims to the love of office. Sydney Smith in particular made him a special mark for the most merciless ridicule and satire in the Letters of Peter Plymley, attacking him, said the great wit, "not for the love of glory, but from the love of utility, as a burgomaster hunts a rat in a Dutch dyke, for fear it should flood a province." It does not, however, appear that Canning did in reality sacrifice the Catholic cause to personal ambition, or that he could have promoted the successful issue of the Catholic Question by declining to take office.*

Mr. Canning remained at the head of the Foreign Department for a little more than two years. During this period he was very actively engaged in negotiations for a more effectual prosecution of the war, and also with the American minister in reference to the affair of the Chesapeake, and other matters in dispute with this country. His diplomatic papers were written with very great ability, though they were sometimes disfigured by sarcastic expressions, unbecoming in the discussion of great questions of international policy, and little suited

* The ministerial changes formed the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, on a motion "that it was contrary to the first duties of the responsible ministers of the crown to give a pledge that they would not offer advice to his Majesty on any subject of national concern." But after a very animated discussion the motion was defeated by a vote of two hundred and twenty-six in favor to two hundred and fifty-eight against it. According to Sir Samuel Romilly, who gives an interesting account of the debate and division, "Canning, after the most fulsome adulation of the king, said that he had made up his mind, when the Catholic Bill was first mentioned, to vote for it if the king was for it, and against it if the king was against it." This was certainly an unfortunate declaration, and, if it were to be interpreted literally, it would imply a remarkable indifference to the subject, or a great want of moral principle; but we now know that Canning meant only that he would not endanger the king's mental health for the sake of the Catholic cause.

to conciliate. In Parliament he continued to be a frequent speaker, and, though he did not hold the position of leader, he was one of the chief exponents of the ministerial policy. The two most important occasions on which he spoke were in the debates on the expedition against Copenhagen, and the inquiry into the conduct of the Duke of York, and on both occasions he spoke at length and with uncommon ability. He also took part in the discussions on the Roman Catholic petition in May, 1808, on the affairs of Spain, on the state of the empire, and other questions of temporary importance. In the debates on the Copenhagen expedition, he took very high ground, stoutly contending that the necessity of the case fully justified the course adopted by the ministry, but utterly refusing to name the source whence they had obtained their information. It must, however, be admitted by every impartial student of history, that no argument can justify so gross a violation of the rights of a neutral nation, that it left an indelible stain on the British name, and that Mr. Canning's connection with it forms one of the least justifiable acts in his public life.

Toward the close of 1809 an event occurred which led to Mr. Canning's resignation, and also produced other important changes in the Cabinet. He had for some time entertained the opinion that a change in the War Department would be advantageous to the public interests; and this opinion was communicated to the premier early in the spring. At the same time Mr. Canning tendered his own resignation as the alternative if the proposed change should not be effected. After some delay, the propriety of a change was acquiesced in by the head of the government, and from time to time various arrangements were proposed for carrying it into effect, either by the appointment of Lord Wellesley as successor to Lord Castlereagh, or by the transfer of the political correspondence of the War Department to the Foreign Office. But no intimation that any change in the business of his office had been contemplated was conveyed to Lord Castlereagh for several months, though it was well known to the other members of the government, and Mr. Canning had frequently expressed a desire that he should be informed of it. As the natural result of this concealment, his Lordship was greatly exasper-

ated when he first learned what had transpired. He at once addressed a note to Mr. Canning in reference to the subject. "I have no right, as a public man," he said, "to resent your demanding, upon public grounds, my removal from the particular office I have held, or even from the administration, as a condition of your continuing a member of the government; but I have a distinct right to expect that a proposition justifiable in itself shall not be executed in an unjustifiable manner, and at the expense of my honor and reputation." In reply to this demand Canning contented himself with denying the correctness of his Lordship's inference, without offering any explanation; and a hostile meeting was accordingly arranged. It took place on Putney Heath on the 21st of September; and on the second fire, Canning received a slight wound in the thigh. But within three weeks he was sufficiently recovered to attend the king's levee and resign his office. He was followed into retirement by his personal friends, Huskisson and Sturges Bourne. Lord Castlereagh also resigned about the same time; and before the close of the year the death of the Duke of Portland put an end to the administration.

From a careful consideration of the published documents relative to this famous duel, it is clear that neither party can escape grave censure. It is true that the practice of settling private disputes by an appeal to arms was not as severely condemned by public sentiment then as it now is. Yet it was generally considered that Lord Castlereagh's conduct was rash and inconsiderate, and that, so far as Mr. Canning was concerned, there was no sufficient ground for the duel. Lord Castlereagh had indeed been shamefully treated, but for this treatment Mr. Canning was not responsible. He had constantly urged on the premier the importance of a frank and manly dealing with his colleague, and had himself adopted that course through the early stages of the transaction. But, as Sir Samuel Romilly well remarks, "if Lord Castlereagh's sending the challenge was reprehensible, the manner in which it was accepted by Mr. Canning was, if possible, still more deserving of censure." The proper line of conduct for him to pursue was perfectly obvious. Lord Castlereagh's challenge was founded on a mistake, which it was easy to correct with-

out any sacrifice of personal honor, or any breach of public or private confidence. Mr. Canning did not adopt this straightforward course. On the contrary, he wrote to Lord Castlereagh that his Lordship had totally misconceived his conduct, but that he would not set him right; and he eagerly accepted the challenge. Nothing could have been more irritating, or more repugnant to every sentiment of justice, than such a reply; and there is scarcely a recorded instance in the annals of private warfare which does not admit of palliation more readily than does this duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning.

The death of the Duke of Portland and the resignation of the rival ministers rendered other changes necessary in the construction of the government. Spencer Perceval succeeded to the premiership by the king's command, and at once sought to strengthen the ministry by enlarging its basis. Overtures were accordingly made to Lords Grey and Grenville with a view of procuring their co-operation; but both of those eminent men refused to coalesce with statesmen whose principles and policy they condemned, and by whom they felt that they had been ill used in 1807. In consequence of their refusal to take office, nothing remained but to fill up the ministry from the friends of Lord Sidmouth, or to bring forward a sufficient number of new men to enable the government to go on with as few changes as possible. The latter alternative was adopted. Mr. Perceval retained the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and also became First Lord of the Treasury. Canning's place was filled, to the surprise of every one, by his friend, Lord Wellesley. Lord Hawkesbury was transferred to the War Department, and was succeeded in the Home Department by Mr. Richard Ryder. To the new ministry Canning gave a qualified support, though he did not take a very active part in the discussions in Parliament.*

His first speech of much importance after his retirement from office was delivered in March, 1810, in the adjourned debate on Lord Porchester's resolutions condemnatory of the

* In the establishment of the Quarterly Review he took a warm interest. He contributed to it a review of Gifford's Life of Pitt; and he also wrote a part or the whole of some other papers. As might have been anticipated, his articles had all the brilliancy of his speeches, and they were among the most noticeable papers of their kind.

expedition to the Scheldt. In this speech he ably and zealously defended the propriety of this disastrous expedition, contending, "that, in advising that measure, his Majesty's ministers were actuated by a just sense of their public duty; that they proceeded upon motives and principles, such as, if I were not myself a party concerned in the transaction, I should not scruple to assert entitled them to the approbation of their country; and such as they may confidently recommend to whoever may be hereafter their successors in office." The result was the defeat of Lord Porchester's resolutions, and the adoption of a counter resolution approving the conduct of the ministers. In the following June he again came forward to the support of the government in a long and masterly speech on the third reading of the Vote of Credit Bill, in the course of which he ably discussed the condition of Europe, and of Spain in particular, strenuously urging the most energetic prosecution of the war in the Peninsula.

In the latter part of the same year the king had another and severer attack of the malady by which so much of his life was clouded, and the question of the Regency once more became the subject of animated discussions. In these debates Mr. Canning took a conspicuous part, and on the last day of the year he delivered a very long and elaborate speech on the Regency Resolutions moved by Mr. Perceval. Canning's position in regard to this subject was one of considerable difficulty and embarrassment. As a disciple of Mr. Pitt, he could not consistently deny the right of Parliament to impose such restrictions on the Regent as they might deem proper. But having determined, in view of the existing condition of the country, and perhaps with an eye to his own political prospects, to oppose restrictions in the present instance, he was compelled to ground his opposition to them entirely on reasons of expediency. At the same time he was obliged to acknowledge the validity of the precedent established under Mr. Pitt's administration, and to prove his own consistency. His opposition, however, was fruitless, and the proposed restrictions were enacted for a period of one year. At the end of that time it was evident that no amendment in the king's condition was to be expected, and the restrictions were not renewed.

The next important subject which engaged Mr. Canning's attention in Parliament was the Report of the Bullion Committee, submitted by Mr. Horner in 1811. The principal speech which Mr. Canning delivered in these discussions is commonly regarded as one of his ablest productions, and as embodying nearly everything since urged on the side of the question advocated by him. Nothing, indeed, can be more luminous than his statement of the principles of the Bullionists, or more persuasive than his manner of recommending them. It is a curious circumstance, however, that while he supported the first fifteen resolutions moved by Mr. Horner, which contained a statement of the laws relative to the value of gold and silver coin, the convertibility of the notes of the Bank of England, and the actual condition of the currency, he opposed the sixteenth resolution, which was a logical deduction from the preceding statement, and provided for an early resumption of cash payments by the Bank. All the resolutions, however, were rejected, and a few days later Mr. Vansittart brought forward a series of seventeen counter resolutions. These were opposed by Mr. Canning in another powerful speech; but they were passed by a considerable majority.

Early in the following year the administration of Mr. Perceval was brought to an end by the assassination of the premier in the lobby of the House of Commons; and overtures were at once made to Mr. Canning and Lord Wellesley, who had resigned some time previously, to join the ministry. This invitation was refused by both, from an unwillingness to form part of an administration constructed on the basis of resistance to the Catholic claims. Upon the failure of these negotiations various unsuccessful attempts were made to form an administration on a broader basis, and several communications passed between Lords Wellesley and Moira, who were successively empowered to conduct the negotiations, and Lords Grey and Grenville. It is now known that the failure of the negotiations with the Whig Lords was owing to the treachery of Sheridan, whose conduct even his biographer, Thomas Moore, says, "admits of no vindication." Throughout these transactions Canning's course was upright and consistent. Though anxious, as he said in a speech thirteen years later, to take office

at a time when he could "reap the fruits of the harvest which he had sown under the lowering atmosphere of distrust and discouragement, and the early and ungenial growth of which he had watched with such intense anxiety," he declined to sacrifice the interests of the Catholic cause even to this desired object. Rather than join an administration formed on the basis of united and systematic opposition to Catholic Emancipation, he relinquished for an indefinite period all hope of resuming an official position, — a position much more valuable in his eyes than in those of most men. Nor was this all. "To represent the University in which I was educated," he once said, "formed the first visions of my youthful ambition. Before that object all others vanished into comparative insignificance. It was desirable to me, beyond all the blandishments of power, beyond all the rewards and favors of the crown." This coveted honor also he sacrificed to his convictions of duty.

Every attempt to enlarge the basis of the ministry having thus failed, the old expedient of filling up the vacancies with men of inferior ability was again attempted. Lord Liverpool was made First Lord of the Treasury; Mr. Vansittart was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Sidmouth tried a new office as Secretary for the Home Department; Lord Bathurst became Secretary of War and the Colonies; and Lord Castlereagh, as Foreign Secretary, had the lead of the House of Commons. At the general election in the following October, Mr. Canning was invited to become one of the candidates for the representation of Liverpool, and after an animated contest was chosen over Mr. Brougham by a large majority. Among his principal speeches in the first session of the new Parliament were those on the war with the United States, on the Catholic claims, and on the vote of thanks to the Marquis of Wellington. With the exception of a few remarks on some topics connected with the war, these were the last speeches which he delivered in Parliament for nearly four years; and during a considerable part of the time he was out of the country.*

* In the summer of 1813, Mr. Canning took the unusual step of formally dis-

In the summer of 1814 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the court of Lisbon to receive the Portuguese royal family on their anticipated return from Brazil. The acceptance of this mission subjected Mr. Canning to much undeserved obloquy, and it was doubtless, as he afterward declared, a political blunder; but there can be no doubt that his motives were pure. He remained abroad nearly two years, having resigned his appointment some months before his return. Early in June, 1816, he joined the ministry as President of the Board of Control, and in the same month he was re-elected as one of the members for Liverpool. His assumption of office was the signal for a renewal of the attacks on his appointment as Ambassador to Lisbon, and in the early part of 1817 the whole subject underwent a Parliamentary discussion. On the 6th of May in that year, Mr. Lambton, afterward Lord Durham, brought forward a series of resolutions condemning the appointment as uncalled for, and as "attended with an unnecessary and unjustifiable waste of the public money." These resolutions he supported in an elaborate speech, asserting that "the mission to Lisbon was undertaken with no prospect of advantage to the interests of this country in its political or commercial relations, but with a view solely to the political, and, he might almost say, commercial advantage of the ministers themselves," and that "the plain and almost avowed purpose of the mission was to procure a place for the right honorable gentleman." In reply to this attack Mr. Canning delivered a masterly speech, which satisfactorily refuted all the charges brought against his personal integrity, though it was still evident that he had been very indiscreet in accepting the appointment.

During the next three years he was a frequent speaker in the House of Commons, though Lord Castlereagh continued to

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banding his party, but for what purpose it is very difficult to determine. "A singular political event," says Mr. Horner in a letter to Lord Grenville, dated July 22, 1813, "and one not very intelligible, was announced last night; that Canning has formally, and with some solemnity, disbanded his party; telling the gentlemen who have been his supporters during the session, that they may for the future consider themselves as unengaged; and that he is no longer to be regarded as their head. Ward says they are all turned adrift upon the wide world."

be the ministerial leader. In July, 1817, he opposed at considerable length Brougham's motion for an address relative to the state of the nation; and in the following year his most important speech was in support of the Indemnity Bill, brought forward for the protection of those persons "who, since the 26th of January, 1817, had acted in apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody persons suspected of high treason or treasonable practices, and in the suppression of tumultuous and unlawful assemblies." This speech is chiefly remarkable as containing the celebrated allusion to "the revered and ruptured Ogden," — an expression in reference to which there was much controversy at the time, and which afforded a favorite ground of attack on Mr. Canning. In the session of 1819 he brought forward a motion for a vote of thanks to Lord Hastings and the Indian army, which he supported in an ingenious and carefully considered speech, well suited to disarm opposition; and he also strenuously opposed Tierney's motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation, and spoke in reply to Sir James Mackintosh on the bill to prevent enlistments in England for military service under foreign pay, and in favor of the bill relative to Stamp Duties on newspapers and small pamphlets. Indeed, through the whole of this period he was one of the most active and influential champions of the ministerial policy; and he associated his own name with all the oppressive measures which rendered the Liverpool ministry hateful in the eyes of the people. But, fortunately, about this time a series of events occurred which separated him from his colleagues, and gave him opportunity to review and modify his opinions in regard to many of the leading questions of the day.

On the 29th of January, 1820, George III. died, and was succeeded by the Prince Regent. Considered merely in its political aspects, this was not an event of much significance, since no one anticipated any change of men or measures in consequence of the demise of the king. No surprise, therefore, was felt at the reappointment of the ministers. But the death of the king opened anew some painful questions, which very seriously affected Mr. Canning's position and prospects, and for a time endangered the whole social fabric. The early

life of the Prince of Wales, now become George IV., had been stained by the grossest vices, and at the age of twenty-three he had married Mrs. Fitzherbert, a young widow of considerable personal attractions, and a member of the Romish Church. This marriage was invalid by the laws of England, and a few months after it was contracted its existence was denied in the House of Commons by Mr. Fox, on the authority of the Prince himself. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to establish the fact of the marriage; and it is believed that this previous marriage was one of the causes of the Prince's disinclination to contract a lawful alliance. Finally, however, he announced his determination to marry, and his selection of his cousin, the Princess Caroline of Brunswick. The new marriage was solemnized on the 8th of April, 1795; and it is matter of historical record, that the Prince, who had already taken a violent aversion to his bride, was in such a state of beastly intoxication that he could scarcely stand during the ceremony. The only fruit of this marriage was the Princess Charlotte, whose untimely death, in 1817, gave occasion for the delivery of one of the most splendid of Robert Hall's discourses.

Almost from the day of the marriage a virtual separation between the Prince and Princess had existed; and, in April, 1796, three months after the birth of the young princess, the rupture became open and avowed. From that time the Princess was closely watched by the minions of her husband; and occasionally aspersions were cast upon her character. At length these vague charges took form, and in May, 1806, a commission was appointed to examine into the truth of "certain written declarations touching the conduct of H. R. H. the Princess of Wales." The result of the inquiry was her entire acquittal from the principal charge. She still continued, however, to be the object of persecution; and in 1814, by the advice of Mr. Canning, who had always maintained friendly relations with her, she determined to leave England for the Continent. There she was living when she heard of the king's death, and the consequent accession of her husband. Upon receiving this intelligence, she decided to return and claim her rights as Queen of England. Her decision was at once made known to her friends.

In this condition of affairs his Majesty was extremely anxious to procure a divorce; and immediately after his accession he addressed a paper to the members of the Cabinet asking their advice in regard to the subject. In reply to the inquiry a Cabinet Minute was drawn up and presented to the king on the 10th of February, in which it was ably maintained that any attempt to procure a divorce would be inexpedient and probably unsuccessful; and with much adroitness it was suggested that the Princess of Wales would undoubtedly "offer to state, not only matter of recrimination, but every circumstance which she might be disposed or advised to represent as neglect or ill-usage, even from the time of her coming to this country." At the same time the ministers recommended the passage of a bill by Parliament granting to the Princess "an annuity, payable only during her continued residence abroad"; and they further expressed the opinion, that the king "would be fully justified in withholding from the Princess those distinctions which it is in your Majesty's option to confer upon her, in directing that she should not be named in the Liturgy, and in refusing to her the honor of coronation." This Minute appears to have expressed the unanimous opinion of the Cabinet; but it may be worth observing, that Mr. Canning indorsed on the copy retained by him a memorandum to the effect, that, while he entirely concurred in it as a whole, he could not have agreed to the omission of the Princess's name in the Liturgy, "if any *penal* process, of any kind whatever, had been in contemplation."

The advice in this document was by no means agreeable to his Majesty, and two days afterward he sent a spirited reply, probably drawn up by one of the members of his household, in which an attempt is made to refute the arguments of the ministers, and the proposed course of proceeding is altogether disapproved. This reply elicited from the ministers another elaborate and carefully drawn Cabinet Minute, repeating with increased clearness and precision their former arguments, and concluding with the declarations: "If your Majesty and the Princess were in the situation of private individuals, it may be assumed that a divorce could not possibly be obtained"; and "The proposition of a bill of divorce would, under all the

circumstances, produce public evils and inconveniences far overbalancing any public advantage which could be expected to be derived from that measure." After considering the new document for three days, his Majesty informed the Cabinet that the proposed plan was satisfactory to him, and that he was "ready, for the sake of public decorum and the public interest, to make this great and painful sacrifice of his personal feelings."

This decision was soon rendered nugatory by the determination of the Princess to return to England, and claim the position to which she deemed herself entitled. Her intention to adopt this course was known to her friends, as we have remarked, almost immediately after the king's death; but it was not until June that she arrived in London. No preparations had been made by the ministry to receive her, or to provide a residence for her. She accordingly took up her abode with Alderman Wood in the City. In the mean time the ministry determined to proceed against her in Parliament by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. In the justice and expediency of this measure Mr. Canning did not acquiesce; and he at once tendered his resignation. It was not accepted, but his Majesty authorized him, in case it should become necessary to assign any reason for remaining in the Cabinet, to state that he did so by the express command of the king. So great, however, was Mr. Canning's unwillingness to take part in the advocacy of a measure which he wholly condemned, that in August he went to Paris, and he remained abroad during the continuance of the proceedings. His private letters from the Continent, now printed by Mr. Stapleton for the first time, are full of interest, and show how closely he watched the course of affairs, and how anxious he was that his colleagues should get creditably out of the embarrassments in which they were involved.

When the bill was withdrawn by Lord Liverpool in consequence of the strenuous opposition which it had encountered, Mr. Canning returned to England. But the country had not yet subsided into its accustomed quiet; the subject was everywhere violently agitated; and it was anticipated that with the new session of Parliament the stormy discussions of this much-

vexed question would be at once resumed. Under these circumstances Mr. Canning felt that he could neither remain silent, nor absent himself from his place, without greatly embarrassing his colleagues; and on the 12th of December he again wrote to the king tendering his resignation. The next day the resignation was accepted, and Mr. Canning ceased to hold office on the appointment of his successor, Mr. Bragge Bathurst, Lord Sidmouth's brother-in-law.

Throughout these transactions Mr. Canning's course stands in honorable contrast with that of Lord Eldon and several of his colleagues, who had also been friends of the Princess in previous years. He probably thought that her conduct, if not actually culpable, was indiscreet, and unfitted her for the high station which she claimed; but he did not forget that he had formerly been her friend and adviser. His path was therefore beset with difficulties. On the one hand, he could not support the measures into which the ministry had been unfortunately led. On the other hand, he could not resign, go into Opposition, and espouse the cause of the Princess, without sacrificing many of his most cherished convictions. It is true that by withdrawing to the Continent he left to others a responsibility which he was unwilling to meet. But it is not easy to see what other course he could have adopted under the circumstances in which he was placed. By his visit to the Continent and his subsequent resignation he sufficiently indicated his disapprobation of any penal proceedings; and it is well known that it was not until long after these events that the king became reconciled with him.

He had held office for nearly five years, and during this period he had taken a very active part in Parliament in defence of the ministerial measures, and had shared largely in the unpopularity which these measures had excited. But his management of the affairs of his own department had been able and judicious, and had given general satisfaction. "The functions of the Board, over which you have presided for a period of nearly five years," say the Directors of the East India Company in a letter to Mr. Canning, dated December 22d, 1820, "have been exercised with so much candor and courtesy, as well as with such invariable attention to the interests

both of the public and the Company, that they have been almost entirely divested of the invidious character which must ever, in some degree, attach to a controlling Board." At a meeting of the Court of Proprietors a few months later, a resolution was unanimously passed, approving this action of the Court of Directors, and expressing a high admiration of Mr. Canning's talents and a deep sense of his valuable services.

Early in the same year, and before these public discussions had reached their greatest heat, Mr. Canning experienced a heavy domestic affliction in the death of his eldest son, a young man of nineteen, and of much promise. Canning gave expression to his sorrow in an epitaph which has been much admired, and which describes the boy as being

> "In youth, with more than learning's wisdom, wise!
> As sainted martyrs, patient to endure!"

But the finest image in the piece is borrowed from Burke's "Letter to a Noble Lord."

> "By mortal sufferings now no more oppressed,
> Mount, sinless spirit, to thy destined rest!
> While I — reversed our nature's kindlier doom —
> Pour forth a father's sorrow on thy tomb."

Doubtless his grief at the loss of his son was among the causes of Canning's disinclination to participate in the Parliamentary discussions of this period. A part of the time he passed on the Continent with his family; and for nearly three years the only topics on which he spoke in the House of Commons were the Catholic Disabilities and Parliamentary Reform. In the spring of 1821 he warmly supported a bill for the removal of the Catholic Disabilities, which passed the House of Commons, but was lost in the House of Lords; and early in the following year he made a very admirable and cogent argument in favor of allowing the Roman Catholic peers to sit in Parliament. In the same month he opposed at great length, but with inferior ability, Lord John Russell's motion declaratory of the necessity of a reform in the representative system.

About this time Mr. Canning appears to have been considerably depressed, and to have felt that his political career was

nearly at an end; and it was probably under this feeling that he accepted, in the early part of 1822, the appointment of Governor-General of India, tendered him by the East India Company. Certainly it would be difficult on any other hypothesis to account for his willingness to forego all hopes of personal advancement, and to accept a voluntary banishment to the most remote part of the British empire. Having determined, however, to accept the appointment, he paid a farewell visit to Liverpool, where he was received with every mark of attention, and made several speeches which attracted much notice. Two passages in particular were well suited to excite comment, from the fact that his name had been frequently mentioned in connection with the vacancy in the Cabinet created by the recent death of Lord Castlereagh, at that time known as the Marquis of Londonderry. In his speech at the dinner given him by the Canning Club, after stating that many obvious circumstances would make it more agreeable to remain in England, he went on to declare that he held that "a public man is, unless he can show cause of honor or duty to the contrary, bound to accept a trust which he is selected as competent to administer for the public interest." One week later, in a speech at another public dinner, he made a more distinct reference to the popular rumors, declaring that he knew as little as any man who heard him "of any arrangements likely to grow out of the present state of things," and at the same time declining to enter into any explanation of the decision which he might think it proper to take if these rumors proved true. "This only, gentlemen, I can frankly declare to you," he added, "that, in any such case, my decision would be founded upon an honest and impartial view of public considerations alone, and that it would be determined, not by a calculation of interests, but by a balance and comparison of duties."

On the 8th of September Lord Liverpool proposed an interview with Mr. Canning, and three days later offered him the seals of the vacant Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs. After some hesitation on his own part, and a good deal of intriguing on the part of Lord Eldon and other ultra Tories, he finally accepted the appointment, and entered at once on the dis-

charge of his new duties. The period during which Mr. Canning held the management of the foreign affairs is the most honorable part of his public life, and one of the most glorious in recent English history. For the first time since the dismissal of the Grenville Ministry a wise and liberal policy presided over the foreign relations of the country; the unfortunate policy which had allied England with the despotic powers of the Continent was reversed; Greece and a New World were called into being; and England was placed in her true position abreast of the advancing tide of liberal principles. This momentous change was effected solely by the genius and the courage of Mr. Canning. With a wise forecast, he saw that the new era which had opened with the fall of Napoleon demanded a departure from the traditional maxims of Tory state craft; and he did not hesitate to take at once the needful steps to liberalize the whole course of England's foreign policy.

At the moment of Lord Londonderry's death, all the arrangements had been completed for holding the Congress of Verona, and his Lordship was to have represented England in it. Mr. Canning's first duty, therefore, was to adopt such measures as should produce a dissolution of the Holy Alliance, and release England from her unfortunate connection with the Continental sovereigns. With this view he selected the Duke of Wellington as the representative of England, and furnished him with instructions carefully defining and limiting the share which he was at liberty to take in the deliberations of the Congress. The first subject in regard to which the change in the policy of England was made evident, was the condition of affairs in Spain. Anticipating a demand on the part of France that the other great powers should join in an armed intervention for the settlement of the political difficulties in Spain, Mr. Canning, in his despatch of the 27th of September, instructed the Duke of Wellington to declare, that "to any interference by force or menace on the part of the allies against Spain, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party." The demand was subsequently made, and, acting in accordance with his instructions, the Duke then withdrew from the Congress. This step had an important effect on the representatives of the four Con-

tinental powers; and they decided at once not to address a joint note to the Spanish government, but to prepare separate notes in general accordance with one another. Shortly afterward the French army crossed the Bidassoa and entered Spanish territory.

Under these circumstances Mr. Canning determined not to involve England in a war, while he sought by other means to restore the balance of power. He "resolved that, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies," and that he would take measures for acknowledging the independence of such Spanish American Colonies as had successfully carried on the struggle with the mother country. Accordingly, in the summer of 1823, he endeavored to ascertain from Mr. Rush, then Minister to the Court of St. James, whether the government of the United States would make common cause with England in resisting any attempt on the part of the allied powers to effect the subjugation of the revolted Colonies. To this course Mr. Rush had no authority to accede, and he accordingly referred the matter to the government at Washington. But at the same time he proposed to Mr. Canning the immediate recognition of the independence of the Colonies, and a joint declaration on the part of Great Britain and the United States protesting against the ambitious designs of the Continental powers. Some further conferences took place, but without effecting any important result, as Mr. Canning was not prepared to adopt these measures; and it was not until July, 1824, that he fully committed himself to the recognition of the independence of Buenos Ayres. A similar decision followed in regard to Columbia and Mexico in December; and the divergence of policy from the line which England had hitherto pursued in concert with the other great powers became obvious to every one.

In the mean time, though he was so largely occupied in the management of the foreign policy, he was not unmindful of his Parliamentary duties as ministerial leader in the House of Commons. During the session of 1823 he twice spoke, with his accustomed eloquence and power, on the subject of the negotiations relative to Spain, and he also delivered a memo-

rable speech in opposition to the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Bill. A few weeks later he spoke on Sir Fowell Buxton's motion for the abolition of the slave-trade. Another subject which had often engaged the attention of Parliament, the Catholic claims, was again discussed in this session. It now, however, derived fresh interest from the general belief among his opponents that Canning had sacrificed Catholic Emancipation to his ambition, and that he ought to have insisted on making the concession of the Catholic claims a Cabinet measure. His failure to do so exposed him to much obloquy.

It was in one of the numerous conversations in the House of Commons which preceded the discussion of this subject, that the memorable altercation between Canning and Brougham occurred. In a previous debate Lord Folkstone had strongly condemned Canning's foreign policy, and had even accused him of "truckling to France." To this attack the Secretary replied the same evening, with great bitterness, declaring that "he would never truckle to the noble Lord." A few nights afterward Mr. Brougham made a fierce attack on Canning, intimating that he had obtained office by a compromise with Lord Eldon in reference to the Catholic Question, and adding, "Is it the right honorable gentleman then who talks of not truckling to my noble friend, — he who has himself exhibited the most incredible specimen of monstrous truckling for the purpose of obtaining office which the whole history of political tergiversation can furnish?" Mr. Therry, who was an eye-witness of the scene, says that "the sarcastic tone, the vehement gesture, the deep and disdainful denouncement expressed in the whole of Mr. Brougham's delivery of this passage of his speech," cannot be described. As the words fell from the speaker's lips, Canning's changing countenance showed that the arrow had reached its mark; and, hastily rising, he exclaimed, "Sir, that is false!" Brougham at once attempted to leave the House, but he was prevented from doing so by his friends. The Sergeant-at-Arms was then summoned, and a motion was made, but subsequently withdrawn, that the two offenders against the proprieties of debate should be taken into custody. Satisfactory explanations, however, were at length made, and the matter was suffered to drop. Still, the recol-

lection of it must have long rankled in the breasts of both parties.

In the following year, also, Canning was a very frequent speaker, taking a principal part in the debates on the Address in Answer to the King's Speech at the opening of the session, on the delays and expenses in the Court of Chancery, on the condition of the slave population in the West Indies, on the evacuation of Spain by the French, on the Alien Bill, and on the memorable case of Missionary Smith. At the same time he was much occupied with the affairs of Spain, the Spanish Colonies, and other important questions of international policy, in regard to all of which he developed large and liberal views. It was easy to see that henceforth the sympathies of England, so far as they could be expressed, would be on the side of constitutional liberty, rather than with the advocates of high monarchical principles. Though still a Tory, Mr. Canning had adopted with few modifications the traditional Whig policy in reference to foreign affairs. The consequence was, that a feeling of personal hostility to him was excited in some of the foreign courts; and there is reason to believe that they intrigued to procure his overthrow. In these movements Prince Metternich was the leader, — his crafty disposition finding congenial occupation in such schemes. We need not be surprised, therefore, that Canning entertained a very low opinion of the Austrian minister, and took little pains to disguise it. "You shall hear what I think of him," he writes in a letter to Lord Granville, under date of March 11, 1825, — "that he is the greatest r—— and l—— on the Continent, perhaps in the civilized world." And in various other letters there are indications or explicit avowals of the same hostile feelings. But these intrigues had little effect. Canning's policy was too well sustained by public sentiment to render his removal expedient, or even safe; and early in 1825, while he was confined to his bed by a severe attack of the gout, Sir William Knighton, who held a confidential position in the royal household, sought an interview with him, in the course of which Sir William stated that the new foreign policy was approved by the king. Canning, as we learn from the papers printed by Mr. Stapleton, could not understand the precise

object of this visit, and we have no additional documents to throw light on the subject; but it is certain that from this time Mr. Canning was more firmly established than ever in his position, and that his policy became still more vigorous and sharply defined.

The next two years were crowded with important events, and form one of the busiest and most anxious portions of Mr. Canning's life; but we must pass rapidly over this eventful period. In 1825 occurred one of those terrible financial crises which occasionally overwhelm the commercial world, bringing to naught the most promising enterprises, and spreading failure and distress over a whole country. A period of unnatural expansion had given place to a period of almost unexampled depression. "The most wild and incoherent schemes," said Canning in the House of Commons in February, 1826, "were started, — projects which sprang with the dawn and expired before the setting of the sun in whose beams they glittered for a few hours and then fell: a puff of vapor sent them soaring toward the skies; the puncture of a pin brought them to the earth." Large amounts of the precious metals had been exported, and the loss of gold and silver had been supplied by the issue of paper; joint-stock companies of every description were formed; the imports swelled to an alarming amount; and in every kind of business speculation was rife. At length the day of reckoning came; many of the country banks failed; the paper currency depreciated; the joint-stock companies disappeared from public notice, or were mentioned only as stupendous frauds; almost every kind of merchandise declined in value; and business nearly ceased. Under these circumstances it was natural that questions affecting trade and commerce should occupy much of the attention of Parliament; and it was at this time that Mr. Huskisson brought forward some of his most important measures for relaxing the commercial system. Though Mr. Canning had little familiarity with commercial subjects, he warmly supported his friend's measures; and among his most admired speeches is one on the subject of the silk trade. He also spoke on the Bank Charter Act, the Corn Laws, and other kindred topics.

Nor were these the only subjects which engaged his attention. The condition of Ireland, the Catholic Question, and the state of slavery in the West Indies, were all brought under discussion, and in regard to all Mr. Canning spoke freely and at length. But all these Parliamentary efforts dwindle into insignificance when compared with his two speeches delivered on the 12th of December, 1826, on the occasion of bringing down the king's message relative to the affairs of Portugal. Portugal was one of the oldest and most cherished allies of England, and by several existing treaties England was required to furnish assistance to her in the event of an invasion of her territory by France or Spain. In the latter part of 1826 this assistance was sought, on the ground of an invasion by bands of Portuguese rebels, armed, equipped, and trained in Spain. The result of this application was stated by Mr. Canning in the first of his two speeches with admirable clearness and force.

"On Sunday, the 3d of this month," he said, "we received from the Portuguese Ambassador a direct and formal demand of assistance against a hostile aggression from Spain. Our answer was, that, although rumors had reached us through France, his Majesty's government had not that accurate information — that official and precise intelligence of facts — on which they could properly found an application to Parliament. It was only on last Friday night that this precise information arrived. On Saturday his Majesty's confidential servants came to a decision. On Sunday that decision received the sanction of his Majesty. On Monday it was communicated to both Houses of Parliament; and this day, sir, [Tuesday,] at the hour in which I have the honor of addressing you, the troops are on their march for embarkation."

The same manly tone pervaded the whole of both speeches, and awakened a nearly unanimous response. The argument by which Mr. Canning justified his action was singularly clear, compact, and eloquent; and on no other occasion was his reasoning more persuasive, or his language more impassioned. The effect was such as might have been anticipated.

"Never," says Mr. Stapleton, who was an eyewitness, "were an assembly of men warmed into a higher pitch of enthusiasm than were the members of the House of Commons when they broke up on that

memorable night. He positively electrified his audience when he uttered those striking words, 'I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.' The whole House were moved as if an electric shock had passed through them; they all rose for a moment to look at him."

Certainly no English statesman had ever occupied a nobler position, or uttered a prouder boast. Even the elder Pitt, when organizing victory over half the world, and the greatest of his predecessors in their hours of mightiest influence, could point to no word or act of more impressive significance. Canning himself felt justly proud of the popularity which this memorable speech gave him.

"If I know anything of the House of Commons from thirty-three years' experience," he says in a letter to Lord Granville, dated December 14, 1826, "or if I may trust to what reaches me in report of feelings out of doors, the declaration of the obvious but unsuspected truth, that 'I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old,' has been more grateful to English ears and to English feelings, ten thousand times, than would have been the most satisfactory announcement of the intention of the French government to withdraw its army from Spain."

We need only add, that this speech and the vigorous measures adopted by Mr. Canning produced the desired result. The dignity of England was vindicated; the incursions from Spain ceased; and the independence of Portugal was secured. So completely were the objects of the expedition accomplished, that within a year and a half the British troops returned to England without having fired a gun.

This was the last great measure that Mr. Canning planned as Foreign Secretary. Early in February, 1827, Lord Liverpool was prostrated by a severe paralytic shock, which rendered him incapable of any kind of mental exercise, and even of resigning his office. Under these circumstances the government remained without a head for six weeks, until his Lordship was in a condition to tender his resignation. It was at once accepted; and on the 27th of March Mr. Canning had a long interview with the king relative to the formation of a new ministry. In the course of this interview Mr. Canning announced his determination not to hold the second

place in any other administration, and recommended to his Majesty the formation of a Cabinet which should offer a united opposition to the Catholic claims, at the same time tendering his own resignation. We are not aware that the sincerity of this advice has been often called in question; but in the existing condition of affairs it was strangely inconsistent, and the only intelligible explanation is, that Mr. Canning was firmly persuaded in his own mind that such a ministry could not last. In the event of its overthrow, he probably felt that he should be recalled to power under circumstances which would give him increased strength in Parliament and the country. This explanation doubtless detracts much from the magnanimity of his advice; but there is nothing in his life or speeches which renders it improbable that he should adopt such a policy. No immediate result flowed from this interview; and various plans were discussed with a view of avoiding the difficulties growing out of the Catholic Question. At length, on the 10th of April, Mr. Canning was empowered to draw up the plan of an administration, and two days later it was announced in the House of Commons that he had accepted the appointment of First Lord of the Treasury. His acceptance of office was accompanied by the resignation of Mr. Peel, who had very frankly told Mr. Canning that their want of agreement on the subject of the Catholic claims would compel him to retire if Mr. Canning were made prime minister. At the same time five other Cabinet ministers, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, Lord Westmoreland, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Melville, threw up their offices, with the apparent design of embarrassing the new premier. This scheme, however, failed, and after some fruitless negotiations a new government was formed. Mr. Canning united in his own person the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Copley, who, as Lord Campbell sarcastically remarks, was "still in dreadful apprehension of the Pope," was raised to the Chancellorship and created Lord Lyndhurst. Lord Harrowby retained his former office as President of the Council; the Duke of Portland became Privy Seal, in place of the Earl of Westmoreland; Lord Dudley succeeded Mr. Canning in the Foreign Office; Sturges Bourne took Mr. Peel's place

as Home Secretary; Mr. Robinson, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, was called to the Upper House as Viscount Goderich, and made Colonial Secretary; Mr. Huskisson as President of the Board of Trade, and Charles Winn as President of the Board of Control, retained their places; and Lord Palmerston was raised to the rank of a Cabinet minister, though he still remained Secretary at War.

During the progress of these changes Parliament was not in session; but it met again on the 1st of May. At the hour of meeting on that day every avenue to the House of Commons swarmed with spectators, anxious to see the new premier. "The House," says Hansard, "was crowded to excess, and such of the members as could not find accommodation below resorted to the galleries. To these were added several peers and reverend prelates whose curiosity had induced them to be present at this opening act of the new administration." Prominent among them was the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, the hereditary Earl Marshal of England, and head of the British peerage. On the ministerial benches were Mr. Brougham, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Stanley, Sir Robert Wilson, and other prominent Whigs, who thus indicated their intention to support the new minister, while the late ministers and their adherents generally passed to the left of the Speaker. As soon as the House proceeded to business Mr. Peel rose and made a manly statement of the reasons which had influenced his recent conduct. This speech opened the whole subject of the late changes; and among the members who participated in the debate were Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Brougham, both of whom avowed their intention to support the government, Mr. George Dawson, who attacked the new minister with much asperity, and Mr. Canning himself. His speech on this occasion was not long, but it comprised a very clear narrative of the recent transactions, and an able vindication of his own course. From this time until Parliament was prorogued, on the 2d of July, Mr. Canning lived in an atmosphere of unwonted excitement, and with all his powers taxed to their utmost limits. "My occupations for the twenty-four hours," he wrote to Mr. Gladstone on the 28th of May, "are and have been for the last two months more

almost than either the compass of that time or my physical strength is adequate to." Constantly worried as he was by teasing attacks from the adherents of the late ministers, and overwhelmed by official cares, his health and strength rapidly declined. Yet he was still active and energetic, and between the 27th of March and the close of the session he spoke more than thirty times. Several of these speeches were of considerable length, and bore the marks of careful preparation.

The attacks on the ministers were not, however, confined to the House of Commons; and by far the most effective speech against them was that delivered by Earl Grey in the House of Lords on the 10th of May. Doubtless his Lordship was unjust to the new premier in several respects, yet no one is competent to form a just estimate of the character and services of Mr. Canning who is not familiar with this masterly exposition of the grounds on which the great Whig Earl withheld his confidence from the new government. Beginning with an expression of his pain at being compelled to separate from those friends with whom he had acted throughout the whole of his political life, and for whom he still entertained the most sincere and ardent affection, his Lordship took occasion at the very outset to declare his want of sympathy with the late ministers. "On the contrary," he said, "if there be any persons in this House to whom my principles are more decidedly opposed than to any other, they are those whom I have lately heard professing themselves to be the Opposition to the government. Not only do my principles prevent me from wishing to do anything, but they will induce me not to do anything, that may promote their return to power." He then proceeded to state and explain his first reason for distrusting the new ministers, — that he did not see in the persons composing the administration, or in the principles on which it was formed, anything to justify a belief that the Catholic cause would advance a single step in consequence of the recent change. "I therefore, my Lords," he declared, "find myself placed in a situation which makes it quite impossible for me, feeling a sense of public duty, recollecting what I did in the year 1807, recollecting what I did in the year 1809, and recollecting what I wrote and what I signed in the

year 1812,—I say, which makes it quite impossible for me, without violating every pledge and promise I have given, without breaking every undertaking I have made, without being guilty of the greatest inconsistency, to join in a general declaration of support to an administration such as that which is at present formed." He then passed to a consideration of Mr. Canning's foreign policy, ridiculing as "an idle and empty boast" the famous declaration respecting the Spanish Colonies, and declaring that neither in respect to Spain and Portugal, nor upon the general foreign policy of the country, could he feel any confidence in the right honorable gentleman's administration. Finally, he examined with great thoroughness and ability Mr. Canning's alleged advocacy of civil and religious liberty, asserting that, "If my recollection of the events of the last thirty years do not fail me, it will be found that there has not been an invasion of civil liberty during that time, of which the right honorable gentleman has not been the prominent supporter." The charge was undeniably true; but his Lordship failed to perceive that Mr. Canning's opinions had been undergoing a progressive change, and that he had been constantly drawing nearer to the opinions and principles from which Lord Grey himself had never swerved. The effect of this speech was very great; and more than any other speech it wounded Canning, whose excitable nature, made more sensitive by illness and exhausting labor, could ill sustain so severe an attack. He did not attempt to answer it at the time, and he never had another opportunity. Within three months, his lips were forever sealed by death.

Shortly after the close of the session he attended a Cabinet dinner at Lord Lyndhurst's, at Wimbledon. Here he caught a severe cold, which confined him to his bed for several days and seriously alarmed his friends, though few if any anticipated a fatal termination. On the 20th of July he removed to the villa of the Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick, in the hope that a change of air would prove beneficial. But even that pure atmosphere could not restore his wasted energies; and human aid was equally powerless. After fluctuating for a brief period, he died on the 8th of August, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His body was removed to London; and on

the 16th, attended by a long procession of political and personal friends, it was borne to its final resting-place in the north transept of Westminster Abbey. There, at the feet of the younger Pitt, were laid the mortal remains of the greatest of Pitt's disciples and followers.

The public sorrow at his death was testified by a suitable provision for his family by Parliament, and by the erection of two statues, one in bronze by Westmacott in New Palace Yard, and the other in marble by Chantrey in Westminster Abbey. His death at this time was, indeed, a great public calamity. He was in the full maturity of his powers; he was strong in the confidence of Parliament and the country; his principles had attained a liberality by which they had never before been characterized; a new and more glorious career seemed to be opening before him; and his ministry contained no one strong enough to carry forward the policy which he had inaugurated. "There is an end, I fear, for the present," wrote Jeffrey to Lord Cockburn, "of this new and bold experiment of a liberal or rational government, for Wellington and Peel, I think, must come back, and then where can we be but where we were before Liverpool's demise, or still further back in the blessed one of Castlereagh?" Nevertheless, after Canning's death a feeble attempt was made to reconstruct the Cabinet; but the master's hand was wanting. The ministry soon fell to pieces; and the Tories once more returned to power. Still, all was not lost. The tide of liberal principles had advanced too far to be resisted or rolled back; and a little more than three years after Canning's death, Lord Grey became prime minister.

Canning has often been pronounced by his admirers the greatest of modern English orators, and perhaps with justice. He had not indeed the exuberant imagination of Burke, the consummate skill as a debater which characterized Fox, the perfect self-command of Pitt, the brilliancy of Sheridan, the withering sarcasm of Brougham, or the lofty and sustained eloquence of Grey. But he had a command of the House of Commons which Burke never acquired; he exhibited a livelier imagination and a quicker fancy than Fox; his speeches were more carefully prepared, and were adorned by a more various

reading, than were those of Pitt; his judgment was more solid than Sheridan's; he was a more polished and graceful speaker than Brougham; and he possessed resources in his keen wit, his sharp invective, and his playful humor, which Grey rarely summoned to his aid, but of which Canning made frequent and effective use. His voice and manner were both good. "His expressive countenance," says Sir James Mackintosh, "varied with the changes of his eloquence; his voice, flexible and articulate, had as much compass as his mode of speaking required. In the calm part of his speeches his attitude and gesture might have been selected by a painter to represent grace rising towards dignity." On the hustings and in the House of Commons he was equally an impressive and persuasive speaker. Some of his finest and most memorable speeches were addressed to his constituents at Liverpool; and his best speeches in the House of Commons are models of Parliamentary eloquence, — clear, compact, and vigorous, yet even now charming the reader by their brilliancy and their polished diction. For some time after his entrance into Parliament he did not speak often, and his speeches, though able and brilliant, lacked some of the higher qualities of statesmanship and oratory, and were vitiated by a flippancy of tone from which he never wholly freed himself, and which in a measure justified Sydney Smith's description of him as "a pert London joker." It was only by slow degrees that he rose to the position he afterward attained, and became the acknowledged leader of the House of Commons.

His language was chaste and harmonious, and there is scarcely an instance in which he descended to the coarse and degrading images too often found in Burke's speeches. On the contrary, his metaphors and illustrations were almost invariably happy, and they were sometimes grand and striking, rivalling indeed the loftiest flights of Burke's imagination. Such was his memorable description of the effects of Wellington's victory at Vittoria.

"The mighty deluge," he exclaimed, "by which the Continent had been overwhelmed, began to subside. The limits of nations were again visible, and the spires and turrets of ancient establishments began to reappear above the subsiding waters. It was this victory which had defined these objects, so lately involved in overwhelming confusion."

A scarcely less daring metaphor occurs in a speech on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, in 1825, while discussing the objection that the Irish Catholics regarded their priests and their political leaders with a veneration bordering on idolatry.

"But fortunately," he said, "the cure of this crime (if it be one) is in our hands. Let us open to them the sanctuary of the law; let us lift up the veil which shuts them out from the British Constitution, and show them the spirit of freedom which dwells within, the object of our own veneration. Let us call them to partake in the same rites with which our purer worship is celebrated. Let us do this, and, depend upon it, we shall speedily wean them from their present political idolatry, and leave deserted the spurious shrines at which they now bow down before their Doyles and their O'Connells."

His wit, however, was his most obvious characteristic; but where nearly every speech affords numerous striking illustrations, it is not easy to make an adequate selection. A single instance, therefore, must suffice. Thus, in his speech on the state of the Silk Trade, he ridicules those who accused him of departing from the principles of Mr. Pitt.

"It is singular to remark," he said, "how ready some people are to admire in a great man the exception rather than the rule of his conduct. Such perverse worship is like the idolatry of barbarous nations, who can see the noonday splendor of the sun without emotion; but who, when he is in eclipse, come forward with hymns and cymbals to adore him. Thus there are those who venerate Mr. Pitt less in the brightness of his meridian glory, than under his partial obscurations, and who gaze on him with the fondest admiration when he has accidentally ceased to shine."

The same characteristic is apparent in many of his sarcastic allusions to his opponents, where one scarcely knows which is the more noticeable, the keenness of wit or the weight of sarcasm, as in his reply to Mr. Brougham in the debate on the King's Speech at the opening of the session in February, 1825. In his speech Mr. Brougham had claimed for the Whigs the credit of the various reforms recently adopted. To this claim Mr. Canning very happily retorted: —

"It does happen that the honorable and learned member being not unfrequently a speaker in this House, nor very concise in his speeches,

and touching occasionally, as he proceeds, on almost every subject within the range of his imagination, as well as making some observations on the matter in hand, and having at different periods proposed and supported every innovation of which the law or constitution of the country is susceptible, — it is impossible to innovate without appearing to borrow from him. Either, therefore, we must remain forever absolutely locked up as in a northern winter, or we must break our way out by some mode already suggested by the honorable and learned gentleman."

In the statement of great truths or just sentiments he was equally felicitous. Thus, in a debate on the Regency Resolutions in January, 1811, in which he thought the memory of Pitt had been unjustly assailed by the friends of Fox, he said: —

"Why should the admiration of one be incompatible with justice to the other? Why cannot we cherish the remembrance of the respective objects of our veneration, leaving to each other a similar freedom? For my part, I disclaim such a spirit of intolerance. Be it the boast and characteristic of the school of Pitt, that, however provoked by illiberal and unjust attacks upon his memory, whether in speeches in this House, or in calumnies out of it, they will never so far forget the respect due to him or to themselves as to be betrayed into reciprocal illiberality and injustice, — that they disdain to retaliate upon the memory of Mr. Pitt's great rival."

Again, in 1824, in a debate on the Alien Bill, when accused of subserviency to foreign powers, he emphatically declared, that, "dearly as he valued all the ties by which European nations were held together, there was not a connection that he would not sever at once, rather than allow any measure brought forward in that House to originate in a foreign source."

Though it is not easy to determine the exact nature and extent of Mr. Canning's influence in regard to all the great questions agitated while he held an important place in public affairs, yet the general direction of that influence may be readily discerned, and its importance may be accurately measured. Entering the arena, as he did, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, and at a time when liberal principles were in very ill repute, his whole life was a struggle to free himself from

the constraint of Tory traditions and prejudices. In this struggle he was so far successful as to liberate his mind from many of the narrow and illiberal notions which he had imbibed when he entered Parliament; and at the close of his life there were but few points of difference between himself and the Whigs. Under his guidance the domestic policy of his country was sundered from those bigoted maxims which he had himself upheld in earlier years. At the same time he inaugurated a very different foreign policy from that which Lord Castlereagh had adopted, and which had degraded England into a mere subservient ally of the despotic powers of the Continent. No man did more to enlarge the principles and to liberalize the measures of the Tory party. He first placed England in that path of enlightened progress which she has since pursued. It is true that the distinctive body of his personal adherents was not numerous; but it included some men of rare intellectual force and ability, and among them were Mr. Huskisson, Lord Palmerston, and Charles Grant, afterward Lord Glenelg. At the close of his career he had the support of nearly the whole body of the Whigs, and of most of the respectable journals throughout the country.

In regard, however, to two great questions, Mr. Canning never adopted a liberal policy. Through his whole life he was the unswerving opponent of nearly every measure of relief to the Dissenters, and of every attempt to reform the representative system. "Of popular representation," he said in his speech in the Music Hall, in Liverpool, in June, 1818, "I think we have enough for every purpose of jealous, steady, corrective, efficient control over the acts of that monarchical power, which, for the safety and for the peace of the community, is lodged in one sacred family, and descendible from sire to son." And in the last year of his life, after he had become prime minister, he stated his intentions in respect to these two questions in the most unequivocal language. "I am asked," he said in his place in Parliament, "what I mean to do on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. Why, I say, to oppose it, — to oppose it to the end of my life in this House, as hitherto I have done. I am asked what I intend to do respecting the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. My answer is,

to oppose it too." Yet notwithstanding this explicit declaration, we entertain little doubt that he would ultimately have adopted more liberal views in regard to both of these great questions. It is indeed no small blemish on Mr. Canning's reputation, that he should so pertinaciously have resisted the weight of argument opposed to him in reference to these subjects, and that he should have remained satisfied with such fallacies as are brought forward in his speech at Liverpool in opposition to Parliamentary Reform. With so vigorous an intellect, and with his increasing liberality of opinions, it is curious that he should have been willing to sacrifice the cause of the Dissenters for the chance of thereby promoting Catholic Emancipation, and that he should have prognosticated the downfall of monarchical institutions in England from the disfranchisement of Gatton and Old Sarum. His opposition retarded, though it could not prevent, the triumph of these measures; and his fame lacks the crowning glory which it would have derived from his successful advocacy of them.

Like many other persons of a quick and lively imagination, Canning was peculiarly sensitive, and keenly alive to ridicule. On the occasion of his marriage, it is related that he sent to the different newspapers, requesting them not to insert any squibs in reference to it. In temper he was quick and irritable; but he was of a magnanimous spirit, and when the first gust of anger had passed, he was ready to make reparation for any unintentional injury which he had committed, or to forgive any which he had received. His unfortunate duel with Lord Castlereagh, and his collision with Brougham in the House of Commons, are painful illustrations of the least amiable traits in his character. Yet he was a faithful friend, and above reproach in all his domestic relations. In early life he mingled much in society, and was one of its brightest ornaments; but in later years he withdrew almost entirely from it, and, according to Lord Brougham, the reputation which he long enjoyed as a diner-out of the first order rests on no solid basis. To be a great and influential statesman was the sole object of his ambition; and to the attainment of this object he devoted all his energies.

ART. VI. — 1. *Correspondence relative to the Earl of Elgin's Special Missions to China and Japan.* 1857. Presented to the House of Lords by Command of Her Majesty, 1859. London: Printed by Harrison and Sons. Folio. pp. 488.

2. *China. Being the Times' Special Correspondence from China in the Years* 1857–58, reprinted by Permission, with Corrections and Additions by the Author, GEORGE WINGROVE COOKE, Author of the History of Party, &c. London and New York: G. Routledge & Co. 1858. 12mo. pp. 457.

SCARCELY was the ink dry with which we traced words of encouragement to peaceful enterprise in China, and hope for internal tranquillity, when the news came to us of disgrace and disaster to Western arms, and of the beginning of a fresh conflict, the end of which no one can foresee. Never before has such provocation been given to the evil impulses of our civilized and Christianized nature, as at the forts of the Peiho, in June last. It is exasperated by a consciousness of mistake all round, — in statesmanship at home, if the instructions were peremptory, in diplomacy abroad, if discretion was unwisely exercised, and in the executive skill and tact of the parties. Nay, if we probe still deeper, there are memories of earlier errors, at least as far back as the preceding year, which do not assuage irritation. It will not make the British nation, or at least the British dominant politicians, less restless under disaster, to feel that the seed of trouble was planted long ago, and that a more gentle and tolerant policy would, in the end, have been better. Added to all these rather unworthy elements is the far higher one, which would stir the heart of any nation, — sympathy with the gallant sailors and soldiers, led, not driven, to slaughter, and perishing ingloriously under the fire of a despised foe. All these particulars combine to form a provocation by these Oriental heathens such as has never been given before, and in comparison with which the petty indignities — the burning of opium-chests and the penning up of a plenipotentiary in the Canton factories — which lighted up a war twenty years ago, are as nothing. Nay, further, such is the character of the blow the Chinese have struck, so deep

and ragged the wound they have inflicted on British pride, — for the French wrong was infinitesimal in comparison, — that it is hoping against hope to imagine that wisdom of counsel will so far prevail, in and out of Parliament, as to prevent this war. English statesmen watch the currents of popular sentiment as closely and shrewdly as do politicians on this side of the Atlantic, and are betrayed into as many inconsistencies; and we very much fear that the recollection of Lord Palmerston's popular triumph, in 1857, on a China question, is too fresh to permit the risk of another appeal of the same kind, and that at least some of the sympathy then so exuberant with the poor Chinese has dried up in the comfortable atmosphere of office. Parliament does not ordinarily assemble till February, by which time armaments will be on their way to the scene of offence, and the military arrangements will be matured; and though we doubt not the Tory Opposition, and the Manchester party, who can afford to be consistent, will force on a discussion of the whole China policy, we repeat it, we have but faint hope that what we consider a serious and pestilent mischief will be arrested. The civilized world will probably have to try to make the best of it, though the authors and helpers and abettors must ultimately be condemned by public opinion and in history. It will not be the first time that an unjust war, like cholera or famine, works out some good result; for in one, and the lowest sense, we may admit that it is not always "woe unto the world because of offences"; but we do not doubt that in these Oriental and semi-Oriental relations, — in Greece, in India, in Persia, and in China, — it will be "woe unto that man" or set of men "by whom the offence cometh." The controlling spirit directing England's foreign policy was the same in 1839, in 1850, in 1855, in 1857, and in 1859. Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary when the Opium War broke out; when the Piræus was blockaded; when the Outram armament, with its train of military suicides, assailed Persia; when Oude was annexed; when the Arrow outrage was avenged; and is now prime minister, when a new war against China is initiated.

Looking to the immediate future with little hopefulness, with anxiety lest our material interests may be endangered,

and with gratitude beyond the reach of words that no responsibility for what has happened, or is about to happen, rests on us or our representatives abroad, we consider it very important to resume the thread of the narrative begun in our last number, (and in such discussions the narrative form is the best,) having the new materials supplied by the Parliamentary publication of Lord Elgin's despatches and the clever work of Mr. Cooke, the Times' correspondent, — for, as we may have occasion to show, the revelations of the Times were often authoritative.

The Parliamentary discussion, the ministerial crisis, and the dissolution which followed in the spring of 1857, are in the recollection of our readers. The debate in both Houses was marked by great ability, and rather more than usual party asperity, the strongest, most earnest, and most vehement speakers against Lord Palmerston being some of his present colleagues.

"We have heard much," said Lord John Russell, now Foreign Minister, "of late, — a great deal too much, I think, — of the *prestige* of England. We used to hear of the character, of the reputation, and the honor of England. I trust the character, the reputation, the honor, are dear to us all; but if the prestige of England is to be separate from the character, the reputation, the honor, of the country, then I, for one, have no wish to maintain it."

"I am not anxious," said Mr. Sydney Herbert, now Secretary of War, "that we should go on piling up, year after year, fresh offences against the public opinion of Europe, until some day we may reap the consequence, to our detriment. I cannot stifle the feelings within me, when I read of these things at Canton. I see with the deepest sorrow force exercised with so little mercy, upon a pretext so transparent, — I will not say, so transparently fraudulent, — in a manner so destructive to the character of this country for truth, justice, faith, and mercy." — 144 *Hansard*, 1679.

"I believe," said Mr. Milner Gibson, now President of the Board of Trade, "that the cause of these foreign implications, in China and Persia, is to be traced to what has been well called the mischievous activity of the noble Lord at the head of the government." — *Ibid.* 1749.

But all this was nothing in comparison with Mr. Gladstone's denunciation.

"War," said he, "taken at the best, is a frightful scourge to the human race; but because it is so, the wisdom of ages has surrounded it with strict laws and usages, and has required formalities to be observed, which shall act as a curb upon the wild passions of man, to prevent that scourge from being let loose, unless under circumstances of full deliberation, and from absolute necessity. You have dispensed with all these precautions. You have turned a consul into a diplomatist, and that metamorphosed consul is, forsooth, to be at liberty to direct the whole might of England against the lives of a defenceless people. While war is a scourge and curse to man, it is yet attended with certain compensations. It is attended with acts of heroic self-sacrifice and of unbounded daring. It is ennobled by a consciousness that you are meeting equals in the field, and that, while you challenge the issue of life or death, you at least enter into a fair encounter. But you go to China, and make war upon those who stand before you as women and children. They try to resist you; they call together their troops; they load their guns; they kill one man and wound another in action; but while they are doing so, you perhaps slay thousands. They are unable to meet you in the field. You have no equality of ground on which to meet them. You can earn no glory in such warfare. And it is those who put the British flag to such uses that stain it. It is not from them that we are to hear rhetorical exaggerations on the subject of the allegiance that we owe to the national standard. Such is the case of the war in China."

It was on the 5th of March, 1857, after the ministerial statement of the intention to dissolve was made, that, in reply to a very earnest and direct question from Sir Francis Baring, — for he seemed to treat all other interpellation with scorn, — Lord Palmerston admitted that the government meant to supersede Sir John Bowring, and to send out a new and special Plenipotentiary, though he gave no intimation who the new envoy was to be. That secret was discreetly veiled; but if we mistake not, it was soon whispered, and then officially announced, before the results of the new election were ascertained, that the Earl of Elgin was to be the man. Parliament was dissolved on the last day of March, and Lord Elgin's appointment must have been gazetted soon after, so that the Ministry dexterously appealed to the people, on the ground, not only of the policy and necessity of punishing what were called "insults from China," but of their moderation and

forecast in putting aside the principal agent in their own work, and deputing in his place so considerate and able a man as Lord Elgin was, on all sides, reputed to be, — one, too, who, as it was understood and the result showed, had no sympathy with the original action at Canton.* Having done this, and secured his working majority, Lord Palmerston did not open his lips on the subject of China again ; nor from 1857 has any authoritative revelation of actual occurrences in the East been made, except the publication, in 1859, of the Blue Book which is the special subject of this article. Lord Elgin's appointment gave satisfaction everywhere. The French government, having a grievance of its own to redress, united in the policy adopted by Great Britain, and Baron Gros, an accomplished and experienced diplomatist of the old school, especially well known in England, from his connection with the Buenos Ayrean and Greek complications, was despatched to the scene of action.

Before tracing further the course of European diplomacy, we must turn our attention to the action of our own government. In our former article we stated that Secretary Marcy had, in a despatch to Mr. Parker, just before the close of President Pierce's administration, repudiated in the strongest language all idea of active co-operation with Great Britain against the Chinese. This despatch could not have reached China before May, and probably was not known at all in Europe, where, no doubt, the correspondence of Sir John Bowring had created the strongest hopes that we would be willing to join in the fray. Sir John had every reason to think so. In the instructions to Lord Elgin, as late as the end of April, Lord Clarendon seemed to think our active military co-operation probable. Thus reasoning, and thus encouraged, on the 14th of March, 1857, ten days after the

* Lord Elgin, in writing to Lord Clarendon, on the 12th of December, in reference to a communication he had directed to be made to the Cantonese, said : —

"In stating that case, I have endeavored to rest it on the broadest basis, and to point out the fact that the other treaty powers, America included, have been compelled, during the subsistence of the existing treaties, to seek by menace, or by the employment of force, satisfaction for wrongs inflicted at Canton. I think that I have given to the 'Arrow' case as much prominence as it deserves, when I represent it as the drop which has caused the cup to overflow."

inauguration of the new President and the adjournment of Congress, Lord Napier addressed a note to the Secretary of State, enclosing the orders sent for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities in China, and soliciting the active co-operation of the United States.*

"Her Majesty's government," wrote Lord Napier, "entertains a confident hope that the Cabinet of the United States, on a due consideration of the rights which they have to vindicate, and the interests they have to protect, may be enabled to grant to Great Britain that concurrence and active co-operation which the government of France has already accorded, and that they will authorize their naval and political authorities in China to act heartily in concert with the agents of the two allied powers."

There is, we confess, sometimes an inexplicable mystery of ignorance among English public men as to our system, with its limitations of executive action. Here is an instance of it. Surely Lord Clarendon and Lord Napier ought to have known that, without the assent of the Congress just dissolved, "active co-operation," which, *ex vi termini*, means war, and was, in the documents accompanying Lord Napier's letter, defined to be war and blockade, was out of the question; and we might imagine that at least one of these gentlemen must have known that a new President would never convoke Congress for such an object, or if he did, that Congress would never grant its consent. It makes one almost suspect that the application was made in order that it might be refused. Be this as it may, it enabled our government to set itself and other people right; to show its entire willingness, by deputing a special Minister with full instructions, to unite in all peaceful measures of redress; and yet to put an end at once and forever, and that too without offence, to all notion that then or thereafter we were to be dragged into the quarrels, creditable or discreditable, of other nations. On the 10th of April, 1857, Mr. Cass answered Lord Napier's note, in a despatch of great ability, which we regret we have not room to quote at length; and immediately afterward, on the 18th, the President ap-

* Sir John Bowring's despatch narrating the attack on the Barrier Forts by the American naval forces, reached London on the 16th of January, 1857.

pointed Mr. Reed as special Envoy to China, in this respect exactly following the example of Great Britain and France, and showing his disposition to make our diplomacy, at least, correspond with that of the Allies. Mr. Reed's instructions, which were published long since, were dated in May, and were, on the point of co-operation, but an expression of the views contained in the letter to Lord Napier. He sailed from Hampton Roads on the 1st of July, 1857, in the frigate Minnesota, direct for China, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, all the Western Ministers were *en route* for what, when they set out, was the most interesting scene of action in the East, but which was soon to resign this distinction for the very sad and ghastly drama of the Indian Mutiny.

Lord Elgin left England, with the promise that, coincidently with his arrival in China, he should be furnished with large and available reinforcements, both from home and from India. On the 3d of June he reached Singapore, and there was greeted by the terrific news of the great mutiny in the valley of the Ganges, and by a demand from the Governor-General of India for all the troops destined for China. Mr. Reed, on his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, in September, met the same intelligence. Sir George Grey had stripped the Colony of every soldier. There were scarcely artillerymen enough to fire a salute. Never was there a more striking realization of what the Marquis Wellesley had foretold long before, that rescue to India might some day come from the colonies at the extremity and on the coast of Africa. In all the narratives we have read of the horrors of this Indian revolt, we know nothing more impressive than the hurried letter from Lord Canning, asking for the diversion of this Chinese expeditionary force, now given to the world. The agitation, almost anguish, of the writer's spirit seems to break through the formalities of official style, in the following extract from his letter to Lord Elgin: —

"A mutiny of the native troops has broken out at the military station of Meerut, in the Northwest Provinces. The city of Delhi is in the possession of the mutineers. The European officers of more than one regiment have been shot by their men; European women, children, and unarmed men have been butchered. The numbers are not yet

known to me, but it is reported that at Meerut not less than forty have perished. From Delhi no trustworthy report has been received, but some of the chief civil officers of government are amongst those who have been killed; and although all this has happened in a part of the country which is by no means the weakest in respect of European troops, more than a fortnight must pass between the commission of these atrocities and the collection of a European force strong enough to punish the rebels effectually.

"But it is not with reference to actual disturbances at Meerut and Delhi that I ask your Lordship's aid. In the valley of the Ganges, between Calcutta and Agra, for a length of 750 miles, there are barely 1,000 European soldiers; whilst there are several towns and stations of importance, containing forts, magazines, treasuries, and large civil communities of Europeans, which are held by native troops alone. If mutinous rebellion raises its head at any of these spots, the government of India is literally without any force wherewith to put it down. The mutineers would carry everything before them, and we now know how they would use the opportunity. The flame would spread like wildfire, and would rage uncontrolled. Every day during which Delhi remains in the hands of the rebels is an encouragement to a rising elsewhere. This state of things is full of danger. I know that the native regiments in some of the most important of the stations to which I have referred are disaffected.

"I have drawn from Madras the only European regiment which that Presidency can safely spare.

"The withdrawal of two more regiments from Pegu, which will take place the moment that conveyance can be procured, will exhaust that province.

"The European force from the Persian Gulf cannot be at Calcutta for some weeks, and may be many weeks on its journey.

"The need, therefore, is very great and very urgent." — *Blue Book*, p. 8.

There was no hesitation on Lord Elgin's part. Every available soldier was sent to Calcutta. Steamers were despatched to intercept the transports that might be coming by the Straits of Sunda, and, unattended by any of the reinforcements which he hoped to carry with him to the rescue of the frightened and almost beleaguered settlement at Hong Kong, he reached the south of China alone, early in July.

It is difficult to imagine a more embarrassing position than this in which his Lordship was placed, on his arrival.

Stripped of his troops; far in advance of his colleagues; perplexed by the urgent advice of the Admiral and the residents of Hong Kong, who thought that nothing should be attempted in the north till the Canton difficulty was settled and Yeh punished, — Lord Elgin had no little difficulty in holding to the anchorage of his own opinions, and of his instructions to go to the Peiho. He applied to the American and French Ministers to accompany him. Mr. Parker replied, that he was without instructions from the new Administration, and had no clew to their wishes. With the French Minister, M. de Bourbolon, he was more unfortunate. On his way through Paris, Lord Elgin had been intrusted with sealed despatches for M. de Bourbolon, which he forwarded, with a request for co-operation in the expedition to the north.

"Unfortunately, my Lord," wrote M. de Bourbolon, "a despatch from Count Walewski, of which your Excellency was the bearer, and which I found under the same cover as that enclosing the letter to which I have the honor of replying, has caused a remarkable change in this situation as far as I am concerned. The government of his Imperial Majesty has determined that, in the presence of the high mission intrusted to your Excellency, France could not be properly represented by an agent of my rank in the negotiations which are about to be opened with the Cabinet of Peking, and it announces to me that his Majesty the Emperor has made choice of Baron Gros to fill the post of Ambassador Extraordinary in China. As, in other respects, Count Walewski's despatch does not instruct me to take any part in the negotiations which Baron Gros is charged to carry on with the Chinese government, I must consider the special powers which were conferred on me as revoked by the fact of the nomination of this Ambassador, and my part in these important transactions to be terminated." — *Blue Book*, p. 17.

Lord Elgin then tried to persuade the French Admiral to accompany him, but met with no better success, and there seemed no alternative but to go north alone, or to remain in entire inaction in the Canton River, awaiting the slow advent of the French and American Envoys. "The practical effect of the nomination of a special Commissioner by the French government," wrote Lord Elgin, "has been to deprive me, for this year, of the co-operation on which, in the absence of such a

nomination, I might have counted." At this juncture further news, and more urgent demands, came from Calcutta.

"I wish I could announce to your Lordship," wrote Lord Canning, on the 24th of June, "that the necessity under which I at first addressed you had in any degree passed away. This is not the case. The mutinies have extended; a great portion of the Northwest Provinces is in anarchy; and there have been risings of the troops in other parts of India, attended with horrible atrocities committed upon Europeans: and although, wherever our small handful of European troops pushes its way, the mutineers and rebels are speedily crushed, and order is in part restored, yet the European force at the disposal of the government is so small, that on the right or left of the line of march pillage and murder continue to break out, and the means of repressing them are altogether wanting.

"Her Majesty's government has been asked to send out twelve regiments immediately, but this request will not reach England until late in July, and the troops must be many weeks on their passage.

"I am therefore compelled to beg that your Lordship will send to Calcutta every European soldier that you can spare of those who are on their way from England to China. I do not ask for the small force which garrisons Hong Kong." — *Blue Book*, p. 27.

Again, on the 21st of July, he wrote: "I earnestly appeal to your Lordship to send me every European soldier that yourself and General Ashburnham can, by any contrivance, or justifiable sacrifice, spare to me." This had been already done; but having at his command the frigate Shannon, her crew, and her heavy guns, which, though quite available in India, were of no use whatever in the Chinese waters, Lord Elgin determined to go himself to Calcutta, and place all he had at the disposal of the Governor-General. He accordingly sailed on the 16th of July, and thus was closed rather inauspiciously the first act of the new diplomacy in China. This Blue Book discloses the very interesting fact, that the organization of Sir William Peel's naval brigade, which did so gallant service at Lucknow and Delhi, is mainly due to the forecast of Lord Elgin.

Painful as was at the time this frustration of the English plan, there can be no doubt that, had Lord Elgin in the summer of 1857 gone to the north alone, or unaccompanied by a strong and imposing force, or indeed gone at all, before some-

thing striking had been done at Canton, the disappointment would have been greater. The fact is, that at the very time when Lord Elgin was lamenting his inability to move to the Peiho, and thence to seek access to Peking, the experiment was making by the Russians, and utterly failed.

Admiral Count Poutiatine — a Russian officer of high rank, and one thoroughly acquainted, from his military experience, with the East — had been appointed Plenipotentiary to China, and reached the frontier settlement at Kiachta, by the overland route, early in the season. Unable to communicate thence with Peking, he pursued his journey, and, reaching the mouth of the Amoor, embarked on board the steamer Amerilla, and arrived in the Gulf of Pechelee in the month of June. He had an interview with the officials at the mouth of the Peiho, who promised him an answer in a specified time to a letter which they agreed to forward to Peking. Not caring to remain longer than was necessary at this desolate anchorage, he went to Japan, and thence to Shanghae, returning to the Peiho only to meet a positive refusal to allow him to approach the capital. He then proceeded south to join the other Plenipotentiaries, who, in the months of October and November, — Lord Elgin having in the mean time returned from India, — had all arrived at or near Hong Kong. The special representatives of the Western powers were at last all assembled.

The first movement made was the application of the American Envoy to Yeh for an interview. Mr. Reed was the only one of the Ministers in a position to make this advance, and he was explicitly instructed by his government to do so. The Russian Envoy had been already refused an audience, and the English and French were, to use Lord Elgin's word, in an "abnormal" attitude, and could no longer parley, or at least not till they were prepared to strike. Yeh declined the interview, giving as his reason, that, owing to the ravages the English forces had made, there was no place in which they could properly meet; and evading with characteristic subtlety, but in entire courtesy, the reasoning with which Mr. Reed urged the interview. It is now very clear, from the revelations since made as to Yeh's doggedness, and the orders he had received from court, that no good would have come from any attempt at

mediation, had it been made, and that this obdurate man's doom was pre-ordained. In or about the middle of December, 1857, soon after the ultimatum of the allied powers was sent, Yeh despatched a memorial to the Emperor, which, though one cannot read it without a smile, shows how much intelligence, dashed and brewed with lies, the Chinese receive, probably through the domestic spies that are maintained everywhere. Beneath the grotesque surface of the following paper is much that is true, and not a little in the way of speculation that is sagacious.

"Since the engagement of the 10th of the 5th moon (1st June), a period of more than six months, the English barbarians have made no disturbance up the Canton River. It should be known, however, that in the defeat sustained by Elgin at Mang-ga-ta, in the 7th moon, he was pursued by the Bengal barbarian force to the sea-shore. A number of French men-of-war, which happened to be passing, fired several guns in succession, and, the force of the Bengal barbarians falling back, the Chief Elgin made his escape. The Chief Elgin was very grateful to the French force for saving his life, and on the arrival of the French Minister, who, in the beginning of the 9th moon, had also reached Kwangtung, he, the Chief Elgin, feted the Chief Gros at Hong Kong (*lit.*, merrily feasted, and prayed him [to drink] wine), and consulted him upon the present position of affairs in China. The Chief Gros said: 'I was not an eyewitness of the commencement of the last year's affairs, but the story current among the people of different nations, who were by at the time, has made me familiar with the whole question. You see, when the forts were taken, the Chinese government made no retaliation; when the houses of the people were burned, it still declined to fight. Now, the uniform suppression, three years ago, of the Kwangtung insurrection, in which some hundreds of thousands were engaged, shows the military power of China to be by no means insignificant. Will she take no notice of her injuries? (No.) She is certain to have some deep policy which will enable her so to anticipate us, that, before we can take up any ground, she will have left us without the means of finding fault with her; while she, on the other hand, will oblige the foreigners to admit themselves completely in the wrong.' . . . . .

"Elgin passes day after day at Hong Kong, stamping his foot and sighing, and his anxiety is increased by the non-arrival of despatches from his government." — p. 127.

On the 28th of December the blow was struck, and almost

without a struggle the city of Canton, claimed by the Chinese to be impregnable, fell into the hands of the allies. Yeh was now a captive. No one can read the correspondence between Yeh and the English and French Plenipotentiaries without new wonder at his dogged and stupid resolution, and at their moderation and reluctant resort to force. Especially is this the case with Lord Elgin. It was certainly a sad necessity, and no one who remembers Canton as it once was, — its crowded thoroughfares, its suburbs, where at least the foreigner could safely walk, and in whose gay shops, filled with unrivalled fabrics, (for such are Canton wares,) he was always welcome, its river swarming with boats, its factories and factory garden, the abode of luxury and comfort, (we have never met a man who was not fond of his factory residence,) the churches and hospitals, the surrounding scenery, picturesque in its sameness, with the gentle, branching river, and the forts, like clumps of trees, and the white cloud-hills, looking serenely down, — none who remembers all this can look on Canton now, and ever since its capture, but with sorrow for the necessity which desolated it. It is, or lately was, a city of hideous ruins: Pompeii is more cheerful, — for Chinese ruins have no grandeur or dignity or beauty about them. Fire and shot and shell make thorough work with the slight brick, stucco, and bamboos of a Chinese structure. It looks like the water suburb of an American town after a fire. There is hardly a boat on the river. The shops are but partially filled and cautiously opened, and the factory grounds, once so neat and picturesque, literally swept with the besom of destruction, scraped up, rooted out; nothing left except, as in mockery, the stone steps at which the foreigner used to embark, and where, on the night of the 14th of December, 1857, the few that were left stole their way from the advancing flames to their boats.

One revelation of much interest is connected with the fall of Canton. In the Yamun of Yeh were found the originals of the English, French, and American ratified treaties of 1842 and 1844, an imperial decree directing Yeh's conduct as to the revision of the treaties, a report by Keying to the Emperor as to his management of the foreigners, and reports of the

Envoys who met Mr. McLane and Sir John Bowring in 1854, sent to Yeh for his guidance with the imperial annotations. Of the last two we shall speak hereafter, in connection with what occurred at Tientsin, making but an incidental remark here as to the others. There is, we think, no reason for the popular idea, that, because the treaties were found in Yeh's possession at Canton, they had never been at the capital. All accessible evidence shows that everything done at Canton was reported to Peking, and there approved or disavowed. A copy of the treaties, with all the details of the tariffs, was published in an official form at the capital, and is now extant, and the probability is that the originals were deposited at Canton for use, where alone, according to the imperial theory, foreign affairs could be transacted, and indeed for the very purpose of confirming that idea. When, several months later, Mr. Reed restored — having received it from the allied Ministers — the American treaty as an historical and official record to the Commissioners in the north, they received it with great respect, and promised that it should be deposited — as strictly it ought always to have been — at the capital; and it no doubt was the discovery of these documents at a distance that led to the adoption of the articles in the American treaty of Tientsin, which provide not only for the promulgation of the ratified treaty at the capital and in the provinces, but stipulate that the original shall be "deposited and sacredly guarded at Peking." No such clause is in the English or French treaties.

The imperial decree as to the treaty revisions is very curious. It is dated in March, 1856, and is a singular illustration of the cleverness of the Chinese in all matters of diplomacy and business. In the American treaty of Wanghia was the only clause which provides for revision, and it is rather awkwardly worded, — awkwardly we mean for those who claim the right. It was in these words: —

"Article XXXIV. When the present convention shall have been definitively concluded, it shall be obligatory on both powers, and its provisions shall not be altered without grave cause; but inasmuch as the circumstances of the several ports of China open to foreign commerce are different, experience may show that inconsiderable modifications are requisite in those parts which relate to commerce and naviga-

tion; in which case the two governments will, at the expiration of twelve years from the date of said convention, treat amicably concerning the same by the means of suitable persons appointed to conduct such negotiation."

Now, unless the "grave cause" provision could be invoked, it is very clear that the right to revise at the expiration of twelve years extended only to "inconsiderable modifications" as to commerce and navigation; and no one who knows the acuteness of the Chinese could doubt that they would see this point and take advantage of it. Yeh did so in his correspondence with Mr. Reed, and the intercepted decree shows that he did so under instructions from head-quarters. We are tempted to make an extract from this, as singularly illustrative of the dexterity of Chinese fencing.

"The thing is plain. Now though the original treaties, under which the five ports were opened, did contain a provision that they should be revised, nothing more was meant than that, if, in the course of time, abuses came to exist, or points of difficulty or hindrance were discovered, as it was to be feared might be the case, there would be no objection to slight modifications. It was never contemplated that there could be any alteration in the substance of their conditions. The demands these barbarians made the year before last at Shanghae and Tientsin were so utterly inadmissible, that Tsung Hin and his colleagues, in their interview with them, rejected their propositions with rebuke, and the chiefs themselves, perceiving their own unreasonableness (the crookedness of their own reason, the badness of their cause), did not renew the controversy. They are now going to Shanghae, on the plea that the exclusiveness of the Kwangtung (government) is past bearing; but the Governor-General and Governor in Kiang-su being in no respect competent to the chief superintendence of barbarian business, and, of course, unable to accede to what they require, and their refusal certain to bring the barbarians to Tientsin, to the yet greater violation of what is right and proper, let Yeh Ming-chin inform himself of the particulars of the case, and hold in the barbarian securely. If the changes they require be merely on points of small significance, there will be no harm in his considering these with them, and forwarding a representation to us, (which received) some slight modifications may be adopted. If they repeat the extravagant demands of the year before last, he will speak plainly, repel their advances, and break off negotiations. It is absolutely incumbent on him, by an

equal employment of graciousness and awe, to put an end to this project of an expedition northwards altogether. Let him not show himself utterly inaccessible (*lit.*, steep and lofty, refuse to see them), lest his refusal to receive them be converted into matter of complaint. . . . . With gentle words, let him persuade them to sail to Kwangtung, and so prevent anything else coming of it. This is most important.

"Let copies of the original papers of Eliang and his colleague be supplied to Yeh Ming-chin for his information, and let this (decree) be forwarded at the rate of five hundred *li* a day, and communicated in confidence to the different authorities whom it concerns. Respect this." — *Blue Book*, p. 152.

Such a document settles the question as to Yeh's acting under orders from his court. Our own belief is clear, that he did nothing — no act of what is called cruelty or repulsiveness — which was not prescribed to him, and which he did not faithfully report to the Imperial Cabinet.

Canton being thus in the possession of the allies, and a provisional government, half English and French and half Chinese being organized, the question of raising the blockade and allowing the resumption of trade became a very grave one. As far back as July, on his first arrival, Lord Elgin had felt the difficulty of his position with reference to neutral trade. "The great judgment and tact of the Admiral," said he, "have alone prevented disputes of a very serious character from arising between the British government and the citizens of foreign states who are interested in the Canton trade. It is obvious that questions of much nicety must at times present themselves, when hostile operations are carried on, without any formal and acknowledged suspension of pacific relations." In proportion to the lapse of time was the difficulty likely to increase. The decision of the question was embarrassed, too, by the conflicting interest of the British traders themselves, who, having bought teas at high prices in the north, were solicitous that the blockade should be maintained. They, in the true mercantile spirit, did not care a farthing whether it was a lawful blockade or not. Regarded at a distance, and from the platform of something like old-fashioned principle, it seems to us that there never was a greater violation of public law, or a worse precedent, than the irregular blockade of the Canton

River, from its inception to February, 1858, without a declaration of war. Every authority, ancient and modern, is against such action. From Blackstone to Blackwood every writer in England pronounced against it; for it so happens that one of the strongest condemnations of what was actually doing appeared in the columns of the Scotch periodical for June, 1857. The writer well says: —

"We maintain that the great constitutional formality of declaring war, understood and practised by every civilized nation, as a safeguard against the abominations of piracy and murder, has, in this case, been dispensed with, solely because such a declaration would necessitate the stoppage of trade at the other Chinese ports, to which, by treaty, we have access. Thus our government have introduced and are acting upon a new principle, which would have made the hair of Grotius stand on end, — namely, that it is lawful to prosecute hostilities with a province, division, or county of a kingdom, without reference to its other portions."

Great Britain had denounced just such an irregular blockade, by the French, at Vera Cruz and Buenos Ayres, in 1838. There was everything against it, and yet no word of neutral complaint was raised, either by officials or individuals. As far back as November, 1857, the American house of Russell & Co. had protested; but after the affair of the Barrier Forts, and the burning of the factories, not a word more was said by them or any one else about it, and the truth is now revealed, that, so far were the Americans from seeking to perplex or annoy the allies, they were quite willing to incur a temporary inconvenience and loss, rather than throw any obstacle in the way of that policy of coercion on the Cantonese, which all agreed was inevitable. There seems every reason to suppose that the inducement for raising the blockade, as was done in February, and leaving the duties untouched, was a just appreciation by the allied Plenipotentiaries of the considerate conduct of the neutrals throughout, sharpened perhaps by what Mr. Cooke suggests, that a large portion of the 21,000,000 pounds of tea, liberated from the blockade, would be on its way to England, — each pound paying fifteen pence, or thereabout, into the Exchequer. We allude to this feature of affairs in the East, because, like everything else that our

countrymen at that time did, or left undone, it was made the subject of misrepresentation in England.

On the 10th of February, 1858, the blockade was raised, and pacific relations restored, with the exception of the retention in garrison of Canton and its suburbs. Mr. Cooke describes, in his lively, ill-natured way, what next occurred.

"In a former letter, I suggested the possibility that the early spring might see all the great civilized powers in co-operation. This has happened. England, France, America, and Russia are now in cordial accord. Ten days ago the American and Russian embassies were settled at Macao, doing nothing. Soon after the intention of raising the blockade was announced, it became known that Mr. Reed had made preparations for departure northwards, and it was suggested that his object was to be out of the way while points of difficulty arose, and to allow them to fructify during his absence. Again a little while, and they who were curious in watching symptoms noted that the Hon. F. Bruce, the Secretary to the British Embassy, was absent. It was not difficult to learn that he and the Secretary to the French Embassy proceeded in a gunboat to Macao, had an interview with Count Poutiatine, then, finding that Mr. Reed had left, and already was so far on his way as Hong Kong, started for Hong Kong, and, after seeing the American Minister, returned to Lord Elgin, at Canton. Following up this chain of public incidents, — which were known, or might have been known, to every man in the fleet, — we saw that after this interview Mr. Reed immediately returned to Macao, and set his house in order, gave up all thoughts of his immediate journey northwards, sent the Minnesota up the river as far as she could safely go, and went on to Canton in the Antelope, (a steamer of light draught which he had hired,) and visited Lord Elgin on board the Furious.

"About the same time, a special courier arrived from Count Poutiatine, and great activity was observable in the Russian embassy." — *Cooke*, p. 383.

The meaning of all which is, that a perfect and thorough concert of peaceful diplomacy had at last occurred; that, without reserve or suspicion, each of the Plenipotentiaries had exchanged views with the others, the English and French taking the initiative, and the Americans and Russians cheerfully and cordially acquiescing; and that the measure of concert was a several and coincident appeal to the court of Peking for the appointment of a Plenipotentiary in the north,

and for a new chance for thorough pacification. There is among these papers addressed to the Supreme Council at Peking, of course, great similitude of views, though, as we understand the facts of the case, they were not mutually exchanged till after they were completed; and certain it is, none were more earnest in their appeal, nor more cordial in their expression of concert and sympathy, than those of the Russians and Americans.

The letters for Peking were at once forwarded to the Governor of Kiang-su, and intrusted to Mr. Oliphant of the English and M. de Contade of the French embassies, the American and Russian despatches being in charge of the United States Vice-Consul at Shanghae. These gentlemen reached Souchow without difficulty, and delivered the despatches to the Governor, who promised to send them to the capital.

As the end of March was designated as the time for meeting the new Imperial Commissioner at Shanghae, the Plenipotentiaries occupied the interval by visiting other places on their way north, Mr. Reed going to Manilla, and the Russian and English Ministers, having the command of small craft, stopping at the treaty ports. From Amoy, Lord Elgin wrote to the Foreign Office the only despatch which we find in the Blue Book on that great crime of modern commerce, — the Coolie trade to the West Indies, — from which we are tempted to make a single, but most impressive extract, showing in the darkest colors the enormity of this shameless traffic. At the time when this letter was written, the trade was carried on principally in English and American ships; but the latest accounts show that the French have engaged extensively in the trade, having in view the supply of labor to their African and West India colonies, and bloody affrays and riots at one of the treaty ports have been the first fruits of the experiment. Both Mr. Parker and Mr. Reed called the attention of our government to this hateful traffic, — the most atrocious slave-trade of our day; but we are not aware that anything has been done to arrest its progress, or to mitigate its admitted horrors. Lord Elgin's despatch is dated 6th March, 1858.

"I was furnished with some very harrowing details respecting the mode in which the Coolie trade is carried on. Mr. Burns, the mis-

sionary, confirmed the statement which I had noticed in the newspapers, to the effect that he had visited a shed on the island, where he found a party of seven emigrants, who had been discharged as unserviceable from an emigrant-ship, six of whom were already dead and in various stages of decomposition, while the single survivor was gasping for life among the corpses. The national propensity for gambling is, I understand, largely improved by the crimps, as a means of supplying this trade. A man gambles himself away, and the winner hands him over to the emigrant-ship for the sum which covers the debt of honor.

"Mr. Burns, in illustration of the working of this system, mentioned the case of a widow who invoked his assistance a few weeks ago. She was the mother of two children, a son of seventeen and a daughter much younger. The lad gambled himself away for eight dollars, and was handed over to the emigrant-ship. The mother, in despair, sold all that she possessed, her remaining child included; and, with five dollars thus painfully amassed, came to the island to rescue her son. But he was already gone, or the sum was insufficient, and the poor woman had to return, in an agony of distress, and bereaved of both her children. Although the subordinate agents in this trade are chiefly Chinamen, its horrors are set down to the account of foreigners, who carry it on.

"I inquired about female emigration. Here, as everywhere else where I have put the question, I was assured, in the most uncompromising terms, that no Chinawoman of respectability could be induced to emigrate. I was told that even the Cantonese coming to the Swatow district had difficulty in persuading their wives to accompany them. A rich Chinaman of Singapore had, however, during the course of the summer, conveyed to that port some hundred girls. They were, probably, purchased and intended for the Coolies in his employ. A batch of women had also been collected and exported to Cuba.

"On the other hand, I was informed that Chinamen, in the habit of seeking work at Singapore, sometimes brought back with them their Malay wives, leaving them in China, and returning without them.

"If this be not merely an exceptional case, it is a curious proof of the tenacity with which a Chinaman clings to his original home." — p. 224.

One other extract from Lord Elgin's wayside despatches we make, for the sake of the description of a part of China celebrated for its natural beauty.

"In closing these somewhat desultory remarks, I may observe that, with the exception perhaps of Chusan, I have as yet seen no place in

China which, in point of beauty of scenery, rivals Foochow. The Min River passes to the sea between two mountain ranges, which, wherever the torrents have not washed away every particle of earth from the surface, are cultivated by the industrious Chinese in terraces to their very summits. These mountain ranges close in upon its banks during the last part of its course: at one time confining it to a comparatively narrow channel, and at another suffering it to expand into a lake; but in the vicinity of the Pagoda Island they separate, leaving between them the plain on which Foochow stands. This plain is diversified by hill and dale, and comprises the island of Nantai, which is the site of the foreign settlement. At the season of my visit, both hills and plain were chiefly covered with wheat; but I was informed that the soil is induced, by irrigation and manure applied liberally, to yield in many cases, besides the wheat crop, two rice crops during the year. We walked with perfect freedom, both about the town and into the surrounding country. Nothing could be more courteous than the people of the villages, or more quaint than the landscape, consisting mainly of hillocks dotted with horseshoe graves, and monuments to the honor of virtuous maidens and faithful widows, surrounded by patches of wheat and vegetables. Kensal Green or Père la Chaise, cultivated as kitchen gardens, would not inaptly represent the general character of the rural districts of China which I have visited." — p. 225.

The diplomatic rendezvous at Shanghae was a failure. All that the Plenipotentiaries received was intelligence that a new Governor had been sent to Canton, in the place of Yeh, and an intimation that they must go thither to meet him. The Russian letter was not even answered, except through the American Minister, and the first actual breach of treaty obligation occurred on the part of the Chinese, in a refusal of the Supreme Council at the capital to correspond with the Ministers of the treaty powers, as they were expressly bound to do. The embassies at once proceeded to the north, reaching the anchorage of the Peiho in quick succession, and in this order, — Russian, English, American, and French.

Before venturing on an analysis of Lord Elgin's despatches, descriptive of the incidents which immediately afterward occurred, — and we are compelled to confine our attention almost exclusively to them, — we may note one or two special matters which these papers reveal, and which may account for the distrust which, it was surmised, was felt at the action of

the Americans and Russians. We know now, from Mr. Reed's express and earnest assertions since his return home, that there was no foundation for this feeling; but on looking through these papers, we can detect, as we have said, some little justification of it. It would seem that but a portion of the documents found in Yeh's palace had been rendered into English when the allies left Hong Kong, and that Mr. Wade, the British Chinese Secretary, on whom for the work of translation the main dependence was placed, occupied himself in deciphering them on the voyage. On reaching Shanghae on the 30th of March, Lord Elgin communicated to Lord Clarendon the translation of what he properly described as a most curious document, being the account of a conversation, in 1851, between the Emperor Hien Fung and an ex-Judge of Canton, on public affairs in the south. His Lordship said it was interesting, as throwing light on three points:—1. On the attention to business paid by the Emperor; 2. On the real nature of the apprehensions excited in the minds of the authorities in China by the spread of Christianity, which are clearly not religious, but political; and 3. On the relations subsisting between the Chinese functionaries and certain Americans resident at Hong Kong. Every one familiar with the history of our commercial intercourse with China knows who Howqua the father was, and who the living Howqua is, and that both father and son have been known to be uniformly friendly to Americans, and highly respected by them. Whether there are or have been closer connections of business, we have no means of knowing. If for no other reason, at least on account of the tendency we have thus described, Howqua has always been the object of British jealousy and suspicion. He took, as we have seen, an active part in remonstrating against the aggressions of 1856, and it was in consequence of an incipient negotiation between him and Messrs. Cunningham and Sturgis, that Admiral Seymour declared the first blockade. After the fall of Canton, Howqua had an interview with Mr. Wade on board of one of the men-of-war, and was regarded with much suspicion. It seems now, that the intercepted document found in Yeh's house, and translated just before Lord Elgin reached Shanghae, contained

the following dialogue, which, we confess, was adapted to excite some suspicion.

"*Q.* Have you ever seen the barbarian buildings at Hong Kong?

"*A.* Your servant has not seen them. Those in the foreign factories on the Canton River he has seen, but he has never been into them.

"*Q.* Have you seen any barbarians or barbarian ships?

"*A.* Your servant has seen a Flowery Flag (*sc.* American) steamer on the Canton River. There were barbarians on board the vessel, all dressed in white, both men and women. But she was too far off your servant's vessel for him to see them well.

"*Q.* What nation is the Flowery Flag?

"*A.* The American. The trade of the nation is very great; it is very rich and powerful, and yet not troublesome.

"*Q.* How is it that America is rich and powerful, and yet not troublesome?

"*A.* As a general rule, the outer barbarians trade, because their nature is so covetous. If one of them breaks the peace (makes trouble), the prosperity of the other's trade is marred. Thus the English are at this moment beggared; but if they were to break the peace, it is not on their own trade alone that injury would be inflicted: other nations are therefore certain to object to any outrageous proceeding on their part. Were they to commence a disturbance, the Americans would certainly be the last to assist them.

"*Q.* Why would not the Americans assist them?

"*A.* Your servant has been told that the Americans have business relations of great importance with Wu Sung-yau (Howqua), formerly a Hong merchant of Quang-tung; indeed, that they have had money of Wu. Every movement of the English barbarians is certain to be privately communicated to the family of Wu by the Americans, and Wu Sung-yau thereupon makes his private report to Seu and Yeh, who take precautionary measures accordingly. Thus, last year it was by a communication from the Americans that it was known that a man-of-war of the English barbarians was coming to the Peiho. Not that this shows any sincere friendship for us on the part of the Americans: it was simply that their desire for gain is strong, and that they were afraid that their trade would be disturbed by the act of the English."
—p. 234.

It was, perhaps, not very logical to suspect Mr. Reed of infidelity to the common cause, because eight years before the American merchants at Hong Kong used to tell Howqua the

gossip of the Queen's Road; but we can understand how the suspicion might arise, especially as coincident with this revelation was a most unexpected communication from the Russian Minister. When, in the month of November, Count Poutiatine reached the south of China, he evidently, in conversation with Lord Elgin, expressed resentment at the treatment he had received in the north, and, according to the despatch to the Foreign Office, now published, "was very decided in the expression of his opinion, that nothing could be done with the Chinese government unless pressure were brought to bear upon Peking itself, and that the use of vessels drawing so little water that they could navigate the Peiho would be the best means of making such pressure effective. The Mandarins on the spot, if I rightly understood him, had, in conversation with him, adverted with exultation to the fact that our ships of war could not perform this feat."

Count Poutiatine's letter to the Imperial Cabinet had been an earnest one. He felt aggrieved, and so expressed himself, at receiving no answer to his communication, except in the form of a message through Mr. Reed. It was well known that a large squadron, consisting of a frigate and several corvettes and gunboats, had sailed from Cronstadt for the East, and was hourly expected. Yet, at the very moment when this effective co-operation was counted on, and, unfortunately, just as the allies had been made aware of the reputed machinations of Howqua and the American merchants, a courier arrived at Shanghae from St. Petersburg, and the Russian Envoy at Shanghae addressed Lord Elgin the following note: —

"I had the honor of informing your Excellency some weeks ago that I expected fresh instructions from St. Petersburg. These supplementary instructions have just arrived by courier, and I consider it my duty to acquaint you with their purport.

"The Imperial Ministry is animated by the liveliest desire to see the present complications in China arrive at a happy and satisfactory conclusion, and directs me to lend my moral support to all demands of common interest which may be made by the Plenipotentiaries of other powers to the court of Peking. At the same time, the Ministry remains true to its first and absolutely pacific intentions; it would not have recourse to arms except as a last extremity, and it enjoins me

to abstain from all coercive measures against the Chinese government.

"I have further to acquaint you, that, by order of his Majesty the Emperor, my august master, I have taken the title of Imperial Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the squadron which is destined for the Chinese and Japanese seas." — p. 254.

There is no evidence among these documents of the alienation to which we have referred, nor could there be, if the rule of discreet suppression be strictly enforced; but it is only fair to say, that these coincidences might easily have excited it.* In his reply to the merchants of Shanghae, on the 29th, the date of Count Poutiatine's note, Lord Elgin said: —

"It is matter for me of the highest gratification to know that, in pursuing this policy of combined moderation and firmness, I can count not only on the hearty co-operation and active support of the representative of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, but also on the good-will and sympathy of the representatives of other great and powerful nations interested with ourselves in extending the area of Christian civilization, and multiplying those commercial ties which are destined to bind the East and West together in the bonds of mutual advantage." — p. 239.

The Russian Minister, on the receipt of his new instructions, sent orders — for he was both Admiral and diplomatist — to Hong Kong and Angier to the coming armament, and went northward himself in the little steamer Amerilla, reaching the place of meeting first, and, as usual with his available craft, anchoring closer in than any one else. The French Minister, who was the last to arrive, made his appearance on the 17th of April.

Almost coincidently with this reunion at the north came the news of the shipwreck of Lord Palmerston's China ministry, on the sunken rock of the Conspiracy Bill, and the accession to power of those who had condemned everything that had been done or attempted in the East by their predecessors. But the new ministers did not care to signalize their advent to power by meddling with distant diplomacy, which, if successful, could

* It will be observed, that a portion of nearly every one of Lord Elgin's despatches is withheld.

not damage them, and the frustration of which by their act could do them no good. Accordingly, on the 27th of February, Lord Malmesbury wrote, approving the action at Canton. On the 25th of March he wrote again, expressing his gratification at the concurrent action of the neutral Plenipotentiaries, adding, however, that "her Majesty's government trust that the effect of this may be an early cessation of the present state of hostility in China, and the renewal of friendly intercourse where it has been interrupted." This must have been received about the time of the attack on the forts. In this connection we may observe that distance is a great protection to a foreign minister. Not only does it compel him to act on his own responsibility, but it frees him from interference and instruction from home. It was shown in this instance. We have seen that it was a part of Lord Elgin's policy, most creditable in every way to him, to maintain the semblance at least of Chinese authority in the captured city of Canton, and to allow the duties to go into the local treasury. This does not seem to have been acceptable in England; for, on the 2d of July, Lord Malmesbury, instigated doubtless by the complaints of parties at Hong Kong, all of whom, with a perverse unanimity characteristic of that wretched community, were adverse to anything done or suggested by Lord Elgin, wrote: —

"Her Majesty's government consider that the present mixed government of Canton, composed of Commissioners named on the part of England and France, and of Mandarins, is wholly inefficient for all objects of administration and policy; and that, as I have said before, it should now be replaced by a military government acting according to the rules of martial law." — p. 262.

And again on the 8th: —

"I have to state to your Excellency, that her Majesty's government consider that, during the occupation of Canton by the allied forces, the proceeds of the custom-house, after defraying the expense of collection and providing for the expenses of the local government, and for those of any police arrangements which may be maintained by the allies, independently of the local authorities, should be taken possession of by the allied Commissioners, and held by them until the manner in which they are to be definitively appropriated shall be determined.

"Her Majesty's government are of opinion that the Chinese custom-house should be temporarily administered by the allies, and that duties should be collected on their behalf and by their authority, or by officers appointed by them for that purpose. They consider that, so long as the relations between the allies and the Chinese empire continue in their present unsettled state, they would not be justified in allowing the Chinese government to draw from a city in the occupation of the allied forces pecuniary resources by which to carry on the contest, especially as that occupation, by the security which it affords to commerce, and by opening to foreign trade the port of Canton, alone enables the Chinese government to collect any duties at all there." — *Ibid.*

And again on the 9th of September: —

"As much uneasiness appears to prevail at Canton, and as the present mixed government of Canton is, as I observed in my above-mentioned despatch, wholly inefficient for all objects of administration and policy, her Majesty's government are of opinion, in case you should not yet have acted on that despatch, in conjunction with Baron Gros, that the course therein indicated should no longer be delayed, and that Canton should be forthwith placed under martial law." — p. 335.

Fortunately for the general interests, none of these instructions were received in time to do any harm; and we observe that Lord Elgin, when they reached him, simply acknowledged them without comment, and, as we understand the matter, without obeying them. We doubt very much if the Americans would have paid duties into an Anglo-French custom-house at Whampoa, and are quite sure that any attempt to make them do so, or to embarrass their trade because they did not, would have been attended with serious consequences.*

On the 23d of April, intelligence was received, informally, by the Russian Minister, that officers of high rank had arrived on the coast to confer with the foreigners; and on the next

* Lord Elgin left China without determining the site of the new factories at Canton, mainly because he could not persuade the British merchants to unite in any selection. He referred it wholly to them, and they, as usual, quarrelled among themselves. In the mean time our countrymen, Messrs. Russell & Co., claiming a right under a lease from Howqua, went quietly to work on the old site, and, we presume, practically settled the matter.

day, letters from all were sent on shore, in armed boats, to announce the fact of the advent of the Ministers. The English, and we presume the French notes, were to the effect, that if, at the expiration of six days, an accredited Plenipotentiary did not present himself, this pacific overture would be considered as rejected, and ulterior measures resorted to. We take it for granted, that the neutral notifications did not contain even an implied threat, unless it were that they should feel at liberty to approach nearer the capital.

The first agents who presented themselves, but who did not pretend to have any adequate powers, or indeed any powers at all, were the same who had met the Western Ministers in 1854, Tsunglun and Wu. They were not allowed an interview, but the fact of their arrival, as a symptom of relenting, or the delay of the naval reinforcements, had the effect of postponing for a short time any decisive action. Beside all this, the French and English Envoys had information in their possession which admonished them to act with great reserve, and to insist on every preliminary evidence of authority in the way of credentials. The Blue Book contains, at length, the very remarkable documents found in Canton, to which we referred in our last number, being the reports to the Emperor of the various diplomatic attempts heretofore made and frustrated, and especially those of 1854 – 55. They are very curious, as illustrative of the perverse mendacity of the Chinese public men, of their servile obedience to the imperial authority, and of the severity of the power they revere. We have room for but a few citations. In a memoir, in 1854, from Hu-nai-chau, a public man of high literary merit, and of great family influence and connection, he had thus memorialized : —

" To come to another matter : towards the end of the 5th moon, the English barbarians were very eager to drive away the Shanghae rebels ; whither, the troops were to ask. Their object was not comprehensible at the time. It has since been discovered, that, according to the statement of persons in the barbarian offices on the Yang-king Pang (the foreign factories or consulates), their chief, Sir John Bowring, had been informed of an attempt about to be made by the soldiers of Russia upon Hong Kong, the garrison of which place hardly amounted to a thousand men, — a force insufficient, even with the as-

sistance of the five ships brought by the Admiral, for its defence against the Russian troops; and that he wanted to complete his strength with the rebels, and so show a better front. As Kir-hanga and the other officers did observe at the time that this chief appeared perturbed and excited, it would seem that the report was not altogether without foundation. The other day the English chief said himself, that the steamer had brought news of a victory in Turkey, and of the capture of two Russian vessels, and he seemed to be at his ease.

"A communication came yesterday from the English chief, proposing a conference on business at the barbarian office on the 9th of the moon, and your servant has written to agree to this. Not that, capricious and inconsistent as (he knows) these barbarians to be, he is going to exceed in concession; but it is his duty, in every case, to weigh well the advantage and disadvantage of this or that order of proceeding, and *should there be any measure positively beneficial to China, and at the same time practicable, without violation of the law, he would assuredly not presume to abide in the smallest degree by standing prejudices.*"

About the same time Eliang, Governor-General of the Two-Kwang, had memorialized the throne as to Mr. McLane's visit to Kwanshan, and on the 15th of July the Emperor fulminated a decree of degradation against poor Hu-nai-chau for having been guilty of the great crime of saying that he might be willing to concede to the foreigner what should be positively beneficial to China! As to the rumor of a war with Russia, the Emperor summarily dismisses it as a Hong Kong *canard*. "It was," says he, "on the 16th of the 3d moon (14th of April) that Bowring arrived in Canton; yet on the 25th of the 5th moon he comes up to Shanghae in a ship of war, and on the 23d detaches the barbarian chief Medhurst with a steamer to Chin-Kiang. How comes it, if they really have a war with Russia, that the English can be jaunting it about in China. Everything shows that they are concealing a dangerous purpose, — a heart of war and danger." The decree of degradation proceeds: —

"From a succession of memorials from Hu-nai-chau regarding the rebels and the English chief at Shanghae, the awkwardness and weakness of his conduct become more and more apparent. He states that the chief had appointed a day for an interview with him, and that, 'in any measure that might be of positive benefit to China, he will assuredly not presume in the least to abide by standing prejudices'; that

is to say, in fact, that he has been perfectly prepared long since to make concessions. We have already degraded this Governor, and we command Eliang and Kir-hanga, in the event of his having been duped into any extravagant or unlawful engagement by the barbarians, to repudiate it utterly, in plain language, and not to be misled by their absurdity. Let them at the same time desire them to proceed to Kwang-tung, and there abide the decision of Yeh Ming-chin."

Here too was the record of the frustration of Western diplomacy in 1854, when Mr. Medhurst and Mr. Parker landed at Taku and held their first conference. It is thus described: —

"Acting on these, your slaves exhorted them for several hours, trying every means to direct them in the way they should go, and employing in all they said an equal proportion of austerity and mildness (*lit.*, the hard and the soft). The barbarians, however, pertinaciously adhering, with consistent disingenuousness, to their request that representation be made to the throne, a special danger presented itself; namely, that unless some latitude (*lit.*, tether) were allowed them, and a representation to the throne indulgently conceded them, these barbarians, although not presuming to dash up the river, might sail away south, and, instead of submitting, convert their dismissal into a ground of complaint. With the responsibility of an affair so important as the present resting upon them, your slaves dare not retain, be it ever so little, the standing prejudice against any concession whatever. The character of the barbarians is, notwithstanding, so extraordinarily malicious, that precaution against their advancement to other irregular pretensions will still be indispensable."

Again, at a later date: —

"Farther, in the *shin* watch (4 P. M.) of the 8th instant (29th October), just as your slaves had despatched their replies to Medhurst and the other, these barbarians requested an interview. Your slave Waukien declined to receive them, on the plea that certain expressions in their communication had been offensive and impertinent; but your slave Shwang-jui and your servant Tsien Hin-ho went forward to meet them, and lectured them upon the obligations of duty. Medhurst and Parker hung down their heads, having nothing to rejoin, and apologized for their error. They further observed, that, as a high officer was to be at Tientsin immediately, to look into the questions pending, there would now be peace between us; and though they should die, they

should not care. They seemed greatly ashamed, and their language was most respectful." *

But a still more important document was the report made to his master by Tsunglun, the Plenipotentiary of 1854, who was now in attendance to play the same game with the new-comers. Thus forewarned, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were, in our opinion, quite justified in their attitude of stern reserve and exaction before the advance on Tientsin. For reasons no doubt adequate, but on which the published correspondence throws no light, or from inadvertency, these papers, as we have before said, were not communicated to the neutral Ministers. A new Plenipotentiary, Tau, the Governor-General of the province of Chikli, had made his appearance, and with him Mr. Reed and Count Poutiatine were making "the experiments" at pacification, which Lord Elgin in one place refers to, and with which, it seems, he was in no way discontented, though anticipating little good from them. It was at one of his interviews that Count Poutiatine was able to deter the Chinese from the insanity of firing on the English gunboats, which, rather unceremoniously and within the six days of respite, crossed the bar and anchored close to the forts. In truth, the neutral Ministers spared no effort to induce the Chinese to yield, and to avert by timely concession the catastrophe which was impending. Lord Elgin expressly thanked them. On the 4th of May, the allies, to meet the views of the neutrals, allowed six days more. It was, in point of fact, still further prolonged; but on the 17th, news reached the forts that the Emperor had refused the new powers and the visit to Peking, and on the 19th of May, 1858, the forts were summoned and taken by assault.

It was a short, sharp conflict, with heavy loss to the Chinese and comparatively little to the assailants, the French suffering more than the English. The Chinese had taken no precautions in staking the river, and to prevent reconnoissances. French captains, with their eyes wide open, had carried diplo-

* We note a curious rhetorical analogy in one of these papers. One of the memorialists speaks of "this autumn of troubles," — "a classical expression," says the translator, "like 'the winter of our discontent.'"

matic notes up to the line of intrenchment, boats were busily engaged sounding all around and taking their angles, and the admirals actually landed on the jetty during the negotiations, and made their observations within musket-shot of the batteries. But when the fight began, the Chinese stood steadily at their guns, and never flinched till the storming parties were landed, when the wild huzza of the sailors was too much for their nerves. The dead and wounded were plentifully strewed among the guns and across the plain, where they were shot down in flight. At the door of Tau's head-quarters was found an official of high military rank with his throat cut, either by his own hand in despair, or by orders from his incensed superior. It was altogether a sad and sickening sight. Among the voluntary spectators of this easy conquest, as we have heard, was Mr. Bruce, then Lord Elgin's chief secretary, and now his successor, destined within little more than a year to witness a ghastly contrast, — not dying and dead Chinamen, uncared for by their Christian conquerors, but nearly five hundred of the bravest and most gallant of his own countrymen, slaughtered and mutilated, and but a remnant, recoiling in disgrace before the worthless battlements of Taku, and owing their escape to the very neutrals who, a year before, were the objects of so much and so unjust suspicion. The official despatches lately published, descriptive of the disaster of 1859, are deplorable revelations of the worst sort of incapacity, and are in painful contrast to those in which Lord Elgin announced a bloodless victory. There is one idea which a perusal of these documents suggests, — reading them, as we now do, in the glare of the recent conflict, — to which we refer in justice to a gallant and unfortunate man, Admiral Hope. He no doubt remembered a year ago, when his predecessor, Sir Michael Seymour, — than whom a braver and more considerate man never breathed, — was the object of diplomatic criticism and authoritative newspaper reprehension because he hesitated to attack these very forts, and in fact refused to do so till his arrangements were completed. "I trust," wrote Lord Elgin to the Foreign Office in 1858, "that the success thus achieved will encourage the admirals to prosecute with vigor those measures which I have been urging upon them for

some time past." And on the day before the Admiral had written: "The Chinese having completed their defences, and being fully prepared, this operation will be more likely to produce a good moral effect on the Chinese government, than if we had attacked them before they had made any such preparations." There was evidently a difference of opinion, but the military man was firm. Who can say that Admiral Hope would have made the attack of last June, if left to his own unprompted judgment? Or who can doubt what would have been his doom, had he, like Admiral Seymour, refused to be goaded into action before he was ready, when, as Mr. Bruce now says, in his apologetic despatch of the 13th of July, 1859, "if Admiral Hope had expressed doubts on the subject, they would not have been shared by his squadron, who have had most experience of warfare in China," — in other words, had the Admiral doubted, when, as the result shows, doubts were wise, he would have been sneered at by every scribbling subordinate in his fleet, pooh-poohed at by those who claim to have had experience in Chinese warfare, and stung by that swarm of ill-natured and unprincipled writers who contribute to the English press, — the same men who, a year ago, slandered Sir Michael Seymour, and now are innocently lecturing before lyceums and geographical societies? He unfortunately acted without hesitation, and in his anguish must find poor consolation in knowing that, if the means at his command were insufficient to justify a bold line of policy, Mr. Bruce "shares the responsibility with him"! It is a wretched affair altogether.*

The forts taken and the junks in the way stranded or burnt, on the 29th of May, 1858, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros in an English gunboat, and Mr. Reed and Count Poutiatine on board the Russian armed steamer Amerilla, pushed up this mysterious Peiho River, and at daybreak of the 30th were at anchor

* Admiral Hope, in his manly despatch to the Admiralty, does not talk about "Chinese treachery"; for he knows that there was none, and that he blew up a boom the night before the batteries fired a gun. But he says, showing that he had been misled by those who had experience of Chinese warfare, "Had the opposition been that usual in Chinese warfare, there is little doubt the place would have been successfully carried."

off the city of Tientsin, at the point of confluence of the Grand Canal and the navigable natural stream.

"The sun," says Lord Elgin, "dropped below the horizon shortly after we entered the mouth of the river. A bright moonlight succeeded. We proceeded steadily on our way, and at about 4 A. M. on the 30th of May dropped anchor in the heart of the suburb of Tientsin, at the point of junction of the Grand Canal and the Tientsin or Peiho River: in a most favorable position, therefore, for putting an arrest on the movements of the grain-junks which bear tribute to Peking.

"The banks of the river between Tientsin and the sea appear to be low and flat. Its channel is scooped out in soft mud. Unlike the Canton River, it has no creeks or affluents. Except that in the upper part it is somewhat tortuous, the navigation is singularly safe and easy.

"It is at any rate a fact of some interest and significance, that the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States reached this point from the sea, after a night voyage of about ten hours' duration, without encountering mishap of any kind whatsoever." — p. 312.

What a contrast, one may well observe, between this scene, — this advent of armed vessels, carrying no ensigns of tribute, but independent national flags, indicating the presence of ambassadors claiming a right to negotiate on terms of equality, — what a contrast with what had happened on this very spot twice before, and within the memory of at least one living man, Sir George Staunton, who as a boy had accompanied Lord Macartney, and who has died within the last few months! Sir John Davis and the present Earl Amherst, and perhaps others, are yet living, who remember those ancient days of degradation. It was at or near Tientsin (literally rendered, the Seat of Heaven) that Lord Macartney's state carriage was unpacked, and the Chinese were thunderstruck at finding the coachman riding in front, and on a higher seat than the ambassador; and that Lord Amherst had many of his dismal discussions about ceremony, in which, if we mistake not, he agreed to knock his head nine times on the ground in the imperial presence, provided the Emperor would do the same thing before a picture of the Prince Regent. It was here that a British Earl, only thirty years ago, did bow nine times before a yellow screen, and that, as we read, Sir George Staunton

"happily suggested," by way of compromise, that young Amherst (we presume the present peer) should rehearse the Kotoo before his father. Now, all was changed, terribly changed for Chinese *prestige*. One old man, at a ferry near Tientsin, was met by the strangers, who said he recollected the Amherst Embassy; and now he looked (if he chose to open his eyes and turn them that way) on how different a scene! In the river, and transversely in the canal, now, alas! nearly dried up, lay at anchor two French and four English despatch and gun boats, and one Russian steamer, — all heavily armed and filled with men. On shore, in a rather picturesque temple once consecrated by the august presence of the old Emperor Kienlung, now surrounded with sentries and guarded by cannon, resided Lord Elgin and Baron Gros. Below, at a little distance, on the right bank of the river, were to be seen the "flowery" flag of America, and the Blue Cross of Russia, indicating the less ambitious and unguarded residences of the neutral Ministers. No less marked were what we may call the moral or political contrasts thus exhibited. Here were the ambassadors, within sixty or seventy miles of the great shrine before which Chinese officials and tributary envoys bowed and trembled; and yet who troubled his head, in this crowd of intrusive barbarians, about the Kotoo, or the yellow screen? It was, we all recollect, an idea of the first Napoleon, that Lord Amherst made a mistake as to the Kotoo, and that he ought to have so far deferred to the ceremonial of the court as to perform it. It may well be doubted if the nephew Napoleon would have sanctioned such a prostration by Baron Gros. Lord Elgin agreed, it seems, if admitted to court, to kneel on one knee, and when the Chinese demanded two knees, "it was firmly resisted." Mr. Reed peremptorily refused to kneel at all, when the Emperor's letter to the President, enclosed in a yellow case, written on yellow paper, and placed on a yellow table, with imperial awe-inspiring dragons all around, was delivered to him, and the Chinese found no fault with the refusal. Thus passed away, apparently into contempt and desuetude, the Kotoo, and all questions of ceremony, eclipsed and pushed aside by the graver and more practical questions which Western diplomacy was forcing on the attention of the Chinese.

We now proceed to the history of those negotiations as revealed in this published correspondence, ending in the British treaty of Tientsin, and we desire distinctly to be understood, that, in abstaining strictly from any reference to the action of our Minister, we do so because his correspondence has not been officially made public, and without access to that there would be great liability to error and injustice. We desire to show what Lord Elgin did, and how he did it, from his own revelations.

On the day after the Plenipotentiaries arrived at Tientsin, the news came that two of the highest functionaries of the empire had been appointed to treat with them, and were on their way from the capital. These were Kweiliang, one of the four chief secretaries of state, in the civil service, the second Mandarin in the empire, a man of advanced age and most distinguished character, and Hwashana, the president of the Board of Civil Office, the most important tribunal in China. The prompt selection of officers of this rank showed the views the court had at length taken as to the gravity of the crisis. On the 3d of June they reached Tientsin, and, in order to meet the difficulty which had occurred with their predecessor Tau, announced themselves as "Plenipotentiary Ministers, with full powers." On the three succeeding days the official interviews took place. They were rather ceremonial than otherwise; those of the English and French Ministers being less friendly than those of the neutrals, there being found, or supposed to be found, some real or technical defect in the authority which was produced. In the minute of Lord Elgin's interview, it is said that "his Lordship rose immediately, and the Commissioners, after a few vain endeavors, by words and gestures, to retain him, accompanied him to his chair." In the eleven days which followed, as these official papers show, there was on the part of the English and French — but more particularly the former — a progressive series of threats and words, and sometimes acts of compulsion, which scarcely left the Chinese Plenipotentiaries any option but to submit; during which time, it will be remembered, the American and Russian negotiations were advancing quietly and decorously, and were completed, as the dates show, at the very time when the affairs of the

others were most critical and uncertain. The Russian treaty was signed on the 13th of June, — the day after there was an overt act of violence, — and the American on the 18th.

We have neither room nor inclination to discuss the question of public law as to the obligation of compacts extorted by duress, and are quite willing to admit that no such rule as affects private contracts can be expected to extend to public ones; but here, as in the matter of the irregular blockades, to which we have referred, the unprovoked hostilities at the forts, (for it is begging the question to say they were necessary,) with the appearance of a terrific force, and, as we shall presently see, its employment at Tientsin, make this question of obligation on the Chinese a very doubtful one, at least in point of morality. Let us, however, advert for a moment to the sad episode of Keying's appearance on the scene, and his discomfiture and disgrace. These papers throw little light on the mystery of this incident. Keying arrived on the 9th of June, being, if not the bearer, at least the harbinger of the letter from the Emperor to the President of the United States. Neither Lord Elgin nor Baron Gros was willing to see the old man; but Messrs. Wade and Lay, the English interpreters, were deputed to meet him. Their report is among these papers, and describes the interview in terms of great disparagement as to one whose principal fault was that he was old and decrepit. It thus closes: —

"Keying is now seventy-two years of age, and apparently much broken, walking and even standing with difficulty. He is, to judge from appearances, in little favor at court, and is only revived as a person acceptable to foreigners, and experienced in cajoling them. His conversation was a perfect clatter of compliments and moral sentiments, delivered with that mixed air of patronage and conciliation, which, it may be observed, was considered by the Mandarins earlier in contact with us as the true means of soothing and bridling the barbarian."

One may be permitted to remark, that such comments, and the imputation of such motives, sound oddly as coming from those whose business as interpreters was to stick closely to their function, — to tell the tale that was told to them without gloss or criticism. But it was the evident determination in the English councils, that Keying should not be listened to or toler-

ated, the reason or pretext being the intercepted letter found at Canton, written by him thirteen years before. This paper is now printed, and we confess — reading it with no other bias than a disposition to think well of a public man who once stood high in the estimation of the West, and comparing it with the other confidential papers which came to light — we are unable to see its enormity. It is full of that odd phraseology and expressed disparagement of foreigners which ought, one would think, to excite a smile rather than a frown.* For example: —

"He calls to mind, however, that it was in the 7th moon of the 22d year (August, 1842), that the English barbarians were pacified. The Americans and French have successively followed, in the summer and autumn of this year (1844).

"In this period of three years barbarian matters have been affected by many conditions of change; and in proportion as these have been various in character has it become necessary to shift ground, and to adopt alterations in the means by which they were to be conciliated and held within range. They must be dealt with justly, of course, and their feelings thus appealed to; but, to keep them in hand, stratagem (or diplomacy) is requisite.

"In some instances a direction must be given them, but without explanation of the reason why. In some, their restlessness can only be neutralized by demonstrations which dissolve their suspicions. In some, they have to be pleased and moved to gratitude, by concession of intercourse on a footing of equality; and in some, before a result can be brought about, their falsity has to be blinked; nor must an estimate (of their facts) be pressed too far.

"Bred and born in the foreign regions beyond its boundary, there is much in the administration of the Celestial Dynasty that is not perfectly comprehensible to the barbarians; and they are continually putting forced constructions on things of which it is difficult to explain to them the real nature. . . . . .

"The meal which the barbarians eat together they call the dinner. It is a practice they delight in to assemble a number of people at a great entertainment, at which they eat and drink together. When your

* Lord Elgin in a despatch of the 20th of September, informing the government that he had made the Chinese retract the word "barbarian" in an imperial decree, candidly says: "It is necessary to keep the Chinese up to the mark on this point, though I confess that I very much doubt whether they have any other term which conveys to the Chinese population the idea of a foreigner."

slave has given a dinner to the barbarians at the Bogue or Macao, their chiefs and leaders have come to the number of from ten to twenty or thirty; and when, in process of time, your slave has chanced to go to barbarian residences or barbarian ships, they have, in their turn, seated themselves round in attendance upon him, striving who should be foremost in offering him meat and drink. To gain their good-will he could not do otherwise than share their cup and spoon.

"Another point, it is the wont of the barbarians to make much of their women. Whenever their visitor is a person of distinction, the wife is sure to come out to receive him.

"In the case of the American barbarian Parker, and the French barbarian Sagréné, for instance, both of these have brought their foreign wives with them, and when your slave has gone to their barbarian residences on business, these foreign women have suddenly appeared and saluted him. Your slave was confounded and ill at ease, while they, on the contrary, were greatly delighted at the honor done them. The truth is, as this shows, that it is not possible to regulate the customs of the Western states by the ceremonial of China; and to break out in rebuke, while it would do nothing towards their enlightenment (*lit.*, to cleave their dulness), might chance to give rise to suspicion and ill-feeling. . . . . .

"To come to their governments, though every state has one, there are rulers, male or female, holding office permanently, or for the time being.

"With the English barbarians, for instance, the ruler is a female; with the Americans and French, a male. The English and French ruler reigns for life; the American is elected by his countrymen, and is changed once in four years; and when he retires from his throne, he takes rank with the people (the non-official classes).

"Their official designations are also different in the case of each nation. To represent these, for the most part, they appropriate (*lit.*, filch) Chinese characters, boastfully affecting a style to which they have no claim, and assuming the airs of a great power. That they should conceive that they thereby do honor to their rulers is no concern of ours, while, if the forms observed towards the dependencies (of China) were to be prescribed as the rule in their case, they would certainly not consent, as they neither accept the Chinese computation of time, nor receive your Majesty's patent of royalty to fall back to the rank of Cochin China or Lew Chew. And with people so uncivilized as they are, blindly unintelligent in styles and modes of address, a tenacity of forms in official correspondence, such as would duly place the superior above and the inferior below, would be the cause of a fierce alter-

cation (*lit.*, a rising of the tongue and a blistering of the lips); the only course in that case would be to affect to be deaf to it (*lit.*, to be as though the ear-loppet stopped the ear); personal intercourse would then become impossible, and not only this, but an incompatibility of relations would immediately follow, of anything but advantage, certainly, to the essential question of conciliation. Instead, therefore, of a contest about unsubstantial names, which can produce no tangible result, (it has been held) better to disregard these minor details in order to the success of an important policy." — *Blue Book*, pp. 175 – 177.

It may have been politic enough in the Western Ministers to refuse to allow Keying to interfere with the action of the accredited Commissioners, by refusing to recognize him; but to attribute to this old man all the evil agency which was imputed to him seems very irrational, and when we remember that the effect of it was to precipitate his downfall, and to send him to the dungeon, to the scaffold, or suicide, it is very sad. On the day, or the day but one, before Keying arrived, Mr. Lay, the English interpreter, had a private conconference with Pieu, the Chinese "Secretary of Legation." It is a very odd and characteristic narrative, through which "crop out," on the part of the Western diplomat, some very significant facts.

"Mr. Lay believed that, viewing the present condition of the Chinese empire, the improvement of her relations with foreign powers would be of substantive benefit to all classes in China; that foreign powers had no intention to appropriate any portion of her dominions, and Mr. Lay did not doubt that the four powers would readily bind themselves by a formal engagement to abstain from the prosecution of any such design. If China were wise, she would make Great Britain her friend, and in that case she would have nothing to fear from other powers. Great Britain was the most influential of the nations concerned.

"Mr. Lay asked the secretaries if they had heard of the Russian war. They replied, 'Yes; you would not allow Russia to appropriate little Turkey.' Mr. Lay pointed out that they might see from this that a foreign nation could not always commit what acts of aggression she pleased, and that if one nation advanced unreasonable demands, other nations could interpose to restrain her.

"Pieu reiterated what he had before said, that the Emperor would rather risk war than accede to the appointment of foreign Ministers at the court.

"Mr. Lay replied, that they had better try war then, but they might be sure that the Emperor would have finally to yield; that he had better do so with a good grace now, than take the chance *of having his capital filled by foreign troops at a future period.* So long as the Commissioners continued of their present mind, further discussion would be manifestly of no avail. Mr. Lay, therefore, would like a few minutes' conversation with Kweiliang himself on the subject of the resident Minister.

"Pieu said he would see his Excellency, and ascertain whether this would be agreeable to him. . . . . .

"Pieu prayed Mr. Lay to think this point over (of permanent residence), as it might perhaps be so arranged, and we could then keep the other powers in check. Pieu suggested also that the British Minister and his suit should, except on grand occasions, ordinarily wear the Chinese costume, so as not to excite the alarm of the people, and begged Mr. Lay to think this point over also. This, Mr. Lay, with difficulty restraining a strong inclination to laughter, promised to do."

On the 9th, Mr. Lay saw Kweiliang in person, and we beg our readers, in this and the succeeding citation, to note the helpless struggle of the Chinese on the points which to them were vital, and the progress of threats of coercion, some of which we emphasize.

"The conversation that ensued was of a desultory kind. Kweiliang at first *pleaded for more time:* Mr. Lay replied, that the propositions had already been before his government for months. Kweiliang then read over each Article, putting general questions upon each, *seriatim.* This being accomplished, Mr. Lay asked whether his Excellency was prepared to concede them. He said that he would see on the following day; and *still pleaded for a little time.* Mr. Lay said, that he trusted his Excellency would let him carry back a definite answer at once; no good could be gained by further postponement; *troops, as he had been before informed, were on their way to Tientsin;* and, unless he was prepared to return an answer in the negative, he had much better, on every consideration, answer in the affirmative at once. Mr. Lay had exhausted the subject, and he felt that he really could not return again to Lord Elgin without something definite, whether in the way of acquiescence or denial. He must, therefore, pray his Excellency to give him an immediate answer.

"Kweiliang on this withdrew, as he said, to consult his colleague. He returned in a quarter of an hour, saying that he acceded to the five propositions.

"Mr. Lay said he would communicate this to Lord Elgin, but that the information had better be conveyed to his Lordship in the form of a letter. Kweiliang asked Mr. Lay if he would visit him again on the following day, to assist in the preparation of the letter to Lord Elgin. This Mr. Lay promised to do.

"Upon the two remaining points still unsettled, Mr. Lay inquired his Excellency's views, remarking that, as a matter of course, Lord Elgin *must go to Peking, must have audience of the Emperor*, and kneel on one knee only; and further, that a building *must* be at the same time selected for the permanent accommodation of the Minister who might be appointed to reside at the capital. Mr. Lay had proceeded so far, Kweiliang saying, 'Yes, yes,' at the close of each sentence, when Pieu interposed, and violently insisted upon the necessity of prostration in the Emperor's presence, and combated moreover, with great earnestness, the notion of our going to Peking just at present.

"Kweiliang immediately adopted his line, and maintained that, at all events, our Ambassador must kneel upon both knees in the presence of his sovereign. This was firmly resisted, on the ground that the kneeling on one knee was the most respectful form of obeisance amongst us; that Great Britain was not a subject state of China, and her representative could not, therefore, perform an act which would be derogatory to the dignity of his nation."

On the next day there was more pressure and violence.

"Upon his arrival, Mr. Lay was informed that the draft of the letter was with Keying, to whom it had been sent for consideration, but that it would be back in the course of the morning, and Mr. Lay should have it by three o'clock.

"Some time before this hour, Twau, one of the secretaries, appeared with the letter for Mr Lay's final perusal. Mr. Lay, with the approval of Kweiliang, struck out a few characters which had been inserted here and there since the previous day, and it was sent back to be copied at once. An hour or more elapsed, and Keying arrived. He proceeded to talk in the strain he had adopted the day before, insisting that there was no necessity for any immediate hurry in the matter of the letter: it could well wait awhile; a few days could make no difference, and, besides, the 'kwan-fang' (seal) had not yet been received. His conversation of the previous day considered, it was impossible not to attribute this continued evasion of their engagement by the Commissioners to Keying's intervention. Mr. Lay repeatedly explained to him, that he did not consider himself authorized to enter into discussion regarding Lord Elgin's correspondence with the Commissioners with

him, and at last, having no other escape from his overwhelming familiarity and verbosity, withdrew to the garden, where he was met by the Commissioner Hwashana.

"Hwashana informed Mr. Lay that the letter could not be sent to-day; but that another letter, asking for time to consider the propositions, had been prepared, which he begged Mr. Lay to carry away.

"Mr. Lay declined to do anything of the sort; that no answer would he carry away, but in the negative or affirmative; and *raising his voice, Mr. Lay said that the Commissioners had now, after several days, kept him waiting for seven hours; that they had distinctly promised to give him the letter by three o'clock, and now at eight o'clock they endeavored to put him off again by a subterfuge; that the Commissioners had violated their pledged word; that Mr. Lay should inform Lord Elgin of what had passed; and that it was clear to him that, until the British troops were inside the city of Peking, their treatment of British authorities and British affairs would continue unchanged.*" — pp. 317 – 324.

Here, there was a distinct threat conveyed in loud and violent language, that, unless such a letter as Lord Elgin had dictated should be written, a British army should march on Peking; and it was not at all surprising that on the next day the exacted letter of reluctant promise was written, which Lord Elgin, in a despatch to Lord Malmesbury, well describes "as the fruit of Mr. Lay's communications." But even in this we are unable to find the express promise of permission for a British Minister to reside at Peking, which has been claimed. The language is this: —

"To the permanent residence of a Plenipotentiary Minister of her Britannic Majesty, there is properly no objection. Unfortunately a collision has occurred with the vessels of war of your Excellency's government, and as the dignity of ours would perhaps be outraged by the Minister's proceeding at once to Peking, his visit might, we think, be postponed. Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary might live in Tientsin, and an official residence could be appointed him in the capital.

"In case your Excellency should not incline to believe in the good faith of this proposal, we request you to send an officer or officers beforehand to make the necessary arrangements. Should he have business, the Minister can come and go as occasion may require, and a high officer of corresponding rank will be appointed to transact business with him by correspondence and by personal interviews. A British officer and students with him would always reside in the building. This, we think, would be the best arrangement."

Mr. Lay's loud language was not the only mode of striking terror into the poor Chinese; for on the next day (the 12th) actual violence was resorted to, no trace of which appears in this Blue Book, but for an account of which we are compelled to look to the statements of the Times newspaper, ostentatiously made on the authority of private letters, which must have come from the very councils of the embassies. Attributing to Keying's influence what occurred, which, if a disturbance or provocation at all, is, as we have said, not alluded to in Lord Elgin's despatches, and was, we believe, a mere trifle, the Times thus describes the next scene, incidentally reflecting on a very gallant officer in command at Canton, who had not been bloody or boisterous enough for the literary, or rather letter-writing staff.

"Poor Keying's tactics were only an imitation of those which he had seen succeed for a while at Canton. He intrigued to get himself appointed a co-commissioner, and succeeded. He tried, through the Americans, to induce the English to move their ships 'ever so little way' down the river, promising that, upon that, he should obtain mastery of the negotiations, and would settle all things. At the same time, he ordered the populace to manifest ill-will to the strangers, and as at Canton, so at Tientsin, quiet Europeans were insulted and stoned. But Keying was not so fortunate as Hwang, in having a Straubenzee to deal with. Lord Elgin and Sir Michael Seymour were equal to the occasion. Captain Sherard Osborn, with his galley's crew, and with Captain Dew and Mr. Oliphant helping him as volunteers, scaled the great gate of Tientsin, kicked the Tartar post before them, and let in a hundred marines, who were in march upon the city. This force marched through the city with a band and a couple of howitzers, administered a good fright to six delinquent householders who had encouraged the mob, and quieted Tientsin for the rest of the English occupation." — *London Times, September* 8, 1858.

Now this scandalous and bullying escapade, it will be observed, occurred on the very day after the Chinese Plenipotentiaries had promised to give up everything. It seemed to be done in order to clinch the matter. On the next day the Russian treaty was signed, and the intelligence communicated to Lord Elgin in these impressive words: —

"It is for your Excellency now to decide on the future fate of the

present government, and it will depend on you to place the necessary check on the stream which might otherwise deluge China, now newly opened, and cause so many disasters. The too great concessions which might be exacted from a government so roughly shaken would but precipitate its fall, which would only produce new and much graver difficulties. It is repose that is necessary for China, and it will be alike profitable both to the commerce and general interests of other states, who certainly desire nothing so much as to see the Chinese government arrive at the conviction that the concessions which it has now made are, above all, of utility to itself." — p. 331.

The rest of the tale is soon told. One other struggle by the Chinese Commissioners on the point of permanent residence at Peking, rather grotesque in form,* — a few more coercive admonitions, in the administration of which Mr. Bruce, the present Minister, was the instrument, — another hint of a march on Peking, — the coincident arrival of a large body of soldiers and marines, — and all was over; and on the 26th of June, 1858, the British treaty, with all its privileges, and its train of benefits or woes to China and the world, was duly and solemnly executed.

Had this treaty, after it had received the ratification of both parties, been accepted by the Chinese, had the disaster of last June not occurred, and had Mr. Bruce possessed the moderation and good sense to go with a moderate retinue, by the route which the Chinese indicated, there would have been no words too strong for Lord Elgin's praise in obtaining so much for himself, and so much for other people, and no one would have felt disposed to scrutinize too closely the processes by which it was accomplished.† Such is the infirmity of this

* "3dly. As to admission into the capital. The north of China, it is to be feared, would be found very cold, and excessively dusty; added to this, the climate has many peculiarities, to which (a stranger) could not accustom himself. Your Excellency's government could send an officer to the capital on any future occasion that he might have business to transact there, and you might be spared the trouble of the journey." — p. 336.

† In Kweiliang's letter to Mr. Bruce, before the last battle, he says: "We wish that, on your arrival at the mouth of the river, you should anchor your vessels outside the bar, and then, without much baggage and a moderate retinue, proceed to the capital for the exchange of the treaties." Mr. Bruce, however, thought (despatch, 14th of June) that "another lesson, such as we gave last year at Tientsin, should be given, before they would come to reason."

world's reasoning. But it has been a failure, and hence the inquiry forces itself upon us, whether the original error is not, in some measure, the cause of disaster and disappointment now, — whether, if less had been asked, or if it had been asked in a different and gentler way, — if the threat to march on Peking or to bombard Tientsin had been omitted, and Mr. Lay had not raised his voice, and Mr. Bruce had not scolded, and Captain Osborn and Mr. Oliphant had not scaled the walls, and paraded their howitzers and barbarian sailors among the terrified populace of Tientsin, — whether, if all this had not been done, and the moderate diplomacy of Russia and the United States had been adopted, with the presence, but not the application of force, the result might not have been different. We honestly think it would have been, and this, so soon as transient irritation subsides, will, we trust, be the sober second-thought of British statesmen. Not, we fear, of Lord Palmerston; for we remember that, in 1856, he publicly proclaimed that, "in dealing with Eastern nations, we are not bound by the same laws of right and wrong as in treating with Christian nations"; * — but of others, less unscrupulous, perhaps even of some of his colleagues; for we see that as recently as October last, about the time the news of Mr. Bruce's repulse reached England, Lord John Russell, in a speech at Aberdeen, said "that, in his opinion, foreign affairs should always be conducted with due regard to the rights and independence of foreign nations, and that the rule of doing as you would be done by is not only a maxim of Christian morality, but a rule of international conduct," and Mr. Wilson, the new India Chancellor of the Exchequer, has said the same thing still more clearly, for he was speaking of Orientals. "I am one," said he, "of those who believe that what is right in one part of the world, cannot be wrong in another. I believe in the universality of principles. I believe that kindness, generosity, and justice, exercised with a fair and firm hand, whatever the race may be, whatever the time may be, will produce the desired results." The question may well arise, and it is one which humanity has a right to ask of those who are

* Quarterly Review, April, 1857, p. 530.

about to hurl the storm of war against China, whether there were fairness and gentleness and justice and Christian morality in the stern resolves, exactions, and coercions of a year ago.

Nor, it should be remembered, did coercion cease when the trembling Chinese put their names and seals to the treaty. On the 1st of July they wrote to Lord Elgin that it would be necessary for them in person to present the treaty to the Emperor, and that the ratification would be forwarded to Shanghae, to which his Lordship replied on the next day, closing with a most significant suggestion : —

"The suggestion that the undersigned should await at Shanghae the Emperor's approval of the treaty, signed and sealed on the 26th ultimo, has greatly surprised him.

"The undersigned feels it his duty at once to state that he cannot consider peace to be re-established until he shall have been satisfied of the Emperor's entire acceptance of the conditions agreed to by the Commissioners as her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries. That the undersigned is neither acting in bad faith, nor insisting upon more than is justified by the usage of the Empire, is shown by the decree of the late Emperor, a copy of which he has the honor to enclose.

"Within a few days of its arrival at Nanking, Sir Henry Pottinger began to move his fleet down the Yang-tse-kiang.

"The undersigned is bound to require an assurance, similarly complete, of the purpose of his present Majesty to abide by the engagements entered into on his behalf. Without such an assurance the undersigned cannot quit Tientsin, and delay in procuring it will leave him no other alternative *but to order up to that city the large body of troops which has arrived from Hong Kong, and is now lying in the Gulf of Pechelee.*" — p. 339.

This was not without effect; for on the 4th of July the imperial decree ratifying all the treaties, specifying each, reached Tientsin, and on the 6th Lord Elgin requested the Admiral to withdraw "the pressure which had been applied with so much effect." Within forty-eight hours from that time every foreign flag had disappeared, every sailor and soldier had gone, the women and children came back to their homes, and the reign of terror was over; and it was proclaimed to the Western World that China at last was opened.

That Lord Elgin viewed with some misgiving the policy of

severity to which his instructions and the hazard of failure in his high ambition drove him, is quite evident from the despatches which, when the excitement was over and the work done, he wrote from Shanghae to Lord Malmesbury. His personal sympathies, we doubt not, were with the Chinese. "The doctrine," said he, a few months later, "that every Chinaman is a knave, and manageable only by bullying and bravado, is, I venture with all deference to think, pushed a little too far, in our dealings with these people." In fact, he was not unlike the Scotch post-boy in the Antiquary, "a whip in his hand and a tear in his eye," and he could hardly conceal his repugnance at what he had to do. On the 6th of July he wrote an account of Mr. Bruce's last communication.

"On the 24th," said he, "Mr. Bruce had an interview with the Imperial Commissioners for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms of the treaty. He was perfectly successful in the object of his visit, though he felt very sensibly the painfulness of the position of a negotiator [!] who had to treat with persons who yield nothing to reason, and *everything to fear*."

And on the 12th, from Shanghae, he said: —

"The concessions obtained in it from the Chinese government are not in themselves extravagant; nor, with the exception of the important principle of exterritoriality, in excess of those which commercial nations are wont freely to grant to each other; but in the eyes of the Chinese government they amount to a revolution, and involve the surrender of some of the most cherished principles of the traditional policy of the empire. They have been extorted, therefore, from its fears." — p. 345.

The strongest proof, however, — and to this we call special attention, — that the British Plenipotentiary thought he had gone to the very verge of what was tolerable, — and in saying this, we beg to be understood as bearing the most explicit testimony, not only to his natural gentleness of temper, but to his eminent good-sense, — was, that when afterward at Shanghae he talked the matter over with the Commissioners, when Mr. Bruce had gone, and Mr. Lay did not talk loud, and the sailors and marines were dispersed, Lord Elgin entirely changed his mind as to the resident embassy at Peking, and expressly

promised to waive it, assimilating his treaty in this respect to those of the other powers. In the despatch we have just quoted, of July 12th, Lord Elgin had expressed his first opinion very emphatically by saying: "The concession in the treaty, which is, I believe, pregnant with the most important consequences to China, is that of the principle that a British Minister may henceforward *reside* at Peking." * Nor is there any reason to question the entire sincerity of what was thus written. The phantom of Russian influence and Russian extension darkens the mind of every English public man of a certain school; the vision of a new Constantinople in the Far East, with (if we may coin a word) De Redcliffism there to control, direct, advise, and perhaps improve, is very attractive; and no one can doubt that Lord Elgin, a far-seeing and sagacious statesman, honestly believed that English presence and influence at Peking would be beneficial to the Chinese themselves, and invigorate their staggering institutions. But subsequent reflection and the really impressive representations of the Imperial Commissioners, led to an early change. On the 22d of October they addressed a long letter on this subject, from the *précis* of which we make the following extract, showing how well the Chinese can reason: —

"5. Article III. of the treaty makes it optional with England either to leave a representative in permanence at Peking, or to send one there occasionally. Lord Elgin is too intelligent and considerate to decide without deliberation on a course which does violence to any one.

"6. The objections to permanent residence are these: — The Banner men of Peking are numerous, and have no experience of foreigners.

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* There is something very striking in the following extract. Mr. Bruce was authorized, it seems, by Lord Elgin, to make certain modifications, but found that their terror rendered the concessions unnecessary.

"Mr. Bruce, at my request, waited on the Imperial Commissioners on the forenoon of the 26th. He informed them that I was ready to sign, on the afternoon of that day, the treaty in the shape in which it then stood; but that, if they intended to depart from the terms agreed upon, I should consider negotiations at an end. Mr. Bruce had authority to make certain modifications in the Articles complained of, if he should find it necessary to do so. He used that authority, however, very sparingly, as your Lordship will learn from the report by Mr. Lay of this important interview, the copy of which is enclosed in my despatch of the 3d of July." — p. 337.

The business of the official establishments in Peking of all ranks is purely metropolitan; their members have no acquaintance with provincial populations or their affairs; the character of the Pekingese is entirely different from that of the Chinese of the east and south of China. Hence a possibility of misunderstandings and collisions, the evil effect of which on China would be great, however insignificant the cause.

"7. The present condition of China from rebels is such that it is highly desirable to give her subjects no occasion of misgiving.

"8. China and England are now at peace for evermore. Lord Elgin's known sense of justice would not surely allow him to put a friendly nation in a difficult position. Her Britannic Majesty's character for well-doing and justice would similarly deter her from availing herself of the wealth and power of her state to distress China, in defiance of the friendly dispositions of the latter.

"9. England has gained something or other in all the Articles of the treaty, which are numerous, and the Emperor has with unusual complaisance confirmed every one of them. The residence in Peking is most inconvenient to China. It is a right not conceded to France or America, but to England alone. Lord Elgin is therefore prayed to consider how the proposition to forego it may be met. China is willing to send a Secretary of State or President to reside in any of the provinces, and will leave it to the representative of England to choose his own place of residence, at which the minister appointed as above will be placed in relations with him. As soon as Nanking is retaken, he can if he pleases reside at Nanking. If any part of the new treaty be infringed, he will be at liberty to reside permanently at Peking.

"10. What is here urged is not a breach of treaty. The Commissioners' request is legitimately based on the words 'either,' 'or.' They trust Lord Elgin will accede to their request, and, if there be anything that will advantage England without prejudice to China, they will similarly undertake to consider how it may be effected." — p. 405.*

* The translation is given at length afterward, and there we find the following: —

"When the Commissioners Kwei and Hwa negotiated a treaty with your Excellency at Tientsin, British vessels of war were lying in that port, there was the pressure of an armed force, a state of excitement and alarm; and the treaty had to be signed at once, *without a moment's delay. Deliberation was out of the question: the Commissioners had no alternative but to accept the conditions forced upon them.* Among these were some of real injury to China, (to waive which) would have been of no disadvantage to your Excellency's government; but in the hurry of the moment the Commissioners had no opportunity of offering your Excellency a frank explanation of these." — p. 406.

Again, on the 28th, they say pathetically : —

"The established reputation of your Excellency for justice and straightforwardness, for kind intentions and friendly feeling, make us place the fullest confidence in your assurance that, when you exacted the condition referred to, you were actuated by no desire whatever to do injury to China. The permanent residence of foreign ministers at the capital would, notwithstanding, be an injury to China in many more ways than we can find words to express. In sum, in the present critical and troublous state of our country, this incident would generate, we fear, a loss of respect for their government in the eyes of her people; and that this would indeed be no slight evil it will not be necessary, we assume, to explain to your Excellency with greater detail."

It was difficult to answer this, and Lord Elgin evidently was much impressed by it; for on the same day he wrote home : —

"The letter is very becoming in its tone; but expresses a strong hope that her Majesty will exercise the option conferred on her by Article III. of the treaty of Tientsin, by directing her Minister in China to visit Peking occasionally, instead of residing there permanently.

"Your Lordship is well aware of the view which I take of the advantages which are likely to accrue from the establishment of direct diplomatic relations with the court of Peking. It may, however, be worthy of consideration, whether or not these advantages can be secured without resorting to a measure which, in the opinion of the Chinese, would shake the stability of the empire, by impairing the Emperor's prestige. At any rate, I trust that your Lordship will not come to any final decision on this point, until you hear from me again." — p. 406.

In a fortnight he seems to have been convinced : for on the 5th of November he communicated to Lord Malmesbury his decision, — to the effect that he had concluded to advise his government to give up this very residence at Peking, and to be contented with an occasional visit. The following extract is full of interest, especially as it is illustrated by what has occurred since at the mouth of the Peiho, the very place where Lord Elgin, it seems, advised his government that new fortifications were erected, that a "desperate resistance" might be expected, and that no one could complain if it were so.

"In my despatch of the 22d ultimo I inclosed a *précis* of a very im-

portant letter which I had just then received from the Chinese Imperial Commissioners. I informed your Lordship that it was very becoming in its tone; but that it expressed a very strong hope that her Majesty would exercise the option conferred on her by Article III. of the treaty of Tientsin, by directing her Minister to visit Peking occasionally, instead of residing there permanently, and I requested you not to come to any final decision on this point until you should have heard from me again. I have now the honor to transmit herewith a translation of the letter in question, and of the correspondence to which it has led.

"In order that your Lordship may correctly apprehend the drift of this correspondence, it is necessary that I should state at the outset that the Chinese authorities contemplate the permanent residence of foreign ministers at the capital with more aversion and apprehension than any of the other innovations introduced by the treaty of Tientsin.

"In reply to the representations which I have been able, through private channels, to make to them in favor of this arrangement, as the best means of obviating international disputes, and of preventing them, when they chance to arise, from assuming undue proportions, they are wont to urge, in the first place, of course, the traditional policy of the Empire, and then the difficulties in which, if he were constantly resident at the capital, the idiosyncrasies of an individual foreign functionary, of violent temper and overbearing demeanor, might involve them. As regards this latter point (I refer now to communications which have passed between us through official channels) they are in the habit of illustrating their meaning by examples. 'If we were quite sure,' say they, 'that you would always send to us men thoroughly wise, discreet, and considerate, it might be different; but if, for instance, so and so were appointed to represent a foreign government at Peking, (and the right, if exercised by you, would of course be claimed by all other governments,) a month would not elapse before something would occur which would place our highest officers in the dilemma of having either to risk a quarrel or to submit to some indignity which would lower the Chinese government in the eyes of its own subjects.' No doubt such apprehensions are to some extent chimerical; but I am bound to admit that I do not consider them to be altogether so. . . . . .

"Again, we know from the Peking Gazette that the Emperor has issued orders for the reconstruction of the forts which we knocked down at the mouth of the Peiho, and for the erection of other works to protect Peking. It would hardly, I think, be reasonable on our part to require that the Emperor of China should leave his capital undefended for the express purpose of enabling us, whenever we see fit so to do, to attack him there. Nor do I, on the other hand, think that any works

which he is likely to raise will prevent us from reaching it, if we resolve to go thither in pursuance of a treaty right. At the same time, it may be a question whether it would be expedient to exercise the option conferred on her Majesty by Article III. of the treaty of Tientsin in such a manner as would force the Emperor to choose between a desperate attempt at resistance and passive acquiescence in what he and his advisers believe to be the greatest calamity which can befall the empire.

"Short, however, of the extreme measure of a forcible resistance to the invasion of the capital by foreign ministers, with their wives and establishments, (these latter being, it appears, in the eyes of the Chinese, more formidable than the ministers themselves,) there is a risk which I feel myself bound, under present circumstances, not to pass over without notice.

"Your Lordship may perhaps remember that, on the eve of the day on which the treaty of Tientsin was signed, I received a representation to the effect that the Chinese Commissioners would certainly lose their heads if they conceded the Articles in my treaty providing for the residence of a British Minister at Peking, and empowering British subjects to travel through the country for trading purposes.

"This representation caused me *a good deal of anxiety* at the time; but I resolved to disregard it, and to act on the hypothesis that, being in the vicinity of Peking with an armed force, I might so demean myself as to make the Emperor think that he was under an obligation to his Plenipotentiaries for having made peace with me even on the terms objected to.

"If, however, after having in terms so ample and language so respectful acceded to my requirements, they are compelled to report to the Emperor that they have failed to obtain from me any consideration whatever for the representations urged by them on behalf of their sovereign, I fear that their degradation and punishment will be inevitable, and I need hardly say, that an occurrence of this nature would tend much to unsettle the Chinese mind, and to beget doubts as to the Emperor's intentions with respect to the new treaty."

The despatch closes with a practical suggestion.

"As, in a transaction of so much delicacy, the choice of each word is important, I must refer your Lordship to the enclosed correspondence for a full exposition of the method which I have pursued in furtherance of these ends. The upshot of it all is this: that, after reserving, in the most unqualified terms, her Majesty's right to exercise, as she may see fit, the option conferred on her by Article III. of the treaty of Tientsin, I have undertaken to communicate to her Majesty's government

the representations that have been made to me on the subject by the Chinese Imperial Commissioners, and humbly to submit it as my opinion, that, if her Majesty's Ambassador be properly received at Peking, when the ratifications are exchanged next year, and full effect given in all other particulars to the treaty negotiated at Tientsin, it will be expedient that her Majesty's representative in China be instructed to choose a place of residence elsewhere than at Peking, and to make his visits to the capital either periodically, or as frequently as the exigencies of the public service may require.

"And further, although I adhere to every opinion I have formerly expressed, with regard to the importance of the establishment of direct diplomatic relations with the court of Peking, I am bound to admit that the position of a British Minister at the capital during the winter months, when the thermometer — if Humboldt is to be believed — falls to forty degrees below zero, the River Tientsin is frozen, and the Gulf of Pechelee hardly navigable, would not be altogether a pleasant one. And that it is even possible that, under such circumstances, his actual presence might be to the mandarin-mind less awe-inspiring than the knowledge of the fact that he had the power to take up his abode there whenever the conduct of the Chinese government gave occasion for complaint." — p. 411.

The "upshot," therefore, of the whole was, — for the British government agreed to it, — that the permanent embassy at the capital was to be abandoned, and in this respect the Western treaties — those made by gentle means, and those extorted by force — became identical.

Here ends the story of the negotiation of the treaties of Tientsin, and our limits, nearly exhausted, forbid our saying anything either as to the treaties themselves, or as to the agreeable concord which appears to have existed at Shanghae, on their return from the north, between Lord Elgin and Mr. Reed, and of which advantage was taken to effect a thorough revision of the tariff and commercial relations. We must pass by, for the same reason, Lord Elgin's Japan episode, his voyage up the Yang-tse-Kiang, three hundred miles farther than Western adventure had ever gone before, and also all reference to the settlement of the claims, which was by the English localized at Canton. The American claims, to the amount of seven hundred thousand dollars, were provided for, in a convention signed in November, and were to be liquidated by an issue of

debentures, receivable for duties, at the treaty ports of Fuhchau, Shanghae, and Canton, which has since been carried into effect. On the 19th of May, 1859, Lord Elgin reached London to receive the honor and gratitude he had so fully earned.

We cannot close this article without a word as to what has occurred since. The disaster at the Peiho on the 25th of July seems to have been the perfection of blundering on all sides, and we can hardly believe that what has been so stupidly done can be justified to the extent of making it the cause of war. We do not interpret Lord John Russell's despatch as an approval of Mr. Bruce's conduct. After stating that, up to a certain time, — the arrival off the Peiho, — what occurred was "clear and free from all obscurity," and was "certainly approved," as being "in strict conformity with instructions," his Lordship adds guardedly, and, we must say, in very loose English: "Upon arriving at the mouth of the Peiho, you were placed in circumstances of great difficulty, and in selecting the course you were to pursue, you were obliged to found that course mainly upon presumptive evidence. In these circumstances you had to weigh contingencies upon contingencies, upon which no safe calculation could be made. I can *only* say, therefore, that her Majesty's government, without being able, in the present state of their information, to judge precisely what measures it might have been most advisable for you to adopt at the moment, see nothing, in the decision you took, to diminish the confidence they repose in you." This, surely, is not very strong. If we mistake not, the military law makes a distinction between "acquitted" and "honorably acquitted," the Scotch between "not proven" and "not guilty," and Parliamentary law between an adverse vote, and a vote of "want of confidence"; and we are glad to observe that, with all the official influence which he can, of course, command, Mr. Bruce has been able to secure only the meagre verdict of not being censured. Before this article sees the light, we shall know what success has actually attended Mr. Ward's pacific diplomacy, and whether the American treaty of Tientsin, so much scoffed at a year ago, is not the only commercial one ratified. We sincerely trust that the first fruit of

such success will be the offer of mediation and good offices, which, by the treaty of Tientsin, we are bound to make, and which we trust will not be declined. It may be necessary to await the decision and action of the President on this point, but there can be no reason to doubt that he will continue to pursue that dignified and conciliatory policy, from which, in our relations with the East, he has never departed one hair's breadth, and which, carried out by our representatives abroad, has been attended with so good results. It may be, that the "good offices," the material aid, afforded by the American squadron to Admiral Hope's discomfited flotilla, may induce the British government to listen to an offer of mediation, made disinterestedly, and in perfect good faith. We sincerely hope it will. We have no interests in China but those which are commercial. Great Britain ought to have no others, and to commercial interests a China war, with its probable consequences, — the overthrow of an insecure dynasty, and the extension of revolt and internal confusion over those vast provinces whose peaceful industry alone satisfies the cravings of the West, — is fraught only with unmitigated evil and perplexity. It was well said by one of the Opposition speakers in Parliament, in 1857, — one the eclipse of whose genius we all deplore: "In dealing with nations less civilized than ourselves, it is by lofty truth and forbearing humanity that the genius of commerce contrasts the ambition of conquerors. If you talk of the interests of trade, remember, you cannot prosper if you make yourselves the objects of detestation to those you trade with. You may, indeed, force a road for your merchants over the ruins of cities and the corpses of your customers, but, I warn you, your trade will fly the place; for commerce recoils from bloodshed,

'Et udam spernit humam fugiente pennâ.'"

ART. VII. — 1. *The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism: considered in its different Denominational Forms, and its Relations to British and American Protestantism.* By ABEL STEVENS, LL. D. Vols. I., II. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1859.
2. *Harper's Magazine for July*, 1859. Article, *John Wesley.*

So rapid has been the growth of Methodism in America, that, like the volcanic mountains of Mexico, which recent eruptions have thrown up from the plain, it still amazes us by the figure it makes in our geography. An aged clergyman of another denomination, Rev. Mr. Waldo, late Chaplain to Congress, remarked at the dedication of a Methodist Episcopal Church in Poughkeepsie, a few weeks ago, that he remembered the time when there was no Methodist Church in the land. Now we see a sect numbering eight millions of adherents, divided into six distinct denominations, comprising nearly two millions of adult communicants, with ten thousand regular itinerant ministers, besides fifteen thousand lay preachers, who support themselves by secular business and preach as they may find or make occasion.

Born in a College, Methodism has from the beginning favored the cause of popular education. Discouraged at the outset of its career in America by the burning of two Colleges successively in Maryland, it made no further attempt of importance in this direction until 1824, since which time it has founded two hundred Academies and Seminaries of high grade, including a dozen or more Female Collegiate Institutes; two Theological Schools; and more than thirty Colleges, in which more than two thousand young men are pursuing substantially the same course of study and discipline for degrees as is required in Harvard and Yale. In all these institutions special attention is given to the religious culture of the pupils; and indeed, more than half of the professors and teachers are ordained ministers of the Gospel.

What a solution have we here of the problem of the efficacy of the voluntary principle in supporting religion! When the Constitution of the United States was formed, and no provision

was made for the inculcation of religion in a country becoming rapidly, yet sparsely, overspread by a population, native and immigrant, in circumstances unfriendly to the maintenance of Divine worship, many wise men in this nation and in Europe predicted the downfall of the republic. It is an axiom in politics, that no free government can long be maintained without a basis of intelligence and morality in the masses of the people; and yet this experiment of democracy on the largest scale was to be made without any recognition of religion in the Constitution, except in guaranty of its "free exercise"! These fears are still entertained by European writers. "In one important respect," says Mr. Alison in his History of Modern Europe, "America differs entirely from any state in Christendom, or indeed any state that ever before existed in the world. It acknowledges no state religion, and no public funds whatever are provided for the clergy or religious instructors of any denomination." "If nothing else," he concludes, "existed to subject America to the common lot of humanity, the seeds of its mortal distemper are to be found in the want of any provision for the gratuitous religious instruction of the poor: the very circumstance which, with the admirers of their institutions, is the most ceaseless subject of eulogy."

The publication of Dr. Baird's Religion in America, in several European languages, is likely soon to dispel these evil omens, and to let future historians know, that such has been the efficacy of the voluntary principle, in every denomination, that State after State has followed the example of the general government, and abolished the last vestige of a religious establishment. The Methodist Episcopal Church, a discarded offshoot of the English Church, which started into being but little before the independence of the United States, has kept pace with the growth of the republic, sending forth its itinerants with every wave of emigration that rolls toward the Rocky Mountains, and spreading its network of districts, circuits, and stations over the whole land. It has made itself systematically a national establishment on the popular principle; and at this moment has greater resources for the religious instruction of the poor — slaves, immigrants, Indians,

and indigent white natives — than could be found in the entire English Church, were it transported with its revenues to this country. As much might be said of more than one other of the leading sects, whose surplus energy has swept beyond the boundaries of this country to the isles of the Pacific and the continents of the East.

In England, Methodism is less conspicuous, because to a great extent it has been absorbed in the Establishment, from which the Wesleys, Whitefield, Fletcher, and the most influential of the early preachers, never wished the United Societies to be separated, believing as they did that the English Church is Apostolic in her doctrine and ritual, and in time, by the grace of God, might be revived, through the adherence and faithful labors of those who were interested in their enterprise. This has been accomplished in a large measure; but the progress of time has gradually and quietly dissolved the connection of the Wesleyans with the British Church, and they are classed with the Dissenting Churches, of which they constitute by far the most numerous and influential sect.

The two volumes of the able work whose title is given at the head of this article, bring the history of Methodism throughout the world down only to the death of John Wesley. The view it takes of Methodism as a revival of the primitive spirit of Christianity, must, we think, receive general assent. The necessity of such a revival at the beginning of the last century, in the British empire, is vividly painted in the opening pages of the first volume.

The Protestant Reformation, initiated by royal decree, was at first merely an ecclesiastical revolution, not a moral and spiritual renovation, which it indeed made possible; but the entanglement of the Church with the state provoked an extreme and violent dissent, resulting in civil war and the overthrow of the monarchy. The reaction, and restoration of the ungodly king and court, prostrated the spirituality of religion, depraved the public morals, and left the Churches both of the Establishment and of the Dissenters in a formal and lifeless condition. The peculiarities of Christian doctrine and the manifestations of earnest piety had become objects of popular contempt, and, in study and preaching, natural religion was substituted by

the clergy for the revealed word of God. Infidelity of every shade and shape, mostly springing from the sensual philosophy of Locke, was in fashion among scholars and men of speculative minds, and the masses of the people were to a great extent in a state approaching barbaric ignorance and degradation. To this deplorable picture of the times, observers from every rank in society give earnest and pathetic testimony. Watts, Harrison, Guise, and Bishops Butler, Leighton, and Burnet, all unite in the lamentation. Archbishop Secker remarks of the age, "as its distinguishing character," that "such are the dissolutions and contempt of principle in the higher part of the world, and the profligacy, intemperance, and fearlessness of committing crime in the lower, as must, if this torrent of impiety stop not, become absolutely total." Watts calls upon all Churchmen and Dissenters who have the cause of God at heart, to come to "the recovery of dying religion in the world."

This gloomy tendency of the times to heathenism met its first marked reaction in the department of elegant literature.

"It is worthy of remark," says Dr. Stevens, "that one of the most interesting departments of English literature of the last century owes its birth to the alarm that the better disposed literary men of the age took at the general decline of manners and morals, and the attempt to check it. . . . . Though these writers aimed at first more at the correction of the follies than the sins of the times, they grew serious as they grew important. It is curious to observe their increasing severity, as they obtained authority by time and popularity. Steele, from a long and various study of the world, painted with minute accuracy its absurdities. Addison, with a style the most pure and a humor mild and elegant, attempted to correct the literary taste of the day, and to shed the radiance of genius on the despised virtues of Christianity. He rescued Milton from the neglect which the sublime religious character of his great epic had incurred for him from the degenerate age. Pope satirized, in some admirable critiques, the literary follies of the times. Berkeley attacked, with his clear logic and finished style, the sceptical opinions which were then prevalent; most of his articles are on 'Free-thinking.' Johnson, 'the great moralist,' stood up, a giant, to battle with both hands against all error and irreligion, whether in high places or in low places. These writings exerted an influence upon the tastes and morals of the age; but it was comparatively superficial." — Vol. I. pp. 23 – 25.

This genial tendency of the best literature was but as the mild radiance of the moon, and wholly insufficient to break up the dismal winter of the times, which craved the direct and fiery beams of a tropical sun. There was intense need of a revival of religion, — of that religion that reaches up and takes hold of supernatural aid, — of "power from on high," — of "a baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire."

How happy it is for us, that we have in a permanent form the original records of our divine religion, out of which it may spring up afresh in some clear, candid, vehement mind, and be thence communicated to others, diffused in all its first purity and vigor amidst the scenes of its late neglect and decline, and poured forth into regions beyond and far remote! This is the story of Methodism. A boy descended from clerical ancestors of free and independent minds, himself endowed with an energetic and imperious will, a clear, logical understanding, a constructive genius, a wakeful conscience, and a warm heart, with a lithe, wiry, and enduring physical frame, from the first dawn of intelligence under the guidance of a mother whom he resembled, who in her maiden thoughtfulness in the house of her enlightened father had the boldness to differ from him and to give up dissent from the religion of the state, — such a youth was bent upon finding out for himself, as an individual soul, the reality and truth of the Christian religion, that he might experience its full benefit, make trial of it in life, and recommend it by example and doctrine to all the world. He had every advantage of domestic and public education, and a mind on which no culture was lost; and when he arrived at manhood, he found himself in the eager pursuit of personal religion. Long and violent was the struggle. He plunged into the depths of humiliation and self-denial; devoted all his leisure, and all his earnings not required to sustain nature, to charity; crossed the ocean to carry the Gospel to savage heathen; went with bare feet as an encouraging example to the poor boys under his tuition; lay out at night in his pastoral excursions, and was covered and his hair fastened to the ground by the frosts of the morning. He inquired of every one who had a suggestion to make on Christian duty or privilege, watched the developments of character of

those professing piety, especially in trying emergencies; followed docilely and thoughtfully such advice as met his approval; and above all pondered deeply, prayerfully, and continually the word of God.

"To candid, reasonable men," he says, in the Preface to a volume of his sermons, "I am willing to lay open what have been the inmost thoughts of my heart. I have thought I am a creature of a day, passing through life as an arrow through the air; I am a spirit come from God, and returning to God; just hovering over the great gulf: till a few moments hence, I am no more seen. I drop into an unchangeable eternity! I want to know one thing, the way to heaven! how to land safe on that happy shore. God himself has condescended to teach me the way! for this very end he came from heaven. He hath written it down in a book! O, give me that book! At any price give me the book of God! I have it, — here is knowledge enough for me. Let me be 'homo unius libri.' Here then I am, far from the busy ways of men, I sit down alone: only God is here. In his presence I open, I read this book: for this end, to find the way to heaven."

The Bible is not a revelation, if such an inquirer could not arrive at the truth; and yet, so encumbered was he with the prejudices of education and of learning, that what one differently affected would find out in a week or a day, he could not discover to his own satisfaction until he was near thirty-five years of age. "I went to America," he says in his journal, "to convert the Indians; but oh! who will convert me?" An ingenious writer in a recent number of Harper's Magazine has joined Southey, Coleridge, and others, in dissenting from Mr. Wesley's disparaging account of himself; but who is so likely to know as Wesley himself whether he was at this time a Christian? When the sea swept over the ship that was bearing him to America, threatening to engulf it, he saw that the simple-hearted and pious Moravians, men, women, and children, went on singing with composure, and even with rapture, while he was filled with dismay and alarm; — not with the instinctive dread of disaster and death, which the most devout heart may not always suppress, but with anxiety in respect to his relations to God and the eternal salvation of his soul. He said:

"I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore."

No reasoning from his past life of prayer, and consecration, and devotion to good works, could appease the fatal anxiety which oppressed his spirits; and that not only in the storm and amidst imminent trials merely, but habitually. No doubt Mr. Wesley was at this time in a state of acceptance with God; for he was perfectly sincere in all his endeavors to please God, and his subsequent mature views on the subject of salvation forbade him to think that he would have been lost if he had perished at sea at that time. Yet this might be said of many honest and devout heathen, and of other persons of pure morality not under the influence of the Gospel, who are faithful to the light they have. But Christianity is a life, the main element of which is love to God, attended with and inspired by a happy evidence of acceptance with Him. "Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not" that a man must be "born of the Spirit," and that "every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God"? What poor, sincere, earnest John Wesley wanted, to make him a Christian, was the inspiration of the love of God in his soul. This he obtained, as he pathetically describes in his journal, May 24, 1738. Observe how God honors Luther's great Biblical discovery of justification and sanctification by faith alone. It brings the sad heart of Wesley to light and joy. A spark from the Reformation of the sixteenth century kindles the revival of the nineteenth.

"In the evening I went to a house in Aldersgate Street [London], where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death. I began to pray with all my might for those who had, in a more especial manner, despitefully used me, and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there, what I now first felt in my heart."

Such is Wesley's clear account of his conversion. Charles Wesley and George Whitefield experienced the same change about the same time, and in the same way, though independently of each other; and there are millions of men now living who can trace in it the exact counterpart of their own experi-

ence. It is the key-note to the whole movement. It was this that created the sudden and extraordinary interest in the preaching of Whitefield and the Wesleys. It was this that excited the opposition of the formal Churchmen, and turned the zealous reformers out of the pulpits of the Establishment to proclaim in the fields and highways to the thronging and excited populace, "Ye must be born again." Without this they would have accomplished no more for the cause of religion, in their subsequent career, than they had accomplished before. They might have made themselves a seven days' wonder for their excessive zeal; but they would not have set the nations on fire.

This view of the subject is taken by all the Methodist historians. Dr. Stevens remarks: —

"Thus, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, after twenty-five years, as he elsewhere informs us, of religious solicitude and struggles, did he, by a clearer apprehension of the doctrine of justification by faith, find rest to his soul, and feel himself at last authorized to preach that blessing to all contrite men, from his own experimental proof of its reality. But had he not faith before? Doubtless he had. At another time he declared that he had, but that it was 'the faith of a servant' rather than of a child." — Vol. I. p. 105.

This distinction is an important one, and may be easily illustrated. It is not, as the writer in Harper's Magazine supposes, a distinction of degrees, but of kind, — a distinction belonging to the realm of the affections. A mind under the dominion of reverence, fear, and the moral sentiment, is very different from one which, in addition to all these, is moved by personal love for God. A woman may marry a man from considerations of respect and of duty, and may cherish toward him all proper sentiments, except the very one which should be uppermost in this relation; but how different is she from the happy wife whose heart is the home of conjugal love! Many a good woman has a kindly regard for the children of strangers whom she has adopted, but maternal love can be given only with maternity. So, no man can say, "Abba, Father!" — "Dear Father!" — but he that is born of God.

Another aspect of this new experience of Wesley, which

he afterward called the direct witness of the Spirit, is controverted by the same writer. Mr. Wesley believed and taught that the Holy Spirit, at the time the penitent sinner obtains pardon through faith in Christ, conveys a direct impression of it, and of his adoption; which becomes the motive, the rational cause, of the new-born affection of love; — in contradistinction to the doctrine that the heart finds itself mysteriously possessed of the love of God, and thereby infers that it is pardoned and adopted. This last-named indirect witness of the Spirit, or rational inference from the character, he admitted and insisted upon as a necessary and indispensable corroboration of the direct witness of the Spirit; for without it the enthusiast might take some hallucination of his excited mind as a Divine impression. But he preferred to call it the testimony of our own spirit, both as being the conclusion derived from our altered affections toward God and man, and in conformity with the language of inspiration, which indicates two concurrent testimonies, — "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit." To refute the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit, this writer refers to the passage we have quoted from Wesley's journal, and adds: —

"It is singular enough that Mr. Wesley's account of his own experience is clearly discordant with his theory of the Spirit's witness. 'While we read from Luther on the Galatians,' says he, 'I felt my heart strangely warmed.' These words cannot be mistaken. They evidently were not a simple conviction wrought into his consciousness, but religious comfort animating his heart; not a bare testimony to the intellect, but a kindled and glowing affection, the first token of what he then conceived to be his conversion. In a word, it was this Scriptural and last evidence of the new life, 'the love of God shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost.'"

Here the writer seems to contradict his first theory, that Wesley did not at this time receive "the new life," and then he takes the new life as evidence of itself. But the difficulty is to know how Wesley could have had this "religious comfort animating his heart," this "love of God," "a kindled and glowing affection," without any new evidence of his acceptance with God to inspire the new emotion. It is true, God can add miracle to miracle, and cause a heart to glow

with love without a previous motive; but it is more reasonable to suppose that, whatever susceptibility he might give immediately to the soul, he would bring it into action through some appropriate conviction of the intellect. All this appears in the short account which we have quoted, though it is not there placed in logical order; for he "did trust in Christ" in a manner beyond his former confidence, "an assurance was given him that his sins were pardoned," and at the same time he "felt his heart strangely warmed." Moreover, a spirit of love and forgiveness toward his enemies sprang up in his soul. How natural is all this, upon the supposition of the direct witness of the Spirit!

Whether this be a doctrine of Christianity need not here be argued. It is a distinctive feature of Methodism, and the secret of its popular power. As miracles not only furnish direct evidence of the Divine origin of our religion, but answer the collateral purpose of impressing on the mind the personality of God, as distinguished from the ordinary forces and laws of nature; so the direct witness of the Spirit, though not, strictly speaking, a miracle, brings the personal presence of God in the Church to the mind of the believer, and makes the simplest services and rites of religion, like the wheels of the chariot which the prophet saw by the river Chebar, instinct with a life and power not their own, "for the spirit of the living creature was in them." A Church that holds this doctrine has no need of a splendid ritual, or grand organs, or stained windows to let in a dim religious light, or the Gothic arch lifting the imagination to heaven, to keep alive the spirit of devotion, and to bring the sinner to God. It is this doctrine that makes the simple Methodist class-meeting a scene of rapture, and turns the log-cabin of the prairie into the very vestibule of heaven.

Another doctrine of Wesley is not only objected to by the same writer, but even treated with derision by him.

"Of all the doctrines taught by Wesley, none has given greater offence than what he called Christian perfection. And this is precisely the doctrine on which he is least understood. With a remarkable power of clarifying his thoughts, and making them clear to others, he is here sadly at fault. He used the word *perfection* because he found

it in the Scriptures, but declined the prefix, *sinless*. He maintained that man in his present state is subject to ignorance and weakness, and involuntary transgressions of the Divine law, which he did not conceive to be sins in the proper sense of the word. These frailties he thought might consist with what he called perfect love, or a perfect conformity to the first great commandment, the fulfilment of which is substantially the fulfilment of the whole law. Meanwhile, for slight omissions of duty, and for duties imperfectly done, there is continual need of the atonement, and the prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses.' The difficulty with all who have taken offence at this doctrine lies in comprehending the consistency of a statement that seems self-contradictory, — an imperfect perfection, a given quantity less than itself, a living without sin, and yet daily needing an atonement, which is meant only for sin. It is like asserting a circle with the properties of a triangle. The plain truth is, that the word *perfection*, according to Wesley's own admission, is applied to a less than total sinlessness, and where to fix the limit would puzzle the skill of Duns Scotus, who determined the exact number of spirits that could dance on the point of a cambric needle!"

The objection to this doctrine is, that it is indefinite and self-contradictory. It takes not much of a theologian to discover that the Scriptures take for their standard of human nature and human conduct a law which was made for a perfect humanity, and that everything in man, whether intended or not, which is contrary to that law, is called sin; for "sin," says St. John, "is the transgression of the law." Hence, all men are in this sense regarded as sinners, as death is represented as the legal consequence of that state. "All die; for all have sinned." Any degree of grace, therefore, which should leave a person short of complete conformity to the law, in anything which that law would require of perfect humanity, would render it improper for a theologian to call him "sinless." Yet as perfection, like unity, is a relative term seldom used in an absolute sense, a person might be regarded as perfect, who had attained to such a degree of grace as to consecrate himself wholly to God. With still greater propriety he might be called perfect, if, in addition to this purpose and principle of perfect obedience, he had attained to such a degree of love to God as to make it a ruling passion of his nature, controlling all its other passions and impulses. Now, every Christian is perfect in this first degree; for Christ's disciple must, at the

outset, "forsake all that he hath." Wesley taught that the higher degree is attainable in this life, and he called it "Christian perfection," "perfect love," and "entire sanctification," terms which do not imply absolute or "Adamic perfection," — the perfection of an unfallen and perfect humanity for which the law was originally made. Nor is there such an indefiniteness here that we need call any of the old Schoolmen out of their graves to enlighten us. Does not every unconverted man know that his passions war with his conscience, and often bring him into subjection? Does not every converted person know that his religion, especially the love of God, comes to the aid of the conscience, and gives him in turn dominion over his passions, so that he does not practically obey them? Is he not frequently distressed, however, by the conflict, and does he not feel himself degraded, though not guilty, by the presence and power of passion, and sigh for such a degree of moral strength as shall keep his soul in peace? What then? If he shall have his religious feelings intensified, and especially the love of God greatly increased, will he not find that harmony of the affections which his moral ideal requires? Do not all know that every temper and passion of the soul falls freely into the train of a master passion? If gold were God, then every miser were entirely sanctified. Surely it is reasonable for every good man to expect a pious habit of soul, as the result of proper endeavors, and it would be proper to call it "entire sanctification," or "Christian perfection."

The points in which Wesley differed from Lady Huntingdon and the Calvinistic Methodists show an opposite phasis of Wesleyan theology, and present the agency of man in redemption and in the Christian life, in a peculiar and interesting light. The Calvinistic controversy was a painful crisis in Methodism, and resulted in a permanent separation of the Arminian and Calvinistic parties. It is a delicate subject to handle; but Dr. Stevens has treated it with discrimination, and in a spirit of catholic justice and kindness, which is truly refreshing. Wesleyan Methodism will not be understood unless the feature of it here exhibited is profoundly considered. We quote, therefore, the entire minute on Calvinism of the Conference of 1770, held in London: —

"We said in 1744, 'We have leaned too much toward Calvinism.' Wherein?

"1. With regard to *man's faithfulness.* Our Lord himself taught us to use the expression, and we ought never to be ashamed of it. We ought steadily to assert, on his authority, that if a man is not 'faithful in the unrighteous mammon,' God will not 'give him the true riches.'

"2. With regard to *working for life.* This also our Lord has expressly commanded us. '*Labor*' (Ergazesthe), literally '*work* for the meat that endureth to everlasting life.' And in fact every believer, till he comes to glory, works *for* as well as *from* life.

"3. We have received it as a maxim, that 'a man is to do nothing *in order to* justification.' Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favor with God should 'cease from evil, and learn to do well.' Whoever repents should do 'works meet for repentance.' And if this is not *in order to* find favor, what does he do them for?

"Review the whole affair.

"1. Who of us is *now* accepted of God? He that now believes in Christ, with a loving, obedient heart.

"2. But who among those who never heard of Christ? He that feareth God and worketh righteousness according to the light he has.

"3. Is this the same with 'he that is sincere'? Nearly, if not quite.

"4. Is not this 'salvation by works'? Not by the *merit* of works, but by works as a *condition.*

"5. What have we then been disputing about for these thirty years? I am afraid, *about words.*

"6. As to *merit* itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid: we are rewarded *according to our works,* yea *because of our works.* How does this differ from *for the sake of our works?* And how differs this from *secundum merita operum,* 'as our works deserve'? Can you split this hair? I doubt, I cannot.

"7. The grand objection to one of the preceding propositions is drawn from matter of fact. God does in fact justify those who, by their own confession, 'neither feared God nor wrought righteousness.' Is this an exception to the general rule? It is a doubt whether God makes any exception at all. But how are we sure that the person in question never did 'fear God or work righteousness'? His own saying so is no proof; for we know how all that are convinced of sin undervalue themselves in every respect.

"8. Does not talking of a justified or sanctified *state* tend to mislead men, — almost naturally leading them to trust in what was done in one moment? Whereas we are every hour and every moment pleas-

ing or displeasing to God, *according to our works*, — according to the whole of our inward tempers and our outward behavior."

This minute kindled an immediate flame. Dr. Stevens remarks: "As a whole, it might have been better guarded, and doubtless would have been, had Wesley apprehended that it was to be so extensively and polemically discussed. Its doctrine, as obviously intended, is wholesome and Scriptural." To give satisfaction as far as possible to his Calvinistic brethren, Wesley, at a subsequent Conference, signed a "Declaration," in which, without retracting his opinions expressed in the minute, he explained that he had not in any wise meant to teach justification by works as contradistinguished from the doctrine of salvation through the sole merits of Jesus Christ.

This produced but a temporary lull in the storm, which very soon burst forth anew with redoubled violence. In the controversy Fletcher took the leading part on the side of Wesley, and exhibited a rare combination of polemic zeal and Christian urbanity. As in the case of Melancthon and of John, the beloved disciple, his benignant temper cast an angelic charm upon the stormy aspect of the times. The sum of the whole discussion is this. The Calvinistic brethren held that, by original sin, mankind was lost in Adam and restored by Christ to a new probationary state, in which all would have the free offer of salvation; but God, foreseeing that all would, through a depraved disposition, neglect the offer without constraining influences, or effectual grace from Heaven, decrees to send to a certain number that grace, and infallibly to secure to them final salvation. The moment that grace reaches them they are regenerated, and repent, believe, and love as the natural consequence. They may resist these gracious influences and fall, but grace will finally prevail and effect their salvation. On the other hand, it was contended that Christ died for all, and his grace not only secured a probationary life to all, but on terms with which the grace potentially imparted enables all to comply, in order to pardon and regeneration. If a man is born in a heathen land and hears not the Gospel, he will be saved if he obeys the dictates of his conscience, repents of past transgressions, and performs the duties which the light he

has reveals to him. The light and favoring impulses of conscience are from Christ, and by his grace all the freedom and moral power requisite to obey the monitions of conscience are bestowed. When Christ is preached a new duty is presented, namely, faith in him; and the performance of this duty is made the indispensable and the all-sufficient condition of pardon for the past, and of the reception of additional grace to inspire the love of God and to enable the soul to discharge the duties which grow out of the new relations to God and man made known and ordained by Christianity. In this view grace alone lays the foundation of man's probationary life, and provides power to perform all the conditions of present and final acceptance with God; and yet upon this platform of free grace there is work for man to do, and merit attached to that work. The paradox is solved by simply considering grace as giving man scope for duty, and rewarding him for it, so that all merit and its reward are the fruitage of grace. The term "gracious ability" is now familiarly employed to designate the moral power given to man, through the Mediator, to comply with the conditions of salvation. It is a term for which, in its technical sense, the Methodist Episcopal Church is indebted to Rev. Dr. Wilbur Fisk. He employed it in his Calvinistic controversy to distinguish the congenital endowment of grace from the "natural ability" of the New Haven theology, and the "moral inability" of the Old School. Every man has ability to do all that is required of him for salvation, but it is not natural; it is of grace.

Since the Calvinistic controversy, Methodistic theology has been settled in all its principal features. It has had no reaction toward Calvinism, but has rather tended the other way. The term "initial justification" has lately come into use to express the opinion that the infancy of the race, though possessed of depraved tendencies, as judged by the perfect law originally given to man, is unconditionally absolved from all condemnation on that account, and infant baptism is retained to signify this absolution, with the title of its subject to regeneration and the baptism of the Holy Spirit, if he dies before reaching a self-determining age, or if, arrived at years of accountability, he does not voluntarily reject the overtures of

divine grace. In the light of the doctrines of "initial justification" and "gracious ability," it seems that Methodism does not regard this as a doomed world, but as a saved world, in which no one is lost who does not throw himself out of the ark of salvation. It does not, however, ignore the terrible fact, that, like the generations before the flood, the greater part of mankind are in rebellion against the law and the grace of God. Still, it believes that this need not be, and looks hopefully to a coming time when the scene shall be reversed.

The principal dogmatic discussion within the Methodist body has been on the subject of the Trinity; not on the general doctrine expressed by that term, but on the sonship of Christ. At one time a great blaze was kindled in the British Conference. Dr. Adam Clarke held that the term "son" was expressive merely of the incarnation of the second person of the Trinity; but Richard Watson contended that it was an expression of the eternal generation from the Father. Watson's Institutes, an elaborate and learned treatise, in three volumes, on the evidences, doctrines, and institutions of Christianity, is now recognized as the most genuine standard of Methodism next to Wesley's Sermons.

"It is the doctrine of the Divine Paternity," he writes, "which preserves the Scriptural idea that the Father is the *fountain* of *Deity*, and as such the *first*, the *original*, the *principle*. Certainly he must have read the Scriptures to little purpose who does not perceive that this is their constant doctrine, 'that of Him are all things': though the Son is Creator, yet it was by the Son that the Father made the worlds; and that, as to the Son, he himself has declared that he 'lives by the Father,' and that the Father has given him to have life in himself, and that can only refer to his Divine nature, nothing being the source of life in itself but what is divine: a view which is put out of all doubt by its declaration, that by the gift of the Father the Son hath life in himself, 'as the Father has life in Himself.' But when the essential paternity of the Father and the correlative filiation of the Son are denied, these Scriptural representations have no foundation in fact, and are incapable of interpretation.

"The term 'Son' at once preserves the Scriptural character of the Father, and sets up an everlasting barrier against the Arian heresy of inferiority of essence; for, as Son, he must be of the same essence as the Father."

This view is unfolded and argued by interpretations of Scripture, sustained by citations from the standard authorities in the Protestant and Romish Churches, with a display of ability and eloquence unsurpassed in polemic literature. It may be claimed by Unitarians that the supremacy of the Father is conceded by this doctrine; and that in the highest of all senses He only is God. Nor can any other answer be made than that this superiority is that of order, and not of substance or essential attributes.

This controversy adds another illustration to the oft-repeated remark, that human language must be ever inadequate to express, and the human mind to conceive of, the mode of existence of a divine and infinite nature. On this subject revelation can give us only an approximate idea; and to insist on a logical definition of the symbolical terms employed, and to draw out of them a logical conclusion, is absurd. It is as if we should approach a painting, and measure its colors and figures by square and compass. In that way we should very soon pronounce the greatest work of art a monstrous caricature; for we should find the shrubbery and rocks in the foreground greater than the lofty mountains and the grand old forests in the distance. But when we draw back till we stand in the focus of the perspective, the scene bursts upon us in all its glorious reality. To that stand-point, before the revelation of God, we may approach without ever reaching it. Meanwhile let us not despise sacred paradoxes, but receive them humbly and thankfully, as the nearest approach that heavenly natures can make to us in this world.

We would not be understood, however, to discourage the keenest investigation and discussion of these subjects. Conducted with proper philosophical and Christian liberality, the occupation of the mind on these themes tends powerfully to purify, subtilize, and expand it. The problem is to find a formula which is agreeable at once to reason and to Scripture. No interpretation can stand which is contradictory to reason; but a statement that reason would approve may be Scripturally groundless. And let us not be too confident in the exercise of reason. Most men would at first thought declare that the proposition that two lines may approach each

other forever without ever meeting, is contrary to reason; but mathematical reasoning renders this absolutely and undeniably certain.

Decided as the Methodists from Wesley down have been in their doctrinal opinions, no subscription to dogmas was required as a condition of membership in the United Society of Mr. Wesley; and though an abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles was prepared by him as a suitable creed for the American organization, and adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church, yet a specific subscription to it has never been required of any but ministers. A general soundness in the faith has been made, by a recent General Conference, a condition of full membership. This, however, would not extend beyond the "Apostles' Creed," as contained in the formula of baptism for adults, and to which few believers in the New Testament would hesitate to subscribe.

The ecclesiasticism of Wesley was peculiar, and becomes interesting in the view now taken of Methodism as a revival of the spiritual life of Christianity. It is significant of that fact. John Wesley had no idea of schism; his societies were outgrowths of the Establishment, from which he never wished them to separate. He died in full communion with the English Church, and until a recent period the United Societies in the British empire remained mere societies. Nor have they at any time formally proclaimed their independence, though by degrees they have come to style themselves Churches, and the Conferences have assumed the right of ordination with the laying on of hands. In this country the Revolution led to a different course of events. Having repeatedly applied in vain to Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London, to ordain certain of his assistants to administer the ordinance in the societies fast multiplying in the Colonies, Mr. Wesley, satisfied in his own mind by thorough examination that the right of ordination was vested in the presbytery, took occasion of the independence of the United States, which ruptured both the political and ecclesiastical ties of the empire, to provide for the independent organization of his societies in the United States as a distinct Church. In doing this he endeavored as far as possible to transfer to the new American Church the form of the English

Church. He accordingly prepared an abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and the Prayer-Book, including the ritual for consecration of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, for the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for the service of Matrimony, and the Burial of the Dead. He added to this a collection of psalms and hymns. In pursuance of this plan, assisted by presbyters of the English Church, he ordained Rev. Thomas Coke, LL. D., a presbyter of the Established Church, to be Superintendent of the United Societies in America; and Messrs. Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vesey as elders. The preachers in America assembled in Baltimore on Christmas day, 1785, and cordially adopted the plan of Mr. Wesley, accepted Dr. Coke as Superintendent, and elected Rev. Francis Asbury to be Joint Superintendent. They directed his ordination in the form prescribed by Mr. Wesley, first as Elder, and then as Superintendent; and he was ordained accordingly by Dr. Coke. The Church was styled the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States.

There is a pleasant little controversy going on between the Methodist Episcopal Church and her junior sister, the Protestant Episcopal Church, of America, on the question whether Mr. Wesley intended to make Dr. Coke a Bishop. The chief evidence to the contrary is a letter from him, in which he chides Francis Asbury rather facetiously for allowing himself to be styled a Bishop. Dr. Stevens devotes a chapter to this question, and with conclusive logic settles it beyond any reasonable doubt. He shows that Wesley objected not to the office, but only to the name, on account of its prelatical associations. As he styles, in the ordination service, the priests or presbyters simply Elders, so he styles the bishops Superintendents, the new terms meaning the same as the old, but having the merit of being free from unpleasant associations. The American Methodists understood him well, but preferred the term Bishop, because it was Scriptural in our revered English translation. That Mr. Wesley intended to constitute Dr. Coke a Bishop is evident from his ordaining him with all the forms employed in the consecration of the bishops of the Established Church, he being already an ordained priest or presbyter of that Church; from the ordination services for the use

of the American Church, copied and abridged from the British Church services; from his omitting to invite his brother Charles to the ceremony, because he knew it would offend his High-Church principles, and awaken a storm of opposition; and from his subsequent defence of his course, by arguments drawn from Lord King's treatise and other works, which take the ground that the right of ordination is vested in the Presbyters.

Instead of complaining of the Methodist Episcopal Church as schismatical, might not Churchmen better consider whether, upon their own principles, the separation of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the assumption of orders were not justifiable as a necessity? Hooker has admitted, that if a portion of the Church were thrown upon a distant continent or island, where they could form no connection with the main body of the Church, it would be perfectly proper for them to extemporize all the orders and ordinances of the Church. Was not this case one of necessity, and on a very large scale, as time has shown? The Protestant Episcopal Church would, as we think, do an act of historic justice, and reflect honor upon herself, by acknowledging the Methodist Episcopal Church. There is no other way in which the breach can be healed; for there is not the slightest consciousness of the invalidity of their ordination in the minds of the Methodist clergy, and it is preposterous to expect that so great a community will ever agree to a union by a reconsecration of the ministry.

More vital questions than these are likely hereafter to engage the attention of the Methodist Church. At this moment the relation of slavery to the Church is exciting the deepest interest. The particular question is whether a rule shall be passed to exclude slaveholders from the Church. At its organization in 1785, a rule was adopted requiring all members to emancipate their slaves, some immediately, and all within five years; but this met with so much opposition in its execution, that within six months, by common consent, "its execution was suspended." The rules, however, against the traffic in slaves, and forbidding official members to hold slaves where the law allows emancipation, have in some form con-

tinued to this day. A violation of this rule by Bishop Andrews led to his suspension from his office in 1844, and this resulted in the secession of the greater part of the Church within the slave States. The churches on the borders remained firm in their attachment to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the confidence which the major part of the Church had in their antislavery principles made them contented to leave the subject of slaveholding by the members to the local administration. But within a few years dissatisfaction has taken place, and as the Church is fast extending her borders again over the slaveholding region, the sentiment has arisen, that it is necessary to pass an exclusive rule, and so to prevent any further entanglement with the evil. The objection to such a rule is, that it is without Apostolic precedent. Methodism, being a revival of Scriptural Christianity, feels bound by the word of God, and a doubt on this point lies at the basis of the opposition to the exclusive measure. The main answer to this objection is, that the circumstances of the Apostolic Church were different from ours; that there was no need of a specific edict againt slaveholding because the principle of Christian love was effectual in its operation against the oppression of a brother in any relation, and that hence the relation was but nominal. But now the preposterous right of one man to own another as property, so contrary to the intuitions of reason and conscience, as well as to the general principles of the New Testament, is defended by Christians. Hence, it is now deemed necessary to do by authority of the General Conference what Paul said in the case of Philemon and Onesimus he had power from Christ to do, if the mere hint of a pastor and old friend was not sufficient: "I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin that which is convenient." On similar grounds the Methodist Episcopal Church has, in several instances, transcended the letter of the Gospel, as, for example, in its general rules forbidding "the buying and selling of men, women, or children with an intention to enslave them," and "the buying or selling of spirituous liquors, or drinking them, except in case of extreme necessity." The rule in respect to intemperance is universally respected; and the time is near at hand when the spectacle

will be exhibited of the largest Church in the land free from all complicity with slavery.

Thus we have taken an interior view of Arminian Methodism as it now is, more particularly in the United States. Those who are interested in the subject will find ample satisfaction in Dr. Stevens's able and thorough work. Of all the histories of Methodism this is the most complete. The author has made a most thorough research; nothing has escaped him; every event seems to have passed in thoughtful review before his mind. His picturesque grouping of contemporaneous incidents, and his lifelike sketching of character, show the hand of a master. His plan is eminently original and comprehensive. He sees the subject in its true light, and traces it in all its branches. His view of Calvinistic Methodism will be new to many who are familiar with Wesleyanism. His style is pure, easy, and elegant. An air of truthfulness is stamped on the whole narrative. There is a rare mixture of ardor, even to enthusiasm, with a cool and candid judgment. The author keeps back no unpleasant facts. He is not afraid to relate "the strange noises" of the parsonage, nor the physical convulsions which sometimes attended the excitements of religious assemblies; but he looks on these things as a philosopher, who knows the weaknesses and mysteries of human life. The portraiture of Wesley's character is the most admirable exertion of his genius. It is truly sublime. Of all the great benefactors of England this man with us must ever stand foremost. His greatness was not that of the speculative philosopher, but of the daring and determined experimenter, who sees everything, judges everything, and has the power to make the world see as he does. He was a great worker, and God gave him long life to consummate all his plans, and to leave them in full and successful operation on a world-wide scale.

A sketch of Dr. Coke, as specially related to American Methodism, and as a good specimen of the style of the work, will appropriately close this article.

"It is an interesting coincidence, that, while the Conference was thus anticipating and prayerfully preparing itself for its later and unrivalled missionary achievements, there sat in its midst, for the first time, the

marvellous man, small in person but gigantic in energy, who was to found and represent for years its great foreign enterprises, and to die sublimely at last as a sacrifice for them. Thomas Coke, LL. D., was born at Brecon, Wales, 1747, the only child of wealthy parents. In his seventeenth year he became a Gentleman Commoner of Jesus College, Oxford. On entering upon his ministry as a clergyman of the Establishment, his mind still wavered under the fashionable infidelity, which then infected the University, and, to no small extent, the cultivated circles of English society. The writings of Sherlock had relieved his doubts, but had not led him to evangelical views of Christianity. He pursued the labors of his parish, at South Petherton, Somersetshire, in deep religious anxiety, and with so much earnestness as soon to excite the curiosity of his parishioners. His church became crowded, and as its vestry refused to furnish it with a gallery, he erected one at his own expense. Maxfield, Wesley's first lay preacher, had an interview with him, and led him to more spiritual views of religion. Visiting a family in Devonshire, he found among its laborers an untutored but intelligent Methodist, a class-leader of the rustics of the neighborhood. He sought this good man's conversation, and was surprised at his knowledge of divine truth. The nature of faith, justification, regeneration, and the evidences which attend them, the 'unsearchable riches of Christ,' were themes upon which the clergyman found he could be instructed by the unlettered peasant. They not only conversed, but prayed together. The educated divine obtained from the lay Methodist his best knowledge on the profoundest subjects, and acknowledged that he owed him greater obligations, 'with respect to the means of finding peace with God and tranquillity of mind, than to any other person.'

"The alarming charge of Methodism was soon spread against him. He preached without notes, appointed evening meetings in various parts of the neighboring country, and while preaching at one of them received the peace of God which the rustic class-leader had described to him, and his 'heart was filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory.' He was now more zealous and more 'irregular' than ever; he introduced the singing of hymns among his people, and preached Arminianism; for a brother clergyman had put Fletcher's Works into his hands, and with Coke, as with thousands of others, they refuted the doctrine of limited salvation. He was admonished by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, dismissed by his rector, and threatened by a mob among his parishioners. He was at last 'chimed out of the church'; the next Sunday he preached in the street, near the church doors; on the following Sunday he again took his stand there, and was about to be assailed with stones, collected for the purpose; he escaped without

harm only by the courageous kindness of a young gentleman and his sister, who stood close to him, and whom the rabble respected too much to injure. On the day that he left his parish to cast in his lot with the Methodists, the bells were rung and hogsheads of cider were brought out for the free use of the mob. Petherton celebrated, as a jubilee, its deliverance from a 'Methodist curate,' but it gave to the world a man who was to rank second only to Wesley in the success of Arminian Methodism, and to be the first Protestant bishop of the New World. In 1776 Wesley, while in Somersetshire, writes: 'Here I found Dr. Coke, who came twenty miles on purpose to meet me. I had much conversation with him, and a union began then which I trust shall never end.' Wesley had looked in his old age to Fletcher as his successor in his great work: the Vicar of Madeley, however, was too feeble in health, and too retiring in his habits, to accept the vast responsibility. Coke seemed now raised up as a substitute. His appearance on the scene at this period cannot but strike us as one of those notable providences which characterize the early history of Methodism. Whitefield had stirred the conscience of England and America for it; Wesley had legislated it into organic vigor and durability; Charles Wesley had supplied it with a rich psalmody; Fletcher had just settled its theological system; but, now that Wesley was growing old, he needed a coadjutor in its administration; the field had enlarged beyond his largest expectations; the time had come for great foreign plans; and the American Revolution was rendering necessary an American organization of Methodism. Coke was the providential man for these new wants. He became as indefatigable a traveller and preacher as Wesley himself: for some years he visited Ireland annually, and presided in its Conferences; he traversed England, Scotland, Wales, and America. He was especially the 'foreign minister' of Methodism. He possessed a zealous and vivacious spirit, which nothing could damp, but which caught inspiration from discouragements, and, like the impeded flood, grew stronger by obstructions. He had marked defects, but was one of the most interesting characters in the history of the Methodistic movement, — an example of ministerial zeal worthy of universal admiration and imitation. His stature was low, his voice effeminate, but his soul was as vast as ever dwelt in a human frame. Though he became the first bishop of Methodism in the United States, he found not in a diocese coextensive with the new republic room for his energies. Actuated by an impulse which allowed him no rest, he was perpetually contriving new measures for the extension of the cause which he had so providentially embraced. His plans, had he been a man of ordinary abilities, would have entitled him to the name of fanatic; but he was one of those rare

spirits whose greatest conceptions and schemes are the legitimate products of their energies. He crossed the Atlantic eighteen times at his own expense. Until his death, he had charge of the Methodist missions throughout the world. He founded the negro missions of the West Indies, which have exerted an important influence on the history of those islands. They included fifteen thousand members at the time of his death. He visited his missions, spent almost the whole of his patrimonial fortune in their support, preached for them, and begged for them from door to door. The missionary spirit was with him 'as a burning fire shut up in his bones,' and during his life it was not deemed necessary to organize a missionary society among the Wesleyans, for he embodied that great interest in his own person. When a veteran of almost seventy years, we shall see him presenting himself before the Wesleyan Conference as a missionary for the East Indies. The Conference objected on account of the expense, when, offering to pay the charges of the outfit himself to the amount of thirty thousand dollars, he prevailed over all objections, and embarked with a small band of laborers. He died on the voyage, and was buried in the sea; but the undertaking succeeded, and the Wesleyan East India missions are the result. It has been justly asserted that, except Wesley, no man was ever connected with the Methodist body who contributed more to extend the blessings of Christianity among mankind. His colleague in the episcopacy of the American Church would not allow of even this exception; 'a minister of Christ,' said Asbury, when the news of his death arrived, 'a minister of Christ, in zeal, in labors, and in services, the greatest man of the last century.' Wesley used to say that Coke was a right hand to him. It was a noble sentiment recorded by him, at sea, on his first voyage to America, and illustrates his own character as fully as language can: 'I want the wings of an eagle and the voice of a trumpet, that I may proclaim the Gospel through the east and the west, the north and the south.' There is genuine sublimity in the end of this flaming evangelist. Such a man belongs to no locality, he belongs to the world; though dead, without a grave, his influence has been widening daily over the earth, and it was fitting that he should be buried in the ocean, whose waves might sound his requiem on the shores of all lands." — Vol. II. pp. 185 – 189.

ART. VIII.—1. *An Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address.* Philadelphia: Parry and McMillan. 1859. 8vo. pp. 250.
2. *The Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia.* Philadelphia. 1859. 8vo. pp. 120.

IN the Triennial Catalogue of Harvard University, the Class of 1797 presents a rare assemblage of venerated names. Of those no longer living, it may suffice to specify Rev. Dr. Church, one of the profoundest theologians and most efficient Christian ministers of his generation; William Merchant Richardson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, distinguished equally for quick and keen intuition and for large attainments in professional and general learning; Asahel Stearns, for many years the head of the Cambridge Law School, whom none knew without bearing in life-long remembrance his meekness of wisdom, his gentleness of spirit, and his abounding charity in word and deed; and John Collins Warren, who in the department of anatomy and surgery occupied for many years a solitary eminence, and who, if he has left his equals or superiors, contributed largely toward making them so, alike by the prestige of his own success, and by the facilities for professional study and practice furnished more or less directly through his agency or influence. Among the surviving members of this class are Rev. Dr. Jenks, whose rich and varied scholarship might have won for him a world-wide reputation, had not all else been held secondary to his higher calling as a Christian man and minister; and Hon. Daniel Appleton White, than whom liberal culture has no more efficient friend and patron, and virtue and religion no exemplar more worthy of reverence. Equally loved and honored with his classmates whom we have named, the peer of the foremost of them in ability, learning, and personal excellence, is Horace Binney, the author of the works whose titles we have placed at the head of this article.

For many years Mr. Binney was the acknowledged leader of the Bar of Philadelphia, while as an advocate in the Supreme Court of the United States he gained a national eminence in

the management of some of the most important cases before that tribunal. It is believed that the legal literature of the country contains no more luminous or cogent argument than his defence of the City of Philadelphia in the celebrated Girard College case, in which Webster was leading counsel for the heirs at law. The preservation of the magnificent endowment devised under Girard's will, and its ultimate appropriation to its beneficent purpose, are chiefly due to the skill and eloquence with which Mr. Binney maintained the competency of the municipal corporation to the trust, and rebutted the objections grounded on certain singular restrictions enjoined by the testator. During General Jackson's administration, Mr. Binney held a seat in Congress, and was recognized as second in talent and influence to no member of the Opposition in the House of Representatives. His speech on the Removal of the Deposits from the United States Bank was regarded as the ablest speech delivered in the House against that measure. His rank at the Bar led to his frequent appointment as the eulogist of distinguished jurists; and we have before us eloquent tributes from his pen to the memory of Chief Justice Marshall, Chief Justice Tilghman of Pennsylvania, Judge Bushrod Washington, Charles Chauncey, and John Sargeant. His style in these biographical sketches is clear, classical, and vigorous; his portraiture of character vivid and discriminating; his eulogy calm, but glowing, attaching itself uniformly to the highest traits of character, and, where most fervent, judicially impartial. His integrity, benevolence, and patriotism have secured for him the undivided respect and honor of his fellow-citizens; while the Christian virtues that gave grace and strength to his active years make his old age beautiful and venerable. His political principles were formed in the school of Washington; to these he has adhered with the tenacity of sincere conviction through all the conflicts of opinion and mutations of party; and we trust that he is not alone in the belief that it is only by a return to them that our national honor is to be retrieved, and the continued existence of our Federal Union to be assured against the disorganizing influences now at work equally in the general administration and among the antagonistic sections of the republic.

The works which we now propose to examine display no token of octogenarian authorship except ripened wisdom. The author's powers are manifestly in their full vigor. In precision, conciseness, and strength, his statements and arguments are faultless specimens of their kind. He constantly reminds us of one, his senior by several years, the venerable Josiah Quincy, whose ability and fame have been culminating during the period of life which we are prone to associate with decline and decay. Such instances, connected as they always are with rigid obedience to the Creator's laws of temperance, self-control, diligence, and benevolence, go far toward warranting the belief that the painful liabilities of declining years are (no doubt with exceptional cases) to be ascribed rather to the faults, errors, or negligences of their subjects than to the inevitable course of nature. We cannot believe it the will of Providence that large numbers of the human race should outlive the capacity of duty and usefulness; and the conviction has often been forced upon us, that men who have filled well and nobly their part in active life are prone to sink into imbecility and dotage, simply because they imagine that the due time for repose and inactivity has arrived. The faculties of mind are kept bright and true by continuous use; unemployed, they fail and vanish.

The composition of Washington's Farewell Address has become of late, as our readers are aware, a subject of even heated controversy. The public in general till recently regarded the venerated first President as its sole author; while those more conversant with the history of the times knew that it was at least submitted to Alexander Hamilton for his friendly suggestions, without supposing that he bore any important part in giving it the form in which it was placed before the country. Evidence has meanwhile transpired, which renders it certain that, so far as authorship in the literary sense is concerned, that document is Hamilton's rather than Washington's; while its conception, its purpose, its sentiments, and its spirit are not one whit the less to be ascribed to him whose name it bears.

Yet in many minds there is a reluctance to yield assent in this matter even to documentary proof hardly less than de-

monstrative. It is felt that Washington's reputation and honor are involved in the intimation that he could have put his name to an Address not strictly his own, or that, if indebted to his friend in whole or in part for the composition of the Address, he should have suppressed the fact. We would reply, that, if Washington valued this document on the score of its literary merit, or expected by means of it to establish his fame as an author, then his integrity is impeached by the theory which ascribes its authorship to another hand. But if Washington's sole aim was to place before the people of the United States his views of the past, present, and future of the Federal Union, his parting counsels, and his paternal admonitions, in the most efficient form in which they could be embodied and presented, and if he was conscious that his own pen was less adequate to the task than that of a more practised writer, then it was not only his right, but his duty, to avail himself of the best services at his command; nor was he under the slightest obligation to impair the force and interest of his solemn valedictory by connecting the name of the *rédacteur* with his own, any more than he was bound to designate the relative proportions of his own and another's phraseology in each of the very numerous official documents which, during his military and civil career, were compiled from his minutes by his various secretaries. Where the question is not as to words, but as to sentiments, the maxim of the law, *Qui facit per alium facit per se*, holds good in authorship.

No man knew himself more thoroughly than Washington, and it is impossible that he could ever have regarded himself as skilled in literary composition, or have looked forward to eminence as a writer among the claims which he might have upon the reverence and honor of posterity. In the letters and documents known to be his, his style is simple, direct, and explicit, but bald and fragmentary. Successive ideas were arranged by no rhetorical plan, in no logical order, and with no continuous flow of diction, but jotted down abruptly, and without connective clauses, as they occurred spontaneously to his mind, or were called up by casual associations. His military training, and his incessantly busy life through the entire period in which the graces of diction might have been cultivated, pre-

cluded the abundant leisure and the careful practice by which alone he could have become a master of sentences, as he was of noble deeds. It is well known, that, from an early period of his military life to the day of his death, he was never without a secretary of competent literary ability, and that it was his wont to commit to others the composition in whole or in part of important documents. This is what public men in our country have always been and still are accustomed to do. Is it not well understood, and a fact that carries no reproach with it, that the Messages of the chief magistrates of our nation and of our several States are often compiled from contributions sent in by those specially conversant with particular departments of the administration? And is it not much more creditable to the head of a government, that he should employ in communications which deserve such careful elaboration the best skilled pens in each several branch of the public service, than that he should sacrifice accuracy and thoroughness to the mere pride of authorship? Even Reports of Committees of Congress, bearing the names of distinguished statesmen, have often owed their ultimate form to extra-Congressional pens, and have been only the more valuable because they were prepared by persons remote from the harassing labors and distracting complications which fall to the lot of legislators worthy of their name and office. What then could have been more obviously the dictate of sound discretion and patriotism, than that our first President — an unpractised writer — should have sought, in the most important document of his public life, the aid of one whose skill as a writer he had tested by long and frequent use, and whose sympathy with himself in political opinions was a sufficient guaranty for his faithfulness in the execution of this trust? And if Washington himself furnished the first draft, gave his assent to the modifications proposed, and revised the finished document, was he not for all practical purposes as truly its author as if he had written it with his own hand, without consultation or aid?

Then, as to the matter of concealment, this charge could rest against Washington only under circumstances which would leave it without proof. If he had burned all evidences of authorship in his own keeping, and enjoined it upon Ham-

ilton to destroy all letters and papers relating to the Farewell Address, there would be ground for this imputation. But if all the papers relating to the Farewell Address (as is the case, with a single by no means important exception) were left on file by both Washington and Hamilton, who must have known that death would make their correspondence and their documents on file the property of the public, then was the transaction as fair and open as in the nature of the case it could have been; for oral communication on the subject would have involved a sacrifice of self-respect and personal dignity on the one side, and an equal sacrifice of modesty and delicacy on the other.

But we are not left to conjecture as to what Washington would have deemed worthy of himself on such an occasion. We have his own precedent. When, near the close of his first Presidential term, he resolved in no case to be a candidate for re-election, he applied to Mr. Madison to prepare for him a suitable farewell address. In the letter conveying this request, which bears date the 20th of May, 1792, he refers to a previous conversation on the subject: "Permit me to reiterate the request I made to you at our last meeting, namely, to think of the proper time and *best mode* of announcing the intention [of withdrawal from public office]; and that you will *prepare the letter*." In this letter Washington specifies the topics that rest immediately on his mind as necessary to be adverted to, but evidently means to allow Mr. Madison a still wider range of remark, subject of course to his own approval. There certainly could not be from a principal to his agent in such a work a wider *carte blanche* than is implied in the following sentence: "To enumerate the various subjects which might be introduced into such an address would require thought, and to mention them to you would be unnecessary, as your own judgment will comprehend all that will be proper." Mr. Madison prepared the desired valedictory; but the President was meanwhile persuaded to give his reluctant assent to his own re-election, it being made evident to him that in no other way could partisan animosity be held in check, and prevented from developing an activity and bitterness which might prove fatal to our still infant republic.

This transaction appropriately holds the first place in the series of incidents which form the basis of Mr. Binney's "Inquiry." Before proceeding further with the narrative, we beg leave to say a few words as to the intent, tone, and spirit of this work. It is written with the purpose, not of prolonging, but of allaying controversy. It is designed not to honor either of the illustrious men, the memory of whose scarcely interrupted friendship is obscured by this posthumous rivalry, at the expense of the other; but to vindicate for each a reputation, not impaired, but exalted by their mutual aid in the production of that enduring memorial of their common patriotism. Mr. Binney was moved to his undertaking equally by a "profound veneration for the whole character of the Father of his Country," and "an exalted respect for the intellectual and personal qualities of Hamilton"; and his "Inquiry" cannot fail to deepen both sentiments alike in the minds of his readers. He has brought together all the attainable facts and documents which form a part of the case at issue, and their statement and collocation constitute a body of evidence which in our view leaves no ground for dispute, and supersedes the necessity of argument. We rejoice that this service has been rendered by one who retains in clear remembrance the publication of the Farewell Address, who read it as soon as it reached the University of which he was then a member, and who still glows with the reverent enthusiasm with which it was received through the whole land. We propose now to pass in rapid review the history of the Address.

Washington, in the first place, prepared a sketch of a valedictory address, which he had shown to Hamilton before the 10th of May, 1796, at which date Hamilton wrote to him as follows: —

"When last in Philadelphia, you mentioned to me your wish, that I should *redress* a certain paper which you had prepared. As it is important that a thing of this kind should be done with great care, and much at leisure touched and retouched, I submit a wish, that, as soon as you have given it *the body* you mean it to have, it may be sent to me." — p. 43.

On the 15th of May Washington sent the paper to Hamilton,

with a letter containing the following passage, which evidently contemplated the entire recasting of the original draft.

"Even if you should think it best to throw the whole into a different form, let me request, notwithstanding, that my draught may be returned to me (along with yours) with such amendments and corrections as to render it as perfect as the formation is susceptible of; curtailed if too verbose; and relieved of all tautology not necessary to enforce the ideas in the original or quoted part. My wish is that the whole may appear in a plain style, and be handed to the public in an honest, unaffected, simple garb." — p. 45.

The paper thus transmitted consists of four parts. First, there is a brief preamble, reciting the occasion and purpose which gave rise and form to the Address. Then follows Madison's draft prepared in 1792. Then there is a series of "Hints, or Heads of Topics," embracing the various subjects which the President deemed it fitting to embody in the document. A review of the principles and motives of his administration forms an appropriate close. The original portion of this sketch bears the peculiar marks of Washington's style, was manifestly written with no attempt at elaborate composition, and could have been designed only as a series of suggestions for a more recondite paper, which should express the same sentiments in a form adapted to popular effect, and worthy to be preserved as the patriot's legacy to his countrymen. It must have been subsequently to the receipt of this draft, that Hamilton prepared a brief found among his papers after death, and published in the seventh volume of his Works, with the indorsement in his own hand, — "Abstract of Points to form an Address." This abstract contains twenty-three heads, with numerous subdivisions. The next document in order is the form of an address in Hamilton's handwriting, in which the points concisely stated in the "Abstract" are developed in exactly the same order; which bears little verbal or literary resemblance to Washington's draft, but which is in great part identical with the Farewell Address as given to the public. This is indorsed, "Copy of the original draft, considerably amended." The indorsement is ambiguous. Its more obvious sense would indicate the document as itself a copy. But it is on rough paper, with many interlineations, and bears the

marks of having been itself the original draft; and the necessary inference is, that the indorsement refers to an amended copy, and implies, — "The copy which I have made of this original draft is considerably amended." The amended copy was sent to Washington on the 30th of July, and on the 10th of August Hamilton sent him another draft, suggesting the incorporation with the former of such materials as it might seem expedient to embody therewith. The subsequent correspondence shows that the corrected and amended copy of Hamilton's original draft was sent back with revisions and suggestions, and returned again to Washington. This paper is lost, and it is the only document of any importance relating to the subject which is missing.

The only portions of the Farewell Address which are of doubtful authorship are those in which it varies from Hamilton's original draft. These are very considerable in number; but for the most part slight and merely verbal, only in a few, and those secondary, particulars involving the sentiments expressed, and but in a single instance indicating the transposition of the order of thought. In fine, the Address as it appeared bears just the relation of identity and discrepancy with Hamilton's original draft, which would naturally result from the studious, careful, and reiterated revision of the two sagacious, wise, and foreseeing statesmen connected with its authorship. The missing paper, could it be discovered, would doubtless show the respective parts borne by Hamilton and Washington in the process by which the original draft became the published Address. As the case now stands, internal evidence alone can furnish grounds of conjecture. So far as the published Address surpasses in verbal finish the first draft, the modifications were probably due to Hamilton's superior pencraft. Such modifications, additions, and omissions as there are in the substance of the document were undoubtedly made at the suggestion, or by the hand, of him in whose name and under whose sole responsibility it was given to the public.

We have omitted in our *résumé* many interesting details, for which we must refer our readers to Mr. Binney's lucid exposition of them. We transcribe the following paragraphs from his closing summary of results: —

"Washington was undoubtedly the original designer of the Farewell Address; and not merely by general or indefinite intimation, but by the suggestion of perfectly definite subjects, of an end or object, and of a general outline, the same which the paper now exhibits. His outline did not appear so distinctly in his own plan, because the subjects were not so arranged in it as to show that they were all comprehended within a regular and proportional figure; but when they came to be so arranged in the present Address, the scope of the whole design is seen to be contained within the limits he intended, and to fill them. The subjects were traced by him with adequate precision, though without due connection, with little expansion, and with little declared bearing of the parts upon each other, or towards a common centre; but they may now be followed with ease in their proper relations and bearing in the finished paper, such only excepted as he gave his final consent and approbation to exclude.

"In the most common and prevalent sense of the word among literary men, this may not, perhaps, be called authorship; but in the primary etymological sense, — the quality of imparting growth or increase, — there can be no doubt that it is so. By derivation from himself, the Farewell Address speaks the very mind of Washington. The fundamental thoughts and principles were his; but he was not the composer or writer of the paper.

"Hamilton was, in the prevalent literary sense, the composer and writer of the paper. The occasional adoption of Washington's language does not materially take from the justice of this attribution. The new plan, the different form, proceeded from Hamilton. He was the author of it. He put together the thoughts of Washington in a new order, and with a new bearing; and while, as often as he could, he used the words of Washington, his own language was the general vehicle, both of his own thoughts, and for the expansion and combination of Washington's thoughts. Hamilton developed the thoughts of Washington, and corroborated them — included several cognate subjects, and added many effective thoughts from his own mind, and united all into one chain by the links of his masculine logic.

"The main trunk was Washington's; the branches were stimulated by Hamilton; and the foliage, which was not exuberant, was altogether his; and he, more than Washington, pruned and nipped off, with severe discrimination, whatever was excessive, — that the tree might bear the fruits which Washington desired, and become his full and fit representative." — pp. 169, 170.

The second book named at the head of this article contains

biographical sketches of the three members of the Philadelphia Bar who were recognized as its leaders and chief ornaments at the period when Mr. Binney first entered on the practice of his profession. Of these three William Lewis was the oldest, and though in local reputation not without rivals, he had a more extended fame as a lawyer than any one of his associates, — having enjoyed very much the same kind of national distinction with Theophilus Parsons of Massachusetts and Luther Martin of Baltimore. He came to the Bar just before the adoption of the State Constitution of 1776. His attainments in classical and general literature were slight, though he was a purist in language, and seems, with some faults of taste, to have been far from deficient in the graces of forensic eloquence. We infer, from hints by no means unambiguous, that in manners, habits, and morals he had no very elevated standard, and, while not grossly reprehensible, was far from being exemplary. He was profound in his knowledge of the common law, and especially in the law of treason, under which there were many prosecutions in Pennsylvania during the early years of his professional life. He was counsel for John Fries in his first trial before Mr. Justice Iredell, and on his second trial, before Mr. Justice Chase of Maryland, threw up his brief and declined going on with the case, on account of the unprecedented procedure of the Court in preparing copies of their opinion on the questions of law involved, to be given to the jury when impanelled, — a transaction which was subsequently made one of the articles of impeachment against the presiding judge. The opinion of the Court was acknowledged as sound; but it was contended that in criminal cases the jury were judges both of the law and the facts, and that by imperative instructions preceding the trial their right of free deliberation was invaded. The trial proceeded, the judge pledging himself in the absence of counsel that the accused should be fairly dealt with; a verdict of guilty was the result; but the executive pardon that ensued was probably due in great part to this judicial usurpation. Mr. Lewis possessed consummate skill and enjoyed unrivalled reputation in cases of admiralty law, and in the numerous constitutional questions and conflicts of law incident to the unsettled condition of the country's

infancy and the incipient working of the national and state constitutions. He was greatly interested in the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, and was the draftsman and earnest advocate of the Act of the Legislature of 1780, by which provision was made for gradual emancipation. We quote the following passage, both as indicating the distinguished regard in which Mr. Lewis's legal acumen was held by the first statesman of his age and country, and as exhibiting the strength and tenacity of the author's political opinions, formed at that early day and in its school of equally profound wisdom and uncorrupt integrity.

"During the two administrations of Washington, and continuously during life, Mr. Lewis was a thorough Federalist, amusingly anti-Gallican, and entirely anti-Jeffersonian; and upon law questions of difficulty that arose in the Executive Department, though he was not an official adviser, he was familiarly consulted by General Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, with whom he continued on terms of confidence and mutual respect during General Hamilton's life. The memorable argument of Hamilton, in 1791, upon the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States, or rather of the Bill to incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank, was read to Mr. Lewis before it was sent to the President, as I have heard from Mr. Lewis himself, as well as from one of General Hamilton's sons; but I have never heard a surmise that it was in any respect altered in consequence of this. Its great principles were discussed between the two, sitting in Mr. Lewis's office, or walking in his garden, until all the reasons of the Secretary of the Treasury, and the answers to the objections of the Secretary of State, and of the Attorney-General, were scrupulously examined and weighed. No lawyer could have been better in such a consultation than Mr. Lewis, who was fertile in the suggestion of doubts, and quick in the solution of them, and had an admirable *coup d'œil* to discern the strong and weak points of assault and defence.

"That argument of General Hamilton, it should be remembered, first enunciated the great rules of interpretation by which the powers delegated by the people of the United States to Congress were to be construed; and they were afterwards tested by the Supreme Tribunal of Federal law, and stood the test then and for sixty years from the adoption of the Constitution. I hope to be excused for thinking that no juridical argument, before or since, has shaken, or ever will shake, those rules of interpretation; and that none other can maintain the constitutional relations of the States and the United States, the one to

the other, and give superiority to each in its proper sphere. How much the battle-axe of party may make the lighter scale in some measures the heavier in all, remains for future history. None but a parricidal arm would cast it in; nor can it remain there very long without deranging the orbit of each system, and generating a new centre of gravitation, when both systems may be 'folded up as a vesture.' If *State rights* mean anything to the contrary of that argument, they mean that the United States shall not be administered by a fair construction of the Constitution, but by the *platforms* of party." — pp. 26 – 28.

The next biography in order is that of Edward Tilghman. He received his legal education in the Middle Temple, and for two or three years was an assiduous attendant upon the Courts in Westminster Hall, taking copious notes of the arguments in Chancery before Lord Apsley, and at the King's Bench before Lord Mansfield and his associate Judges. He was profoundly learned in his profession, and in the obscure chapter of contingent remainders and executory devises is believed to have had no superior. He was at once acute and eloquent as an advocate, and was distinguished for the conciseness, directness, and simplicity of his arguments. "When he began, he generally meant to say all that he afterwards said, rarely or never leaving his path; and when his argument was at an end, he did not utter a word to round it off, — no peroration, no retouching, no supplemental answers to objections, — all had been noticed and disposed of in due order as he advanced." His discernment of the points of a case had the quickness of intuition; but for this he was indebted, not only to his native sagacity, but at least equally to the thoroughness of his Transatlantic training, and to his unremitting diligence as a student. His acquirements in classical and general literature were large and various, and they at once gave grace to his oratory and zest to his social intercourse. Of genial temper, conciliating address, and fine conversational powers, constant in his friendships, true to all the relations of home and society, pure, upright, and generous, he won by his virtues an esteem and reverence corresponding with his brilliant professional reputation. Near the close of his life, he incurred pecuniary losses involving almost the whole of his fortune, and obliging him to part with his carriage and his city residence. This

reverse he sustained with undisturbed fortitude, serenity, and cheerfulness. He died in 1815, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

The remaining portrait is that of Jared Ingersoll, Mr. Binney's own legal instructor. He was born in New Haven in 1750. His father, of the same name, an eminent lawyer, was one of the agents of the Colony of Connecticut in England at the time of the passage of the Stamp Act, and returned to his native Colony with the commission of Stamp-master, which the popular indignation compelled him to resign. The son was sent to London in 1774, to complete his legal education. He established himself in Philadelphia in 1778, continued for many years in the active practice of his profession, and died in 1822. Mr. Binney regards him as "without comparison the most efficient manager of an important jury trial among all the able men who were then at the Bar of Philadelphia." In the fence and tactics of his profession he was unsurpassed. He was far from uniform in his mental activity, and in the passive state of his faculties his resources were imperfectly at his command, and he had little confidence in his own judgment; but, when fairly aroused, "he saw and heard everything that concerned his cause, both that which promoted and that which impaired his chance of success; and every needful principle of law, with its qualifications, was present to him; all the strength and weakness of his position, all the concessions of his adversaries, however unemphatic or slight, and the minutest facts that were in evidence on either side." He was a man of singular personal dignity, rigid honor, conscientious fidelity, immaculate virtue, and high religious principle.

In Mr. Binney's closing remarks he animadverts with just severity on the change in the tenure of judicial office in his own and other States. It is a change, we believe, fraught with evil and danger. Yet we are not sure that it is more worthy of reprehension than the method which one of our smaller New England States may claim the doubtful honor of having originated, and which seems to be inaugurated as the established mode of procedure where the tenure of judicial office is nominally that of good behavior, — the method, we mean, by which a Court is abolished by the Legislature, not

because its organization is to be superseded by a better, nor even because its members are believed to be unworthy of the public confidence, but solely because the judgeships are held by the party in the minority, and are wanted as rewards for the adherents of the party in power. Far better is it, as it seems to us, that the judges should know at the outset the brief term of years for which, if unimpeached, they are sure of office, than that the rod of party should be shaken over their heads at every annual election.

Under the system by which the tenure of judicial office is actually that of good behavior, the tendency of the office is to withdraw its incumbent entirely from the arena of party politics, and to generate the independent, impartial habits of mind which alone can render our courts of justice worthy of reliance. Instances of the entire transformation of character in this regard, — instances in which violent partisans have lost at once on their appointment all vestiges of their former prejudices and animosities, and from arrant demagogues have become the firm and equal ministers of right, law, and equity, without fear or favor, — are not infrequent in our judicial history. Eminent cases in point on the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States will occur, we think, to many of our readers. But where the election to, or continuance in, judicial office is dependent on the popular suffrage, the judge has every inducement of interest to adapt his official course to the wishes of the dominant party; or if he be too upright to bend to their dictation, the very ground of his competency will be made the reason for superseding him at the next election. A judge in a neighboring State, eminent equally for learning, ability, and integrity, who has since paid the forfeit of his independence by failure in a popular election, but who had held his office first by executive appointment and then, under an altered constitution, by election, told us that in his own consciousness the former was the only safe tenure, — that every interested motive was under the old *régime* on the side of fairness and impartiality; while with the contingencies of a re-election in view, he found interest and conscience at fearful antagonism. While we are writing, we learn from the New York press, that Judge Harris of Albany, one of the most able

and competent members of the highest tribunal in New York, a man whom to know is to honor, has lost his election because he had given offence to the Anti-Rent faction. If a party which exists in defiance of law, and whose policy is riot and murder, can thus avenge itself on the Judiciary of the Empire State, what security for vested rights can the constituted tribunals of that Commonwealth proffer? On this subject, however, in lieu of any further comments of our own, we prefer copying the strong and well-considered remarks of Mr. Binney.

"We are now under the direction of a fearful mandate, which compels our judges to enter the arena of a popular election for their offices, and for a term of years so short, as to keep the source of their elevation to the Bench continually before their eyes. At least once again in the life of every judge, we may suppose he will be compelled by a necessity, much stronger than at first, to enter the same field; and the greater the necessity, the less will his eyes ever close upon the fact. It is this fact, re-eligibility to office, with the hope of re-election, that puts a cord around the neck of every one of them, during the whole term of his office. It is transcendently worse than the principle of original election at the polls. Doubtless there is more than one of the judges who had rather be strangled by the cord, than do a thing unworthy of his place; but the personal characteristics of a few, are no grounds of inference as to the many; nor are even the mischiefs already apparent, a rule to measure the mischiefs that are in reserve. We must confess that a system is perilous which holds out to the best judge, if he displeases a powerful party, nothing better than the poor-house, which a late eminent Chief Justice saw before him, and committed the great fault of his life by confessing and avoiding it. The mind of the public, of all parties, is becoming apprehensive upon the subject; and well may it be so, even among party men, for parties change suddenly, and once in every five or ten years, we may be sure that the chalice will come round to the lips of those who have drugged it. No man can be too apprehensive of the evil who thinks the law worth preserving as a security for what he possesses, and no lawyer who regards it as a security for his honor and reputation. For what can it give of either, if the wheels of the instrument receive a twist or bias through party fear or favor, or are so ignorantly and presumptuously governed, as to let them cut and eat into each other until they work falsely or uncertainly?

"At the formation of the Federal Constitution in 1787, the tenure of the judicial department was thought by our forefathers to be not only the guaranty of that department, but the best guaranty of all the departments of government. What guaranty is there for the Constitution itself, if you emasculate the judicial department, the only one that is a smooth, practical, wakeful, and efficient defence against invasions of the Constitution by the Legislature, — the only one that can be efficient in a republican representative government, whose people will not bear a blow, and therefore require a guaranty whose blow is a word? A leasehold elective tenure by the judiciary, is a frightful solecism in such a government. It enfeebles the guaranty of other guaranties, — the trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, the freedom and purity of elections by the people, and the true liberty and responsibility of the press. It takes strength from the only arm that can do no mischief by its strength, and gives it to those who have no general intelligence to this end, in the use of it, and therefore no ability to use it for their own protection. The certainty and permanence of the law depend in great degree upon the judges; and all experience misleads us, and the very demonstrations of reason are fallacies, if the certainty and permanence of the judicial office by the tenure of good behavior are not inseparably connected with a righteous, as well as with a scientific administration of the law. What can experience or foresight predict for the result of a system, by which a body of men, set apart to enforce the whole law at all times, whatever may be the opposition to it, and whose duty is never so important and essential as when it does so against the passions of a present majority of the polls, is made to depend for office upon the fluctuating temper of a majority, and not upon the virtue of their own conduct?" — pp. 114–117.

ART. IX. — 1. *Montebello, Magenta, Marignan. Lettres d'Italie.* Par AMÉDÉE ACHARD. Paris: Hachette. 1859.
2. *Chronique de la Guerre d'Italie.* Par EDMOND TEXIER. Paris: Hachette. 1859.
3. *La Guerre d'Italie. Récits illustrés de la Campagne de* 1859. Paris: Hachette. 1859.
4. *Les Hommes du Jour.* Paris: Michel Levy. 1859.
5. *Lettre aux Conseils Généraux.* Par le COMTE D'HAUSSONVILLE. Paris: Michel Levy. 1859.

It is curious to see how a war undertaken as was the last in France is written upon, and who writes upon it. From a mixture of actual alarm and vanity, from the positive necessity of doing something in a country more weary of despotism than resentful at it, the late war was resolved upon by Louis Napoleon. The pretext was the liberty of Italy; the emancipation of the Italians from the Alps to the Adriatic. The world was told of a great drama to be enacted, and the actors were ordered to get ready to play their parts. Now the very persons selected to blow France's trumpet, and to send the record of what was to be done in Italy into the ears of the civilized world, prove how thoroughly the whole was a grand comedy. No grave men, no men of weight and worth, whose assertion would be listened to by any public, were bidden by Napoleon III. to record his deeds upon the soil where the founder of his house gathered his first laurels. No! The men to whom was intrusted the task of telling France what occurred in the plains of Lombardy were the so-called *chroniqueurs*, whose avocation it is in times of peace to tell the million what the million are doing. But if we look at the whole from the beginning to the end, it will indeed appear that those whose trade it is to comment on the mimic events of the stage, and to laud this performer or censure that, were indeed the fittest historiographers of what was to take place. A word of explanation to recall the prologue.

On one of those nights when, in the midst of show and splendor, European sovereigns are wont to receive the compliments of the envoys of other crowned heads, the Em-

peror Louis Napoleon twists his moustache angrily, affects a somewhat Olympian power, and informs the Minister of the Emperor of Austria that he regrets certain differences that have fallen out between the two governments, which, he has sense to add, no way diminishes the esteem he feels for the Emperor of Austria personally. This in reality shadows forth the whole coming farce. There shall be deadly strife between the nations; but the monarchs shall agree, and swear eternal friendship over thousands and thousands of corpses! There is consternation, gloom, and dread everywhere. Diplomatists rush to and fro. Attempts are made to allay a quarrel which the principal party interested is resolved shall not be allayed till he has satisfaction for his vanity at all events. Then there comes "arming in hot haste"; the war-note is sounded; the banners are unfurled, and the real battle-piece begins with a "flourish of drums and trumpets."

For all this, assuredly, the most appropriate recorder is the *chroniqueur* of the *feuilleton*, and *chroniqueurs* are sent out by dozens from Paris to the Italian battle-fields. That the accounts furnished by these dealers in "light literature" were really those best suited to the temper of the times in France, and to the events they were to describe, is proved by one anecdote. M. Amédée Achard, a fashionable chronicler of fêtes, whose talent for small talk has made his prose welcome in every French lady's boudoir, was sent to Italy by the grave *Journal des Débats;* and one of the men whose age, name, and station give him a right to be heard, having remonstrated with one of the directors of the Orleanist journal upon the choice of such a correspondent, received this answer: "I am quite of your opinion, but the public takes kindly to the *chroniques* we publish from the theatre of war, and the military authorities seem to think they are just the right thing."

We must say that these letters of M. Achard are the least objectionable of any of the contributions to the military literature of the moment in France, and, from the very fact of the whole being undertaken and "got up" so theatrically, there is in the tone of the volume less to shock the reader than would occur probably in any other case.

In this our nineteenth century, when the national feeling in

no country can be despised, and when the particular way in which a whole people does this or that cannot be left unnoticed, it is curious to see how the French people set about going to war. Under the first Republic, the shoeless, stockingless, starving hordes, who set civilized Europe at defiance, fought for very existence. The troops led on by the first Napoleon fought for glory, and won it, and were not tired of the business till the glory was amply gained, and the proof stared them in the face that they were the tools of a conqueror's ambition. The soldiers of Napoleon III. in the late Italian campaign fought because they were told to do so, and because fighting was their trade. There is no death-struggle on which hangs the destiny of their native land, no fierce desire for renown, no resolve to carry the dominion of France into this capital or that. There is, on the contrary, in the larger part of the army, — in all except the Zouaves and Turcos and the Foreign Legion, brought for the first time into European service, — carelessness as to the necessity for any fighting at all, and in every regiment, even in the exceptional ones we have named, there is entire indifference to the cause for which it is asserted they are about to risk their lives.

It is not uninteresting to mark the way in which the two races — the helpers and those who are to be helped — come into juxtaposition. On the part of the Italians the notion that appears to prompt every act and every movement is, that the French army must be "made as comfortable" as it can be; on the part of the French, to "make the best of Italy and the Italians," seems to be the main endeavor. Accordingly, in every town, in every village as far as Milan, (for beyond Milan the scene changes, and the welcome becomes strangely inadequate,) the Italians transform the halts of the French divisions into so many Capuas, showering down bouquets upon them, cramming them with ices, singing them songs, reciting odes to them, and, as far as in them lies, actually doing their very utmost to incapacitate their defenders from defending them. All this the Gaul takes pleasantly, and even to the very end of this comedy the French soldier refused to regard his Italian ally as anything serious in the matter of hard blows, but rapturously agreed that his way of life was charming, and so

much so, that, when it was proposed to evacuate Milan, a revolt was very near breaking out among these "helping" forces, who denied that there could be any reason for making way for the Piedmontese.

M. Amédée Achard intended in his volume to be extremely serious and strategical, and to endow the military literature of France with a few precious additional pages; but he has achieved nothing of all this. He has given us the *chronique* of a brilliant expedition lightly undertaken, and, we maintain, lightly executed, though at the cost of a horrible amount of human life. Even before the Italian shore is touched, we have a sample of the tone of M. Achard's recitals. Speaking of the departure of the detachments for Genoa early in May, he says: —

"Since Marseilles has been invaded and conquered by the cavalry regiments of our army, the plain black coat is at a discount with the daughters of Eve in this place. What is to become of a *redingote* compared with a cuirass, or a wretched hat when you pit it against a *Keps?*

"It is the fashion here for fair dames and fine gentlemen to go pleasuring out to La Joliette; it is thence that the steamers start which bear fresh recruits to the army of Italy. The great amusement is to see the embarking process, to watch the horses hoisted up by cranes, and the men as they seat themselves in the cutters with arms and accoutrements. Such a waving of handkerchiefs! such a clapping of hands! Good wishes without end are showered on these sons of France, and glorious victories are foretold for them. Then the paddle-wheels turn, a plume of vapor waves, with a shrill whistle the boat moves on towing other boats bristling with muskets and sabres, a shout rings from the quay, the *outward bound* answer it, and the harbor is cleared. France's fortunes are committed to the sea. Not seldom Champagne enlivens these adieus. The towns-people pledge the troops in its sparkling wave, and the troops are delighted to be thus pledged. Those who stay behind drink to the health of those who go on before."

And so "fashion," "amusement," *vin de Champagne*, "parties of pleasure," — these are the words used when so grave a thing is under discussion as the going forth to slaughter of thousands of human beings who were without thirst for abstract glory, or faith in the chief whom they obeyed, or care for the cause to which they were devoted.

Let us now take another passage of M. Achard's volume; one that is interesting because it touches upon the incessant passion of the French for calumniating their enemies. From the very first hour of the campaign, all the newspapers in France had rung with the oft-told tale of Austrian rapine. Everywhere where Austrians had passed, there had been noted dilapidation, plunder, and deeds of barbarous violence. France was chivalrous, France was civilized, enlightened, honest, (the fearful excesses of Turcos and Zouaves being kept concealed,) but her enemies were the lawless hordes of other ages. Well, M. Achard reaches Voghera, and what does he say on this subject?

"Do not think, I pray you, that Voghera is a town without importance. It has 14,000 inhabitants, and we are all lighted everywhere by gas. The surrounding country is superb, — a perfect garden. The Austrians made a long halt here, which is easy to understand. Here I am touching upon a delicate subject, but I will risk it.

"You have been told by everybody, — nay, even by me myself, and that on the faith of lamentable details, — that on all sides the Austrians had ravaged the country, and absolutely sacked the towns. When approaching their late quarters, therefore, one begins to shudder conscientiously. Fie! The hideous spectacles we are about to encounter! What weeping families on scorching ruins! What stalls emptied of kine! What gutted dwellings! What houseless wanderers!

"When you enter Voghera, unfortunately, — no, fortunately, rather! — all these emotions have to be stifled. Voghera is in capital condition; its fairer portion of population, above all, smiles a charming welcome to new visitors.

"When a mistake has been committed, it should be avowed. I for one shall speak of what may have happened in any place when I have seen things with my own eyes only. Well, all travellers are curious. It is a traveller's trade to be curious. I walked into inns and private houses. Chimney-glasses were in their places on chimney-pieces; clocks stood where they should stand; curtains fell over beds; nothing was torn, nothing broken; watches reposed in their owners' pockets, and no finger that I could hear of was bereft of the rings it wore before the invasion. Let me confess, also, that shoemakers had shoes and boots yet that they were at liberty to sell, and shirt-makers might still exchange ready-made shirts for the money of whomsoever chose to buy them. Nobody wore mourning that I could see.

"But then it will be said, — The requisitions, and contributions, and vexations, and impositions, and exactions, and other abominations, where are they?

"Pardon! war is war. Sheep and oxen have been driven away, naturally enough; the soldier has been lodged and fed, naturally enough too. But these are things foreseen by the military code of all countries, and because foreseen, authorized."

Next to the exceeding levity to which we have alluded, perhaps the most remarkable feature of the French military character in this day is contempt of every other nation, and an easy acquiescence in untruthful boasting. Falsehood, be it remembered, is not a military failing in any country; it is opposed to military habits and notions. There is a rigidness inseparable from army discipline which tends to engender precision of speech and general trustworthiness of character. Among French troops the reverse of this exists, a condition of things springing from and reacting upon the extreme mobility and nervous excitability of the men. It is so thoroughly a national characteristic, which Machiavelli in his treatise on the French as a military nation has observed, that nothing whatever could be obtained from the French soldier, if exposed to the least discouragement. The consequence of course is, that whatever happens, the French soldier must, whether he deserve or not to be encouraged, receive the strongest and most persistent amount of encouragement from his chiefs and from all around him. How is this effectuated? In two ways: by exaggerating his own brave deeds, and by wilfully and grossly depreciating the achievements of the enemy. Till within a few years it was difficult in French history to find trace of a defeat anywhere. Of Cressy, Agincourt, and the very early mishaps, nothing was said; Rosbach was dissimulated or laid to the charge of the *ancien régime* (as now-a-days bad harvests are thought to be the sin of the imperial government); and as to the Duke of Wellington's victories in Spain, they rank to this day as triumphs on the side of France, as did Trafalgar for nearly twenty years, and as a bold attempt has been made to bring Waterloo itself under the same category. This peculiar weakness of the French is manifestly on the increase. It showed itself in the

Crimea upon every occasion, and if ever the documents left by Lord Raglan should see the light, (as it is said they will erelong,) we suspect that more than one proof will be given of the proneness of the Gallic cock to crow where he could with more justice have been silent, and where his crowing was made all the louder by the disdainful silence of John Bull. However that may be, it is certain that the mendacity we speak of was more striking during the Italian campaign than it had ever shown itself before. When all was over, general officers themselves would laughingly admit that at this place or that they had been hard pressed by the Austrians, who at the time were represented to have given them literally no trouble at all. But they would themselves give as a reason for the misrepresentation, that, if the soldier were not made to believe he had done fabulous deeds, he would be good for nothing at all.

It did no harm, eight or nine days after the event, to avow in the official bulletin of the *Moniteur* itself, what a bungling business the affair of Magenta was, and how for four and twenty hours the French had thought themselves defeated; but if the true state of the case had been revealed to the French battalions before Gyulai's incredible incapacity had left them free to return to the field they had not gained at first, they never would have returned, but would very probably have been quite unruly, and unavailable for the work for which they were required.

Now the *Chronique de la Guerre d'Italie* of M. Edmond Texier is one of those in which this extraordinary capacity for untruthfulness is most evident. This may be said to be one of the causes of its popularity, as the light tone of pleasantry affected by M. Achard contributes much to the success his book has achieved. Throughout M. Texier's volume the self-love of his countrymen never experiences the slightest affront. It is the "Chronicle" not so much of the Italian campaign, as of the marvellous feats which it is absolutely necessary Frenchmen at home and abroad should suppose French soldiers have performed. We by no means desire to detract from the real prowess of French soldiers, and from the large meed of glory which they so deservedly earned.

But with this no Frenchman who puts pen to paper, and scarcely any one who reads a book, is ever satisfied. What is needed by Frenchmen is precisely that species of glory which we should term supernatural, for deeds which were never done, and would, if done, reflect no very pure fame upon their doers. This peculiarly French characteristic is pointedly illustrated by the volume before us.

One other observation we would make on M. Texier's work; namely, that, more perhaps than any other, it sets forth what the recent campaign has produced, — the supremacy of the "eccentric" regiments — for we can find no other name for them — over the regular army. In every page you find the trace of the way in which the Zouaves, Turcos, and men of the *Légion Etrangère* arrogated to themselves a superiority over every other portion of the French forces, and looked insolently down upon their so-styled brethren in arms. The following narration will show what the tone of bravado was among these men before they found out, and were in the end obliged to know, that, whatever might be the faults and shortcomings of the Austrians in other respects, they were most honorable enemies in the field, and enemies whom it was an honor to overcome. Writing from Genoa in May, M. Texier says: —

"While they are expecting their marching orders, which must come soon, the Zouaves are busy organizing theatrical performances everywhere, and gratis. Yesterday, at the Café del Corso, a Zouave, round whom were gathered some hundred or two individuals, was occupied in relating and acting, with inimitable gestures and untranslatable words, 'The Lamentable History of Baron Dindonzell,' the Austrian field-marshal. Naturally, the mirth of our soldiers is at this moment excited by nothing but by the impossible absurdities of everything Austrian. Our gallant Zouave, then, a man of much imagination and no slight powers of speech, told, to the wild delight of his hearers, how Baron Dindonzell,* commissioned by his government to go and conquer Algeria, was himself conquered by the Algerians, and forced by these disrespectful personages to hatch turkeys' eggs! Dindonzell, having begun by refusing this delicate and dignified occupation, was

* There is here a play on words which cannot be rendered, "Dindon" (turkey) being in France the equivalent for a "goose" in our colloquial usage.

treated to so many *coups de bâton* that he overcame his scruples and accepted. But he was not at the end of his griefs. Of the first twenty-five eggs confided to his tender care he made — conceive what! Why, an omelette! This proof of a dull and slow comprehension on the part of an Austrian field-marshal did not surprise the Arabs; they only gave him fifty *coups de bâton*, — two per egg, — for, said our Zouave, 'the Arabs are a just race!' and Dindonzell, enlightened by this mode of instruction, set to work with great energy the next time, and actually did most dexterously hatch the turkeys' eggs, 'in which way,' concluded the narrator, 'Baron Dindonzell, although not a married man, was the parent of a most numerous progeny.' Our Zouave, having finished this story amidst screams of laughter and applause, proceeded to tell a series of similar ones, each of which had as much success as the first. When you know what the taste of the Italians is for the farcical element, you will not be astonished at the *furor* that is created by the Zouaves in this most magnificent city of Genoa."

We place this extract from M. Texier's volume before our readers as it stands in the original, — "nothing extenuate, nor aught set down in malice," — because it seems to us that the quotation needs no commentary. If an enemy to the French nation had invented such an anecdote, and had accused the Zouaves of such conduct as is here described, and Frenchmen of respectable position and education of encouraging it, and finding amusement in it, there would be no cause for surprise; and, above all, if French people or French newspapers complained of such things being imputed to them, we should doubtless think it very natural. But no. This is the work of a friend, of a panegyrist. This exemplifies the sort of thing which goes on among French soldiers when they are approaching a life and death struggle; this shows the necessity which exists in the French nature, not for exalting itself so as to meet any enemy worthily, but for depreciating every enemy systematically, in order that to meet and vanquish him may seem an easy undertaking. It is indispensable that French troops should be made to suppose themselves invincible, or else they fail more completely than those of any other nation. This system was acted on upon all occasions during the late Italian campaign. It requires nothing beyond a superficial knowledge of modern history to know that, compared with the first Napoleon's first battles, those of last spring were but

second-rate achievements. Nor was this ever for an instant even contested by any French officer; but for the troops, it was necessary to represent the acts of the fathers as a thousand times surpassed and outdone by those of the sons. It would not have been wise to tell the truth except as embellished, and thus we have M. Texier exclaiming, on the 21st of May, after the French army had been saved at Montebello from being cut to pieces only by what were proved later to have been its immensely superior numbers: —

"We tread once more the roads that were trodden by our sires, and each stage is marked, as in their time, by glorious victories. The 20th of May, 1859, gives a second victory to Montebello, and splendidly inaugurates the campaign of Italy."

A little further on we find the same necessity for boasting carried to a still higher degree. It was no fault of the French army that the affair of Montebello was so exceedingly close. The troops fought like lions; but they were ill-officered, encamped over too vast a space, and thus deprived of the means of being helpful to one another. The consequence was, that General Forey's division was almost entirely destroyed, and would have been exterminated, had not considerable detachments been sent up to the field of action at the very last by railroad. When the numbers of the French were formidably superior to those of the Austrians, they recovered Montebello from the enemy. Up to that moment they had fought magnificently, and had covered themselves with glory; but they had not been victorious. Yet, in the face of these, which are now historic truths, we have M. Texier writing to the editor of the *Siècle*: —

"The piece of news that has reached us, of the Austrian funds having risen two francs the day after the affair of Montebello, has caused endless hilarity in our little group. The Austrians are beaten to their satisfaction. That is all one can say for it. They were fifteen thousand men, the French only six thousand; yet the French remained in possession of the field."

Here we have not only the national propensity for boasting, but an example of the ingenious way in which French "chroniclers" and "historians" of every kind contrive to

disguise and distort truth. The statement of the six thousand men was quite true in the outset of the action; but when victory was achieved, the French forces were nearer twenty thousand than six thousand, while the Austrians never reached higher than ten thousand or eleven thousand men.

As is usual, the defects we have named are coupled with qualities that serve as partial antidotes. If the French soldier be more addicted to embellishing the literal truth than the soldier of any other nation, he is also in better humor with himself and with everybody else than any other fighting man upon earth. For this he is proverbial. The English, German, and Russian troops fight obstinately, resist doggedly, bear privations sternly, and, in spite of every frown of fortune, die austerely performing their duty; but they do nothing of all this with gayety. Now the French soldier, so long as he is not beaten, and so long as he believes it to be a thing contrary to nature that he ever should be beaten, is the most perfectly good-humored animal in creation, and endures not only uncomplainingly, but cheerfully, whatever hardship or privation he may be exposed to. The book entitled *La Guerre d'Italie* may be usefully consulted upon this point. It is a pleasant record of what a French soldier can endure without complaint. Of course, the same faults we have remarked in the works already noticed are also to be found in this; there is the levity of M. Achard, there is the untruthfulness and *vantardise* of M. Texier; but there is abundant proof of the endurance of privation, and of the constitutional contentedness, of the Frenchman in a campaign. If it is decidedly advantageous that foreign nations should be made accurately aware of the defects of a race whose favorite occupation, whose trade indeed, would seem once more to be war, as it was in the beginning of our century, and with whom no power in the world can be quite sure of not coming into collision, it is at the same time desirable to study certain qualities of that race which might be imitated with profit by the troops of other countries. Take by way of illustration the following extract from a letter of a French soldier, written from Abbiategrasso on the 10th of June: —

"Milan was a fine sight, though the weather was rather tiresome;

in the day heat that would roast meat, and every night torrents of rain and heavy storms. When one is caught in these out of the camp, nothing remains but to sleep all night on the flooded ground, which is everywhere like a river. But what does it matter? One does the best he can. We get capital soups here, plenty of cabbages and potatoes. . . . . Do not trouble yourselves about me; I am a bit of a philosopher, and bad weather or good is all one to me. I take whatever comes, cheerfully."

Now if you compare the joy of this French soldier over his "soup of cabbages and potatoes" with the real privation that would be felt by an English or German soldier at going without meat, and if you reflect on the good-humor displayed by the Celt in the face of all the lesser troubles of his calling, you may perhaps admit that on this point the proud, uncompromising, but "grumbling" Saxon has still something to learn.

The works which we have hitherto noticed are, as the reader will have perceived, exclusively French, and treat what relates to the recent war in Italy from the purely French point of view. We will now turn to a small volume which treats not only of the French, but also of the Austrian notabilities, and, indeed, of most of the contemporary notabilities of Europe generally. This little book, *Les Hommes du Jour*, has had an extraordinary popularity and a great sale. It is anonymous, is evidently written by some one to whom its various subjects are intimately familiar, and is of striking impartiality in its judgments. The person to whom public opinion has chiefly pointed as its author is the son of Louis Philippe's last prime minister, M. Guizot. We will not pretend to say what truth may be found in the report, but it has been affirmed in Paris that, from documents furnished by his illustrious father, young Guillaume Guizot drew these sketches, to which the Italian campaign lent what the French call *actualité*, and which have certainly achieved a very brilliant success. From what we know of Guillaume Guizot's other productions, we should not have been led to suppose that *Les Hommes du Jour* owed its origin to his pen, but we simply register the current report.

The index to the book reveals at once its impartiality in a biographical sense. We have at the outset Francis Joseph,

Emperor of Austria, and Garibaldi, face to face; followed by two statesmen between whom there existed a perhaps not less deadly hatred, namely, Prince Schwartzenberg and Lord Palmerston. Then come in succession Prince Metternich and M. de Humboldt, over both of whom the grave had barely closed a few weeks before; the Prince Regent of Prussia jostles Marshal Canrobert; Filangieri and the Duke of Modena are pressed up against Lord Derby, M. de Bourqueney, and Marshal Niel. We have some reason to know that a few among the portraits we have named are striking likenesses, and among these we will select the opening one of the Emperor Francis Joseph, it being not only one of the least familiar to the general public, but one of those that bear most directly upon the late events in the Peninsula.

"It was at a ball at Prince Lichtenstein's. To whomsoever has not witnessed the balls of Vienna, it is useless to attempt to explain to what a pitch the chorographic creed may be carried. In Vienna waltzes and mazurkas are not mere dances, as they are elsewhere; they are articles of faith, — things in which people have a determined and stern belief. In Vienna, Terpsichore does appear to you as the queen of the world, with her flounces of Brussels point, her crowns of flowers and cascades of diamonds. Well, — the dazzling crowd had been already assembled for some time, when a chamberlain came and announced to the host the approach of the imperial equipage. The Princess Lichtenstein placed herself at the entrance to the first saloon, while the Prince hurried down to the street gate. Through the whole length of the drawing-rooms a double file of guests was instantly drawn up, and in a few seconds came forward the young Emperor Francis Joseph, with his majestic hostess, Princess Lichtenstein, leaning upon his arm. The Kaiser wore that white uniform which is so well known in all portraits of Austrian officers, the crimson trousers, and only the order of Maria Theresa upon his breast. Every head was bowed low of course, and in the way in which the Emperor returned the bow, I fancied I discerned I can scarcely say what slight embarrassment or uneasiness, — explicable from his exceeding youth (he was then barely twenty) and from the singular rapidity with which events so strange and unforeseen had borne the boy-prince suddenly up to the supreme pinnacle of power. There are a vast number of small manœuvres that come easy to veteran sovereigns from long practice, of which very juvenile scions of royalty remain ignorant, especially when they are not born on the steps of a throne. The smile of princes!

Why, it is from the affable and encouraging to the icy cold, one long varied scale of hypocrisy, which only the long habit of supremacy gives, and which the novice Emperor had not yet had time to learn: the absence of which, by the way, invested his whole air and manner with an extraordinary charm.

"He did in truth look at that period like a picture of boyish youth confused by the sudden glory that had shone over it. In his conversation the same timidity and shyness were apparent, and the art of 'cutting dead' a courtier in disgrace, and casting a glance of graciousness to a favorite over twenty intervening heads, was assuredly not yet possessed in perfection by the newly-made Emperor. His hesitation was that rather of a proper, very well brought up young man, who was ready almost to blush at the homage tendered him by gray-headed men full of years and of renown, while he had in no way been in a position to merit well of his country or of his age. . . . . While the young Emperor waltzed with the beautiful Countess Huniady, his mother, the Archduchess Sophia, watched from another end of the ball-room her three sons. The two younger were mere boys, the last of whom plunged with boy-like delight into the turmoil of the *cotillon*. I could not help then saying to myself: 'A few years more, and on that group of young, happy hearts etiquette will have thrown its dust and mould, and *ennui*, that unescapable disease of princes, will have cast its veil over those young brows.' Time has marched rapidly, so have events, and it was on the battle-fields of Lombardy, by the roar and flash of French guns, that we were destined to see all these personages of our first vision reappear."

After a rapidly-detailed sketch of the principal circumstances of Francis Joseph's imperial career, our author touches curiously and with much delicacy upon a point which it was certainly not easy to touch upon at all.

"There has been spread a scandalous story, in virtue of which the present Emperor of Austria would be simply the son of the Duke of Reichstadt.* Nothing can be more ridiculously false, and it is only necessary to go to Vienna to learn what credit was ever given in the Austrian states to this preposterous invention, which is gainsaid not only by dates, but by what is worth more than dates, by the reputation — held even by her worst enemies to be spotless — of the Archduchess Sophia. No. It would be hard to be mistaken in him, and not, at the

* This was a report invented, we believe, in Paris, by whom or in whose interest we never could clearly discover; but it is certain that, from the highest regions to the lowest, it is an article of faith in France, that Francis Joseph is the son of Napoleon II.

first glance, to recognize the genuine Hapsburgher. Francis Joseph has all the characteristics of his race, from the thick under lip to the retrograde instincts. Physically, however, it may be allowed that the type has gained; for, on the whole, this young man is what one would term a brilliant cavalier, who is exceedingly careful of his attire, which the military habits of his country enable him to vary almost every day. . . . . Francis Joseph is adroit at all manly exercises; the best dancer in Vienna, the best rider, and, as a fencer, unsurpassed. Intellectually speaking, the best to be said of him is, that he is a hard worker, and has learned whatever can be taught. He speaks not only every language of his many states, but all their several dialects. To his mother is owing the care spent on his education. A most dutiful son, a model husband and father, the Emperor has all the patriarchal qualities of the House of Austria, just as he has its indomitable pride and its traditional obstinacy.

"To these traits must be added, however, a remarkable moderation and gentleness of character. In saying this, I mean to speak only of his habitual character, not of that which is drawn forth occasionally by events which strike upon the underlying resistant qualities, and provoke irritation, of which obstinacy is always the source. The heavy responsibilities of his position seem to me to have outweighed everything in Francis Joseph's esteem, and to have crushed out that pleasant good-humor and equanimity which have, time out of mind, belonged to the sovereigns of his race. . . . . The activity of the Emperor is something really worthy of praise. At whatever hour he may retire for the night, the dawn finds him up and ready to *confer* with some one. Till now, military topics seem alone to have engrossed all his time; and as for science, art, literature, or any other source whence distinction may come to a people, his Majesty's notice does not apparently extend so far. Of a surety, by an exclusively military prince there are such a vast number of audiences to be forever given, that the poor Muses may well wait rather long before their turn comes. Rough answers are given to the 'civilians' who venture to complain at the court of Austria; but their turn will probably come, when it shall be definitively proved that the eternal *Militärwesen*, as they call it in Germany, has exaggerated its capacities, its importance, and its strength in making itself, as it has done, the pivot of every earthly thing in the empire."

If our limits would permit, we should much enjoy translating the sketches devoted to Victor Emmanuel and to Garibaldi. Both of these have been reproduced throughout the Parisian and also the provincial press, and both are

singularly felicitous. But we prefer giving our readers the portrait of a man far less notorious, but who has in reality been the only great military individuality produced by the late Italian war, — the soldier on whom most eyes in France are fixed, — Marshal MacMahon, now, since the campaign, Duke of Magenta. The sketch is a short one, but conveys a very faithful impression of its original.

"The French occupation of Algeria was in its beginning. M. de MacMahon was a mere staff captain, — an elegant young man, known already as one of those braves who, besides talent and merit, have luck to boot. He had never been wounded, which, to the eyes of his Oriental enemies, seemed a sure mark of predestination. One day Captain MacMahon was sent to inspect a kind of hovel built upon a slope, and thought to be untenanted. He hastened to obey orders, galloped up to the hut, dismounted, and walked round the slight tenement. Nobody! He walked into it, and there, in the close space of six or seven square feet, found himself face to face with an Arab! The whole was instantaneous; the French officer is deliberately aimed at by the Arab's long gun, and death is now inevitable. The finger pulls the trigger, — the French officer should be dead; yet there he still stands, unscathed!

"The Arab's gun had hung fire. The weapon escaped his hand, and, with a guttural cry, the swarthy son of Africa sank to the ground, convinced that a miracle had been performed, and that a mortal made invulnerable by God had been sent to punish him. I need not say what became of the Arab. He went to give an account of his adventure to the Prophet, in that paradise the hope of which makes good Mussulmans so indifferent to the occurrences of our world.

"As to the young staff captain he is now a Maréchal de France, and the invulnerability wherein his Oriental assailants recognized a mark of election has never been belied. From so many actions, among which Malakoff and Magenta should be mentioned, and in which his acts of daring have never been called in question, M. de MacMahon has always come off without a scratch. Nor is this in the stern game of war to be disdained; for if courage is much, luck is also indispensable to the great soldier.

"M. de MacMahon was born at Autun in 1807. He is the son of Count MacMahon, the descendant of an ancient Irish Catholic family that followed the Stuarts to France. Count MacMahon, the father, was a peer of France, and a personal friend of King Charles X. The subject of this biography entered St. Cyr in 1825, made his maiden

campaign in the expedition against Algiers, was aide-de-camp to General Achard at the siege of Antwerp, became a captain in 1833, and went back to Africa, where (particularly in 1837, at Constantine) he caused himself to be noted by all the chiefs of the French army. In 1845 MacMahon was raised to the rank of colonel. Firm-handed in command, fearless in action, the sight of his regiment alone was enough to make the Arabs gentle as lambs. They knew by many a terrible experiment that the fierce young colonel did not trifle when it came to close-handed work. After the *coup d'état* of December, 1852, which was far from meeting with his approval, Louis Napoleon made him a general. It was in this capacity that, during the few ensuing years, he conducted several successful expeditions among the Kabyles. But he never sought court favor.

"A General of Brigade in 1848, Count MacMahon became General of Division in 1852, and in 1855 was promoted to the command of General Canrobert's division of infantry, when the latter resigned his functions in the middle of the Crimean war. On the 6th of September, 1855, it was General MacMahon who took and held the Malakoff tower against all the Russian efforts to reconquer it. . . . .

"After the peace he returned to Africa, where the late Italian campaign found him, and whence he started to place himself at the head of the second *corps d'armée*. . . . . What MacMahon did at the outset of the war against Austria, history will one day tell. On the day of the battle of Magenta, it is beyond doubt that, toward half past five o'clock, he prevented the encounter from terminating unfortunately for France.

"It has been said of Marshal MacMahon, that he unites the energy of a Cambronne with the elegant valor of a Richelieu. There is much truth in the saying. He is one of those heroic soldiers who carry into the field the easy grace that is proper to the *salon*. His is eminently the courage of an aristocratic race. If with him the soldier always savors of the gentleman, the gentleman does in nothing savor of the soldier. It is hard to describe how unlimited is the modesty (almost reaching to bashfulness) of the illustrious warrior, who everywhere, unless in the midst of grapeshot and musketry, seems to take pains to hide himself from notice. His report to the Emperor on the affair of Magenta is a master-work of good taste. It is impossible to speak of an action wherein so much purely personal glory has been achieved with such absolute *impersonality*.

"In his outward appearance Marshal MacMahon has much of what his moral qualities would lead one to suspect. His countenance is austere, but pleasing, and tells of the man who submits to duty only,

and of the thorough gentleman. Not above, but scarcely below, the middle height, rather thin than stout, what first strikes you, as in Lamartine and General Changarnier, is the exceeding smallness of the head. MacMahon represents in our young army the traditional element which it would not be wise or well to lose. France is the country of Arcola and Austerlitz and Solferino, but also of Rocroy and Denain and Fontenoy. For this reason Marshal MacMahon is interesting to the observer. Intrepid as a Zouave, he yet preserves all the elegance and polite grace of a *capitaine aux gardes* of the old time."

We have thought it well to give this sketch to our readers in full; for Marshal MacMahon is, perhaps, in the whole present army of France, the one man to whom people look most as likely to play even a political part in the destinies of a country in which, as has been said, "*tout arrive*," and where the military commander of to-day may be the king-maker of to-morrow.

A curious publication is the one now lying before us, bearing no less a name than that of Count d'Haussonville. Though it does not actually treat of the circumstances of the recent campaign, it is bound to it by too many links to divide it from that one particular epoch; and the existence of the war, its origin, and its cessation, are the very causes of its being, and of the extraordinary impression it has produced.

Count d'Haussonville is a rich, high-born French gentleman, whose whole life has been devoted to the principles of constitutional liberty. He married the only daughter of the Duc de Broglie (the granddaughter of Madame de Staël), and is the author of several highly esteemed historical works. When negotiations were pending at Vienna, last spring, between France, England, and Austria, he constantly harangued his political friends on the necessity, should peace be concluded, of taking that opportunity to obtain an improvement in the institutions under which Frenchmen were living. He pronounced himself in favor of an "agitation" for the purpose of obtaining something in the shape of freedom, and repeatedly said, that the time had come when it would be right that men like his father-in-law or himself should be ready to make sacrifices for the cause of the nation's dignity. Peace was not secured. War broke out. Two months of fighting seemed

enough to Louis Napoleon, and the Treaty of Villafranca was concluded. Then came the amnesty, and the announcement from all sides that the French press was at liberty to speak freely, with the prediction that soon the laws bearing upon the press would be totally and entirely changed. The news rang through all France, and all France began to talk — alas! too soon. M. d'Haussonville kept his word. He instantly addressed a pamphlet to the *Conseils Généraux* in the provinces, and edition after edition was exhausted of the courageous manifesto, which bore as an epigraph M. Guizot's words, "*Nous n'usons pas des libertés que nous avons*"; — an assertion, the flattering fallacy of which the author was fated to prove.

What makes Count d'Haussonville's pamphlet so very worthy of universal circulation is, not that it pulls to pieces all the arguments on which were based both the war and the peace, and shows both to have been speculations, and unfortunate ones, but that it openly declares the superiority of representative government over a despotism is amply proved by the mere fact that, if France had had representative institutions, she would have escaped both the war and the peace.

"If all I have said," remarks Count d'Haussonville, "be correct, — and I do not see who can contest one fact I have advanced, — if all the conclusions I have drawn are well founded, — and I do not see how one can be called even exaggerated, — the result to which we are brought is self-evident. . . . . We implore the members of our General Councils to say whether the peace of Europe and the well-being of France would not be more surely guaranteed by the mature decisions taken in the midst of the discussions of a national Parliament, than by those which are wholly dependent on the *will of one man?*"

The whole tendency of the pamphlet lies in that sentence, and there of a truth lies the pith of the whole affair. The effect was not slow, and the government announced that it should vouchsafe no "further" freedom of the press, "because the French press was quite free enough already." Upon this, the illustrious Villemain took up the pen, enlarged with lawyer-like force of cogent argument upon his friend M. d'Haussonville's appeal; and the government, then fairly roused,

opened its lips and gave forth the fiat. Public opinion was told to be quiet, or else, said the *Moniteur*, "the government would be obliged to show itself extremely severe"!

With the last honest struggle for liberty, some of the best names of France are associated. In a review of what the war has produced in a literary sense, we should have been sorry to deprive our readers of the knowledge that, having been undertaken against the will of the country, it has been at all events energetically inveighed against by a courageous few.

ART. X. — *The Shepherd's Hunting, and other Poems.* By GEORGE WITHER. London. 1814.

IF a virtuous man struggling with misfortunes be a sight that gods and men may look upon with pleasure, thus must they have looked upon George Wither, from the time when he was born in Bentworth, in the year 1588, until he expired in London, in the year 1667, at what is called the good old age of seventy-nine. His life was one of great vicissitude, and his misfortunes were sufficient to crush a spirit not overflowing with enthusiasm; but to Wither's lasting credit be it said that, through all his trials, he never deserted the political faith which must have been the result of his father's teaching, nor swerved from that higher faith he had learned beside his mother's knee. For his principles he suffered much; but he stoutly adhered to them, and would have cheerfully died for them at the stake.

Wither was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, after leaving which he entered Lincoln's Inn, and pursued the study of the law; but "Song was his favorite and first pursuit." It is well known that the law is a very jealous mistress, and requires an undivided heart. This Wither could not give her, and he soon discovered that his mission was not that of an advocate. He saw that "the times were out of joint," and fondly imagined that he, George Wither of Bentworth, "was born to set them right." In consequence of this belief he published a volume of poetical and satirical essays, called

"Abuses Stript and Whipt," that he had written while living in Lincoln's Inn, and studying or pretending to study the law. For this production he was thrown into the Marshalsea prison. There might have been rhyme, but there certainly was no reason for this proceeding. The essays were not personal. They were merely poetical sermons. However, the vices satirized were all in fashion in those days, and it was at least indiscreet in Wither to be so severe upon them. Even the clergy were gentle to sinners, and treated the Devil with marked consideration.

Wither was detained in the Marshalsea for many months; but although his body was restrained of its liberty, his fancy was roaming free and unconfined, listening to the murmuring of the brook, the music of the birds, the surging of the ocean, brushing the dew from the heather, or plucking the daisies from the meadow. He wrote continually while in prison, and among other things wrote a poem to King James. In this he defined his position as a satirist of vice and a champion of virtue. It is a spirited defence of his conduct, and it is said that the king, when he had read the poem, ordered him to be released.

In the volume of essays for which Wither was incarcerated there is a poetical preface, called "The Occasion of the Work," wherein, after alluding to his disappointments, he continues: —

"I stayed for my experience, and withal
Flattered myself with hope there would befall
Something unto my share well worth my suit,
Which honesty might serve to execute
Without respecting how to please the rude
And apish humors of the multitude;
But all in vain I that preferment sought,
Ill fortune still my hopes confusion wrought,
Which, though for ominous some understood,
Yet I presumed upon some future good,
And (though I scarce dared wish so well for some),
Believe there is a happy time to come,
Which, when I have most need of comfort, shall
Send me true joy to make amends for all;
But, say it be not while I draw this air,
I have a heart, I hope, shall ne'er despair,
Because there is a God in whom I trust
My soul shall triumph when my body's dust."

These verses are not remarkable as poetry; but they are indeed remarkable as the expression of the sentiments of a young man scarcely twenty-one years of age. We quote them because they furnish the key to Wither's character. They indicate the loftiness of sentiment, integrity of purpose, and moral grandeur which marked his subsequent life, and which must always command our respect, even when defying our imitation; and they also show that he believed in "a good time coming" in another world, if not in this. It was this belief that cheered and sustained him throughout his career.

After Wither was released from prison, it does not appear that he returned to the law. He wrote and published a great deal both of verse and prose. During the terrible devastations of the plague, in 1625, he remained in London. The inhabitants were dying by thousands around him, and those who could do so were escaping in all directions; but Wither conceived it to be his duty to occupy the post of danger, and to do all in his power to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow-creatures; and most nobly and faithfully did he fulfil this obligation. He subsequently published in verse a long account of the plague, and called it "Britain's Remembrancer." In 1639 we hear of him as a captain of dragoons, fighting against the Scots. Now happened an important event in Wither's life: —

> "For when despotic freaks and vices
> Brought on the inevitable crisis
> Of revolution,"

he sold his paternal estate, known as the Manydowne Estate, raised a troop of horse for the Parliament, was taken prisoner by the Royalists, and narrowly escaped death. It was said that Sir John Denham, a brother poet, begged Wither's life from the king, as a personal favor. He was released, and soon after rose to the rank of major-general in Cromwell's army, and accumulated quite a fortune from the sequestrated estates of the Royalists in the county of Surrey. But continued prosperity was not to be his lot. At the Restoration, Wither was one of the first to be seized upon. He was stripped of all he possessed, and thrown into Newgate prison. He was afterward removed to the Tower, and orders were given that he should be treated with extreme severity; but he won the heart

of his jailer, and through him obtained pens, ink, and paper. He languished in the Tower for three years, and during that time wrote many treatises and poems. In 1663 he was released, and, though stricken by age and by misfortune, he was the same upright and unbending Puritan; and three years later he was kindly withdrawn from a world through which his pathway had not been strewed with flowers.

Wither wrote upon a variety of subjects, and in a variety of metres; but always with a charming quaintness and picturesqueness, and with a tenderness that shows how cheerful and happy were all the impulses of his nature. His poetry is filled with pretty conceits, and is marked by an exquisite ease and grace, a propriety of thought, a deep poetic feeling, a playful fancy, and an artless, unstudied delicacy of sentiment.

In the poem called "The Shepherd's Hunting," — a series of Eclogues written by Wither when he was in the Marshalsea prison, — there is an Address to Poetry, the cheering companion of his prison solitude, of which Charles Lamb wrote as follows: —

"The praises of Poetry have been often sung in ancient and in modern times, strange powers have been ascribed to its influence over animate and inanimate auditors, but before Wither no poet ever celebrated *its power at home*. It was Wither who discovered the wealth and the strength which the divine gift confers upon the breast in which it is lodged, — the alchemic virtue of the imagination to transmute the lowest and vilest things into rare and precious, and to make the most untoward events of life to admit of a commentary and an interpretation such as may

'Sweeten gladness
In the very gall of sadness.'"

This Address to Poetry is too long to be quoted here. We would observe, however, that Wither, when alluding in this piece to the cell in which he is confined, conveys to the mind of the reader an idea of his sufferings by two lines that are eminently forcible and suggestive. He says: —

"This my chamber of neglect,
Walled about with disrespect."

There is a long poem of Wither's entitled "Wither's Motto,"

which was published about 1621, and of which more than thirty thousand copies were sold within a few months. We shall make no extract from this poem; but from the Preface, which is inscribed "To Anybody," we quote a few sentences which may be of benefit to those who frown upon everything like humor.

"If the intermixing of slight and weighty things be offensive to any, let them understand, that, if they well observe it, they shall find a seriousness even in that which they imagine least momentary. And if they had as well observed the conditions of men as I have done, they would perceive that the greatest number, like children who are allured to school with prints and apples, must be drawn on with some frivolous expressions, or else will never listen to the grave precepts of virtue; which when they once hear, do many times beget a delight in them before they be aware.

"Many dishes of meat, which we affect not, may be so cooked that we shall have a good appetite unto them, so many men, who take no pleasure to seek virtue in grave treatises of morality, may, perhaps, finding her, unlooked for, masked under the habit of a light poem, grow enamoured on her beauty."

One of Wither's best poems is a very long one called "Fair Virtue." In it are very many songs of great merit. Of this poem the author says, in his own quaint manner: —

"When I first composed it, I well liked thereof, and it well enough became my years; but now I neither like nor dislike it. That therefore it should be divulged I desire not, and whether it be, or whether (if it happen so) it be approved or no, I care not; for this I am sure of, howsoever it be valued, it is worth as much as I prize it at. Likely it is also to be as beneficial to the world as the world hath been to me, and will be more than those who like it not ever deserved at my hands."

A part of one of the songs in this poem may not be unacceptable, and will give those who have never read any of Wither's verses some idea of him. The third song is a very long one. In it he describes a certain very attractive woman, expresses his admiration for her, and states the effect that her love would have upon him, — how it would make him achieve great deeds in her honor, and to her renown. One can perceive in all Wither's writings that he had the most lofty, poetic,

and chivalric idea of woman's character, and he always paid a poet's homage to genuine excellence and virtue in women. We give four stanzas from the last part of the song to which we have just referred.

"But in her eyes I find
Such signs of pity moving,
She cannot be unkind,
Nor err nor fail in loving;
And on her forehead this
Seems written to relieve me:
My heart no joy shall miss
That Love or she can give me.

"Which if I find, I vow,
My service shall persever;
The same that I am now
I will continue ever.
No other's high degree,
No beauteous look shall change me;
My love shall constant be,
And no estate estrange me.

"When other noble dames,
By greater men attended,
Shall, with their lives and names,
Have all their glories ended,
With fairest queens shall she
Sit, sharing equal glory,
And times to come shall be
Delighted with our story.

"In spite of other's hates,
More honors I will do her
Than those that with estates
And helps of Fortune woo her;
Yea, that true worth I spy,
Though monarchs strove to grace it,
They should not reach more high
Than I dare hope to place it."

What woman would not be pleased to be wooed in such manly strains as these?

Charming and graceful as Wither is on secular themes, he is entitled to equal praise as a sacred poet. He wrote very numerous hymns, all breathing a spirit of pure and heart-felt

devotion. He published two books of serious verses, one called "Hymns and Songs of the Church," and the other, "Britain's Second Remembrancer." The latter is the superior of the two, and it is indeed a grand collection of sacred songs. They are all excellent, some surpassingly beautiful, some extremely touching. To give the reader an idea of the simplicity and earnestness of his religious verse, we will quote three stanzas from a little prayer for himself and family. These were the last verses he ever wrote, — the last poetic utterance of a profoundly poetic and religious soul: —

"And when Thou me shalt gather
Out of this land of life,
Be Thou my children's Father,
A husband to my wife.

. . . . .

"And whilst we live together,
Let us upon Thee call;
Help to prepare each other
For what may yet befall.

"So just, so faithful-hearted,
So constant let us be,
That when we here are parted,
We all may meet in Thee."

ART. XI. — *The White Hills; their Legends, Landscape, and Poetry.* By THOMAS STARR KING. With Sixty Illustrations by ANDREW, from Drawings by WHEELOCK. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1860. Small 4to. pp. 403.

MOUNTAIN scenery, beyond all other forms and aspects of nature, generates strong local attachment. The most intense love of country has always been found in dwellers among the hills. No homes have been fought for with such earnest, self-sacrificing patriotism, as wild and even barren, rocky fastnesses. Mountaineers can be destroyed in their homes more easily than they can be driven from their homes; and none feel the hardship of exile and expatriation so keenly as they.

Summer tourists are bound by the same law of attraction. On other routes of travel they seek the zest of novelty, and are perpetually exploring regions previously unvisited; but the mountain journey or sojourn invites their return for season after season, and the same steps are retraced, the same haunts revisited, with an interest, a fascination, and a joy that never reach their climax. This is due in part, we doubt not, to merely physical experiences. The pure, thin, bracing air of elevated regions is inhaled with a conscious luxury, which seldom accompanies the process of breathing on the plain or by the sea-shore. The sum of vitality is doubled, and the life of two days seems condensed into one. The undulating paths, the alternate ascent and descent, bring in turn all the muscles employed in locomotion into exercise, and give them in turn relief and relaxation, so that not only does the enthusiastic pedestrian find his capacity enhanced, but, as we have learned by repeated trial, the horse, in whose case the journey is a mere affair of muscle, can measure day by day a greater distance, and for a greater number of successive days, in a hilly country than on level ground.

But the transcendent charm of mountain scenery is its unceasing novelty. On no two days, for no two successive hours, is the panorama the same. Sunlight, cloud, and vapor are presented in combinations that change as often, and are as incapable of repeating themselves, as the groups of glittering objects in a kaleidoscope. The caps, wreaths, and fillets of azure mists, the shadows of moving clouds, the prismatic hues that clothe barren crags with a transfiguring glory at sunset, the passage of dense columns of vapor among the hills and over the valleys, are at every moment as fresh a joy to the beholder as if the like had never been seen before. The midsummer day is too short, the brief midsummer night too long, for a feast of beauty and grandeur served by elemental spirits that know how to greet their guest with a new surprise at every moment.

It is no wonder, then, that Mr. King, having once become conversant with the White Hills, should have resorted thither for a series of years, and made himself familiar with the entire hill-country through a circumference of many miles. There

is not a spot that he has not explored, not an accessible ravine that he has not descended, not a practicable mountain-path that he has not trodden; and he has moved everywhere with a keenly-observant eye, with a spirit sensitive to every ray of beauty, with a joyous love of nature, and an unsurpassed power of phototyping upon the mental retina the impressions made upon the visual organ. The results of these rich and fruitful years are before us in the book under review. This work lacks no claim upon the general interest which such a work could proffer. In the lowest, yet to a novice the essential capacity of a guide-book, it is full and perfect, delineating in detail every route, with its periods, stations, and facilities. As a topographical manual, it leaves nothing to be desired, describing the whole face of the country, and entering into the minutest features of every striking view and every salient object. Its literary finish is exquisite. It is a poet's survey, and we never miss in a single page the poetic afflatus, which breathes on the writer's soul from the Creator-Spirit to whom "the signs and wonders of the element" utter praise. With his own magnificent prose-poem, Mr. King has tastefully interwreathed all the choice literature and poetry of the White Hills; and at the same time has put into fitting shape, not only the local history, but the rich legendary lore — much of it before unwritten — which has been handed down from the rude pioneers and among the hardy settlers in a region so prolific of wild and perilous adventure, and so well fitted to nourish weird and strange beliefs and imaginings. The author has been admirably seconded by the artists whose aid he has employed. The subjects of the drawings are selected with the most judicious care, and are sketched and engraved with consummate skill; while a clearly-drawn map of the whole surrounding country aids the reader in assigning its geographical site to every object and scene portrayed. Our description of the book would be defective, and our recognition of its varied merits inadequate, without emphatic mention of two chapters for which Mr. King tells us that he is indebted to Professor Edward Tuckerman of Amherst College. One of these is a narrative of the discovery and successive explorations of the White Hills; the other a sketch — scientific in its thorough-

ness, popular in its style — of the vegetation of the mountains and of their elevated base.

The White Hills are accessible, on the ordinary routes of travel, from four different directions, and by the valleys of as many different rivers. The quickest access, and that which now attracts the greatest number of tourists, is by the valley of the Androscoggin and by the Grand Trunk Railway. From the Alpine House, at the Gorham station, a stage-road of seven or eight miles leads to "The Glen," from which it is generally believed the ascent of Mount Washington is effected with the least difficulty, and at which the partially constructed carriage-road to the summit commences. Between the Alpine House and the Glen House are obtained the only unobstructed views of the four highest mountains, with their intervening spaces; and no other portion of the hill country affords single points of view more commanding and sublime. An hour's ride from the Alpine House brings the traveller to the Falls of the Androscoggin at Berlin, "where the river pours its whole tide through a narrow rocky gateway, descends a hundred feet in the course of a few hundred yards, and then shoots its rapids directly towards the swelling bulk of Mounts Madison and Adams, that tower but a few miles distant, and form the north-eastern wall of the Mount Washington chain."

The route of the Saco valley is to be preferred for the lengthened enjoyment of slow and gradual approach to the heart of the mountains. He who enters through this gate, for forty miles or more, has the grandeur of the mountain scenery growing before him with every turn and elevation of the road, until he finds himself in the span-wide defile of the Notch, with its sentinel cliffs on either side, the compressed current of the Saco bubbling over its stony bed at his feet, and the Flume and the Silver Cascade tossing their spray in the sunlight. On either of the two principal routes to the Saco valley the tourist may enjoy the most charming lake navigation in New England; on one, that of the deep, island-less Sebago, and two smaller lakes, with one of which it is connected by the most romantic little river, so narrow that the steamboat is brushed at the same time by the trees on both banks, and so tortuous that the pilot more than once completely

reverses his course, and steers in the opposite direction to that of his destined port, — on the other, that of the Winnipiseogee, with its hundreds of picturesque islands, its grand amphitheatre of environing hills, and its vistas through which "Alps on Alps arise." This valley undoubtedly commands the greatest variety of view, and North Conway, which lies upon it, about thirty miles from Mount Washington, has become a justly favorite place of summer sojourn for the endless diversity of blended mountain, sky, and cloud scenery it presents, and for the numerous excursions which may be made within easy distance to grand points of view and objects of commanding interest.

The Pemigewasset valley is the natural avenue to the Franconia range. Here is a defile — less narrow, wild, and oppressive, but in some respects even more sublime, than the Crawford Notch — flanked by Mounts Lafayette and Cannon. Near this defile is "the great stone face," over which almost unceasing tears pour from the clouds, fall into the Profile Lake beneath, and form one of the most prolific feeders of the little stream which gives name to the valley. Echo Lake, the Flume, and the Basin are among the almost numberless objects of surpassing beauty and grandeur, that render the region of Franconia hardly less attractive than that of the White Mountain group.

The Connecticut valley may be reached, either by the White Mountain Railway, of which Littleton is the terminus, or by the Grand Trunk Railway, with a pleasant drive of twelve miles from Northumberland to Lancaster. No other road of equal length commands such a diversity of mountain and river scenery as that between Littleton and Lancaster; and the beautiful village of Lancaster, nestling in the valley, with the Mount Washington chain in the distance, is one of the most charming spots we have ever visited. From a hill in the vicinity of the village are obtained views of the entire range, only less in detail than those near the Alpine House, and even superior in magnificence, especially when the entire mass of crag and forest looks out from its winter environment of sheeted and drifted snow.

We regret that Mr. King had not so enlarged his plan as to

include the Dixville Notch, about forty miles from Lancaster. It is approached by passing up the Connecticut valley as far as Colebrook, and thence by an abrupt and perilous road of thirteen miles in an easterly direction. This defile, just wide enough for a carriage-way, is flanked by nearly perpendicular walls of mica-slate, eight hundred feet in height, rising in needles and pinnacles, and bearing, from some points of view, a close resemblance to vast architectural ruins. From the summit of one of these peaks, reached by an hour's arduous effort, there is a view of almost unequalled grandeur, embracing an immense extent of meadow and forest, lying in a basin nearly enclosed on every side by an amphitheatre of mountains. Near the Notch is the Flume, a chasm more thoroughly Avernine in its aspect and surroundings than any other similar gorge we have ever beheld, overshadowed by sombre foliage, the whole scene wild, dark, and dank, with a stream of almost Styx-like blackness pouring into the blackness below, — the very spot where the ancients would inevitably have sought an opening to the infernal regions.

If it be asked by which of the four avenues the White Mountains should be approached, we can only give our advice, backed by our own example, to try them all, and not in summer only, but in winter too; for while the penetralia of the mountain-gorges can be explored, and the peaks ascended, only in the warmer season, there is hardly a view from any attainable station which has not its beauty intensified, and its grandeur exalted, both by the consonancy of snow and ice with the peculiar tone of the scenery, and by the rich and various prismatic partings of the sunlight as reflected from colossal icicles, frozen waterfalls, glazed piles of snow, and floating crystals of congealed vapor. Let no one imagine that he can be qualified even to talk about the White Hills by one of those rapid, business-like excursions in which our pleasure-lovers are wont to "do up" the picturesque of this and that place of fashionable resort, checking each site on the guide-book, — the pencil-mark the only memento of their having seen it. One should remain days — were it possible, weeks — at each of the principal stations, in order to know what a marvellous diversity of phases the same rocks, trees, and water-

courses can assume by the shifting of the lights and shadows. Then, too, in passing from place to place, from valley to valley, one needs to be choice as to times and modes of conveyance. There is not a rod of the ground which we would consent to pass over after nightfall, or on a rainy day, or on the middle seat of a crowded coach. We have made trial of every mode of locomotion among the mountains, and our preference, simply as tourists, is for a walk with staff and knapsack, with no pre-arranged plan, and, we would add, with no constant and inevitable companion, but with freedom to join always the most pleasant party for the day, to lead or follow in the adventure that holds forth the richest promise, and to heed no counsel but that proffered by the aspects of the heavens and the condition of the watercourses. We verily believe that in this complete independence and autonomy more of the enjoyment to be drawn immediately from nature can be secured, than under the necessary restrictions even of the society we love best. Yet we remember that "it is not good that the man should be alone," and our own experience tells us that, while the power, beauty, and majesty embodied all around us is the most impressive and soul-filling to the solitary beholder, the aggregate of our enjoyment is greatly enhanced when shared, multiplied when divided, with those whom God has given us. But let a family party be chary of trusting wholly to public modes of transit other than railroads. Far better is it, and hardly less economical, to have a carriage — open, of course — and horses at one's own command, — horses, too, of approved discretion and self-control, worthy to be left unwatched by the roadside for an occasional digressive stroll or clamber, and amenable to the guidance of the feeblest of the party, while the stronger indulge in the frequent luxury of walking.

We are glad to find that Mr. King has done ample justice to the heroes of the mountains, and to their heroic age, which may be said to have expired when Abel Crawford ceased to breathe. He was in every sense a noble man. Of considerably more than six feet in height, lithe of limb, with a giant's might of arm, and with a courage, energy, and fortitude adequate to every possible emergency, he in 1790 lived alone in

a log hut on the mound called the Giant's Grave, at the foot of which, half a century later, stood Fabyan's great hotel. Shortly afterward, he settled on the well-known site where he spent the residue of his days. His was the pioneer mind and hand in all the early and slow stages by which the country between Bethlehem and Bartlett was made accessible, and was annexed to the civilized world. "He assisted in cutting the first footpath to the ridge, and at seventy-five, in the year 1840, he rode the first horse that climbed the cone of Mount Washington." When more than eighty years of age, he was returned as a member of the New Hampshire Legislature, and in this new capacity he not only was an object of curious interest, but by his shrewdness and sound practical wisdom evinced the capacity of the tamer of beasts to bear an honored part in the affairs of state and government. He lingered under growing infirmity, yet with the light of his eye undimmed, and his majestic form but slightly bowed, — his snow-white hair hanging in waving masses, rather than curls, over his neck and shoulders, — till he quietly sank into his last slumber at the ripe age of eighty-five. His son Ethan has, we suppose, had no equal, in these latter centuries and among civilized men, in physical strength. Wrestling, hand to paw, with a bear was for many years an every-day conflict with him, nor did he deem it a feat worthy of special commemoration, when he bore in his arms an exhausted traveller from the summit of Mount Washington to the fireside of his own house. But for the details of his hardihood and his sufferings, as well as for the still higher heroism of his patient, brave, and true Christian wife, we must refer our readers to Mr. King's appreciating narrative and eulogium.

It is impossible for us, in the brief space and time left at our disposal, to give our readers any adequate idea of the contents of this work. We have done better than this, if we shall have induced them, by the meagreness of our analysis as contrasted with the richness of the theme, to resort with a merely whetted appetite to the book itself.

We close by extracting the following eloquent description of what, says our author, "we cannot hope to see again." We once witnessed near Lake Winnipiseogee a spectacle which

might be described, *mutatis mutandis*, in nearly the same words, and which still remains foremost in beauty, first in glory, among our own remembrances of travel. Mr. King copies the record made by him at the time. He was on his return ride from Berlin Falls to Gorham.

"The vapors hung in heavy masses over the principal ridges, but the west was clear. There was evident preparation for a magnificent display, — a great banquet by the sun to the courtier clouds, on retiring from office that day, — a high carnival of light. As I turned the horse towards Gorham, taking the Moriah range full in view, a slight shower began to fall down the valley of Mount Carter, and a patch of rainbow flashed across the bosom of the mountain. From point to point it wandered, uncertain where to 'locate,' but at last selected a central spot against the lowest summit, and concentrated its splendors.

"The background of the mountain was blue-black. Not a tree was visible, not an irregularity of the surface. It was one smooth mass of solid darkness, soft as it was deep. And the iris was not a bow, but a *pillar* of light. It rested on the ground; its top did not quite reach to the summit of the mountain. With what intense delight we looked at it, expecting every instant that its magic texture would dissolve! But it remained and glowed more brightly. I can give you no conception of the brilliancy and delicacy, the splendor and softness, of the vision. The rainbow on a cloud, in the most vivid display I ever saw of it, was pale to this blazing column of untwisted light. The red predominated. Its intensity increased till the mountain shadow behind it was black as midnight. And yet the pillar stood firm. 'Is not the mountain on fire?' said my companion. 'Certainly that is flame.' Five minutes, ten minutes, fifteen minutes, the gorgeous vision stayed, and we steadily rode nearer. Really, we began to feel uneasy. We expected to see smoke. The color was so intense that there seemed to be real danger of the trees kindling under it. We could not keep in mind that it was celestial fire we were looking at, — fire cool as the water-drops out of which it was born, and on which it reclined. It lay apparently upon the trees, diffused itself among them, from the valley to the crown of the ridge, as gently as the glory in the bush upon Horeb, when 'the angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush; and he looked, and behold the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.'

"It seemed like nothing less than a message to mortals from the internal sphere, — the robe of an angel, awful and gentle, come to bear a great truth to the dwellers in the valley. And it was, no doubt. It meant all that the discerning eye and reverent mind felt it to mean.

That Arabian bush would have been vital with no such presence, perhaps, to the gaze of a different soul. 'To him that hath shall be given.' A colder, a sceptical spirit would have said, possibly, 'There is a curious play of the sunbeams in the mist about that shrub,' or, it may be, would have decided that he was the victim of an optical illusion, and so would have missed the message to put the shoes from his feet, because the place was holy ground. Nearly twenty minutes the pillar of variegated flame remained in the valley of Mount Carter, as if waiting for some spectator to ask its purpose, and listen for a voice to issue from its mystery. Then, lifting itself from its base, and melting gradually upwards, it shrunk into a narrow strip of beauty, leaped from the mountain summit to the cloud, and vanished.

"It seems difficult to connect such a show, in memory, with 'Gorham,' — so hard a name, a fit title for a rough, growing Yankee village. But such is the way the homeliest business is glorified here; such is the way the ideal world plays out visibly over the practical, in all seasons, and every day. Only have an eye in your head competent to appreciate the changes of light, the richness of shadows, the sport of mists upon the hills, and you can look up every hour here, from the rough fences and uncouth shops of Yankee land, to the magic of fairy land. While that show was in the height of its splendor, I asked an old farmer, who was hauling stones with his oxen, what he thought of it. He turned, snatched the scene with his eye, and said, indifferently, 'It's nice, but we often have 'em here; gee-haw, wo-hush!' Yes, that's just the truth, 'We *often* have 'em,' — *often* have the glories of the Divine art, passages of the celestial magnificence, playing over our potato-fields; therefore the most of us pay no attention to them, — count them as matters of course, keep coolly at our digging, and wait for something more surprising to jar us from our scepticism, shatter the crusts of the senses, wake us to a feeling of mystery, and startle us, through fear, into a belief or consciousness of God.

"The iris pillar suggested the burning bush on Horeb. As I close this letter, that passage broadens to my thought, into a symbol of a mightier truth. What statement is so competent as that to set forth the relation of the Creative Spirit to the universe! In Moses' time, nature, in the regard of science, was a mere bush, a single shrub. Now it has grown, through the researches of the intellect, to a tree. The universe is a mighty tree; and the great truth for us to connect with the majestic sciences of these days, and to keep vivid by a religious imagination, is, that from the roots of its mystery to the silver-leaved boughs of the firmament, it is continually filled with God, and yet unconsumed." — pp. 271 – 274.

Art. XII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Almost a Heroine.* By the Author of "Charles Auchester," "Counterparts," etc., etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859.

This work, appearing soon after "Counterparts," by the same author, has some resemblance to it in its general style, and in its portraiture of character. In both the predominant idea is "temperament," and in both the sensuous and super-sensuous are strangely intermingled. In the endeavor to paint exceptional natures, the author too often enters into the unnatural and the absurd, till the characters become mere intangible phantoms, quite remote from our human sympathies. Some of them, to be sure, are very pretty phantoms, and draw man to the earth for a moment in some charming gush of natural expression; but just as the heart is warming toward them, they wing their way back to the cold, upper air. As a whole, the book is no more like a record of actual life than the atmosphere of a conservatory, laden with orange-blossoms and heavy with heliotrope, is like the fresh breeze which comes to us over the wide-spreading fields. Yet the practical details which recur at intervals are of so decided a nature as to forbid us to regard the story as an intentional and thorough abstraction, and it cannot therefore be judged entirely as a rhapsody.

In the theories with which all of the author's works abound, there are glimpses of grand realities, and approaches toward comprehensive truths; but though their suggestions are tempting, their exposition is neither clear nor helpful. We remain still in a twilight region of obscurity, seeking in vain for an outlet. The writer is very skilful in the use of words, very happy in the choice of epithets; but the plumage sometimes degenerates into affectation, and produces paragraphs of ornamental nonsense. The style is in itself sufficiently fanciful and arabesque, and but slight exaggeration is needed to make it transcend the limits of sense.

One attribute of a novelist is quite indispensable to the truth of his work; he must make his characters appear to the reader what he asserts them to be. It is of no use for him to call a man a hero, if he invest him with no heroic gifts. The development of the story must unfold the promised characteristics. Words do not make passion, unless the very breath of life is breathed into them. Now we think few readers can fail to see that, in spite of the author's frequent assertion of the passionate sensitiveness of Arnold Major and Horatia Standish, they are really hard, unimpressible people. Ernesto is almost an im-

personality; Erselie is quite "without form and void." John, were he possible, would be interesting as a specimen of moral amphibiousness, but a very "uncanny" servant about one's house. The apparent change in the author's plan, which breaks the unity of the plot, allows the introduction of the idea of renunciation, which is so prominent both in "Charles Auchester" and in "Counterparts." In each of the three works we have the spectacle of an absorbing and passionate love laid aside by an effort of volition. The author has a woman's enjoyment of details, and some of the descriptions of scenery, and even of houses and furniture, are very successful. The picture is painted for us in living colors. There is evidence of reserved power in this last work, in the fact that, in spite of its incongruities, it has nerve and vitality enough to insure decided interest in the reader, and to individualize its impression on the mind. Also, it is something in these days of many books, to attain to a style of one's own, and to possess peculiarities which awaken the attention without too severely shocking the principles of the reader.

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2. — 1. *Sword and Gown.* By the Author of "Guy Livingstone." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. pp. 308.
2. *Library of Select Novels.* No. 213. *Sword and Gown.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. pp. 67.

THE title of this romance appears at first glance merely epigrammatical. Viewed in the light of the discourse to which it is the text, however, it assumes the aspect of an insolent antithesis. The Sword, though by no means a Damascus blade, cuts into useless rags the Gown, which covers a poor and cowardly heart. Neither the soldier nor the priest has the ring of true metal, and the contrast between them is without dignity. The author looks at life from a very low stand-point, and attributes to his characters the most selfish and unworthy motives. They all walk in paths on which no heavenly sunshine smiles, and grovel hopelessly in the mire of their own passions. We protest against a hero and heroine such as Royston Keene and Cecil Tresilyan. They are of the coarsest clay, and all the adventitious circumstances with which they are surrounded fail to blind us to their really ignoble natures. The charms of moral beauty, the dignity of self-denial, the power of discipline, have no place in our author's thought. Yet with this heavy drawback and abatement, the story manifests, like its predecessor, a very high order of ability in style, in the arrangement of incidents, and in the delineation of character.

3. — *A Good Fight, and other Tales.* By CHARLES READE, Author of "Love me Little, Love me Long," "Peg Woffington," etc., etc. With Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. pp. 341.

THE first of these tales occupies the principal portion of the volume, is told with great spirit, and illustrated with pictures that remind us of the delightful books of our childhood, in which the ruffians who led away the babes in the wood, or the giants whom the redoubtable champion Jack overcame, were portrayed in heavy black lines and magnified proportions. The story smacks throughout of the lively romance of the Middle Age, and is seasoned with adventures in abundance. The characters are individualized most successfully, and impress the reader with all the prejudices and prepossessions the author could desire. The wicked Burgomaster, the mean and pitiful brothers, the pale-faced cripple, the strong-armed dwarf, and the stalwart huntsman pass and repass with dramatic vivacity. The careful house-mother vibrates between her contradictory impulses, the hero wins our hearts by his talents and generosity; but a foul stain on the else noble and charming Margaret robs her at the last of the respect and sympathy which have all along been growing for her, and compels us to close with unqualified disgust a story for the most part wonderfully beautiful and fascinating.

The "Autobiography" which follows is strangely dull for Mr. Reade. The "Jack of all Trades," however, effaces the impression, and is quite unique in plot and interest. Mdlle. Djek is a heroine of the Lucrezia Borgia style, and plays her *elephantine* part admirably. In spite of our sympathy with her victims, we shiver with her in her needed chastisement, and mourn her untimely fate.

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4. — *True Womanhood: a Tale.* By JOHN NEAL. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. pp. 487.

AFTER a long silence Mr. Neal reappears before the public as a novelist, and the hand of welcome will no doubt be held out to him by those who knew him through "the doings of his earlier manhood." The years which have passed have brought some change in the manner of his expression, but still more in the direction of his thought. In the present volume the romantic is made subordinate to the religious element, and the author's own type of religious belief and feeling is predominant throughout. The scene is laid in New York during the great revival of the winter of 1857 – 58, and much use is made of the well-

known incidents of that time. The author shows his own warm sympathy with the religious excitement which then swept over a large part of the Christian world, by repeating many of the arguments by which it was urged and vindicated, and by bringing nearly all of his *dramatis personæ* under its influence. The whole story is marked with a devout intention, and will for this reason be read with interest by a class in the community that generally eschew novels.

The plot turns upon a package of forged bank-notes, which, passing through the hands of a most worthy gentleman, expose him to be tried for forgery. Having received them from a deceased brother-in-law, he determines to stand the trial, in the hope that he may be able to exonerate himself without involving the name of the guilty person. The *dénouement*, however, explains the whole transaction, and places the crime and the shame on a third party, with whom neither the courts of justice nor the reader have any personal acquaintance. The "true womanhood" of the story culminates in the niece of the accused, who, although forced to be the principal witness against him, turns public opinion in his favor by her dignity and discretion, before the evidence for the defence is brought into action. As the chief perquisite of a heroine is her lovers, the fair Julia has a pair of them in her cousin Arthur and the lawyer who manages her uncle's case. The lawyer is refused because he is not a professedly religious man; the cousin, although beloved, is set aside on the ground of consanguinity, and the beautiful Julia declares her intention to remain single, and to prove that marriage is not "a condition absolutely indispensable for the happiness of woman, or for the development of true womanhood." The last paragraph of the story, however, hints at a possible sequel, and we are left uncertain whether the perseverance of a twelvemonth will be final. Doubtless the author will devise some method by which to make the lovers happy without rendering them recreant to their principles.

The conversations and discussions in which the book abounds are lighted up with allusions to many topics of general interest. Among them are the great commercial crisis, the question of "Woman's Rights," the dramatic element of the Bible, and the "garroting" mania, which prevailed for a short time in New York. A marked preference for English habits in social life appears from time to time.

5.—*La Femme au XIXe Siècle.* Par MADAME ROMIEU. Deuxième Edition, augmentée. Paris: Amyot. 1859. 12mo. pp. 376.

MADAME ROMIEU is better known as a writer by the pseudonyme of "Marie Sincère." This treatise on "Woman in the Nineteenth Cen-

tury" is her most solid and elaborate work. It is well worth reading, not only for its literary finish, but for its thoroughness, acuteness of criticism, and moderation of tone. The author is not a strong-minded woman, indignantly vindicating the rights of her sex against the tyranny of men, but an earnest monitor to women of their needs and duties. Her exposure of the faults and follies of the social prejudice which rules in the education of Frenchwomen is keen and complete; yet she does not propose to reorganize society, or essentially to change the legal position of woman. In her view, the evils under which woman suffers are capable of remedy without any radical alteration in the framework of social life. Her book, however, is more remarkable for the fulness of its scientific treatment, than for its discussion of the means of remedy. It is in three parts. The first part, in ten chapters, treats of "Woman in the various positions which it is possible for her to occupy"; — *in the family*, as daughter, wife, and mother; *out of the family*, as orphan, illegitimate child, old maid, childless widow, or divorced; as *religieuse*, in the cloister, in the school, or sister of charity; *in society*, as wife of a laborer, a shopkeeper, a merchant, or a gentleman; *in public life*, as the wife of an ambassador, a minister, or a local governor; of woman in a *profession*, whether as teacher, governess, author, painter, musician, or actor; of woman *in domestic life*, in the country and in the cities; of the "outlaw" woman, mistresses, *lorettes*, and the like, and their influence upon the respectable of their sex; of the various classes of female reformers; and of the legal position of woman. The second part, also in ten chapters, treats of the causes which determine the lot of woman, whether arising from customs or from passions, — love, education, false and hasty marriage, the relation with two families, lack of occupation, need of emotion, vanity, weakness, reciprocal enmity among women, and prejudices of many kinds. The third part, in five chapters, treats of the "Destiny to which woman is invited," whether in the family, in society, or in civil life, with a sketch of the history of female influence, and a discussion of the obstacles and helps in the improvement of the sex. This short abstract will give an idea of the copiousness of the treatise; but can do no justice to the wit and wisdom, the analysis of motive, and the nice appreciation of the shades of character and feeling, which show themselves from the beginning to the end of the volume. In some particulars it is not adapted to American society. Many of the evils on which Madame Romieu dwells are unknown with us. But its tone is pure and healthy, and for its excellent advice to daughters, wives, and mothers, and indirectly to husbands and fathers, it is worth far more than the romantic physiology of Michelet's treatise, the commendations of which to American readers insult the honor of American homes.

6. — *Essais de Morale et de Critique.* Par ERNEST RENAN, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: Michel Levy. 1859. 8vo. pp. 478.

ERNEST RENAN is still a young man, as yet only in his thirty-seventh year; yet he has won fame as an Oriental scholar second only to that of Sylvestre de Sacy. His mastery of the Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac is so thorough, that he writes familiarly in each of these tongues, and in the whole range of philological research he has few superiors. His command of the French language, too, as the volume before us splendidly shows, is quite equal to his command of the Semitic dialects. A more remarkable series of essays, judged by literary merit alone, has not for a long time been issued from the French press. His "Essays on Religious History," collected and published in 1857, were full of promise, which has been fully verified by this new series. It contains thirteen articles, all of them critical, and six of them on biographical subjects. The characters with whom he deals are De Sacy, the younger, as a representative of the liberal school, Cousin, Augustin Thierry, Lamennais, the Benedictine Luigi Tosti, and Creuzer, the German Professor. Besides these biographical criticisms, there are short discussions on the Revolutions of Italy, the "Secret History" of Procopius, the Arabic "Séances" of Haraïri, the mediæval farce of "Patelin," the French Academy, and the Poetry of the French "World's Fair." The closing article, which is long, elaborate, and full of recondite learning, is on the "Poetry of the Celtic Races." It is impossible to praise these articles too highly, whether for candor, insight, originality of view, breadth of scholarship, or beauty of style. Not a page is dull, and no page is without some striking thought. The tone of the volume is that of moderate, but very decided liberalism, — of sympathy with man, while there is due respect for institutions. M. Renan never defends despotism or arbitrary power, though he treats it fairly, and sometimes apologizes for its excesses. He believes in the possibility of human progress, and associates himself rather with Rémusat and Laboulaye than with Montalembert and Lacordaire. His vindication of Lamennais is generous and brave, yet he does not fail to show the weak side of this gifted apostate, and to deplore his spiritual self-destruction. M. Renan believes that it is possible to work within the Church for that end which the Church carries in its very idea. Occasionally, some of his sagacious remarks fail to commend themselves to our moral approbation. We cannot assent to the maxim in the article on Cousin, that "it is an excellent principle, always to act in office as if one's successor might be an enemy." Though not properly a political writer, M. Renan has shown, in these Essays, that he well

understands both the Italian and the Turkish questions, and has a reasonable solution to give of the difficulties involved in them. His book has a rare charm for a thoughtful reader.

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7. — *Fiji and the Fijians.* By THOMAS WILLIAMS and JAMES CALVERT, late Missionaries in Fiji. Edited by GEORGE STRINGER ROWE. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 561.

WE are not able to determine from anything in this volume to what extent the "editor's" care has been applied or needed. As we read it, each part of the volume seems to have its peculiar style, and to be the work of a single author. The whole is interesting, and the first part is curious and valuable. In this, Mr. Williams has given a very complete account of the Fiji Islands and their inhabitants, the geography, geology, history, productions, methods of government, political and industrial relations, manners and customs, religion, and language of the different groups and families, — arranged, moreover, with admirable conciseness and precision. In the whole account, there is scarcely a superfluous word; and the necessary relation of horrors is so tempered by understatement, that one is saved from the disgust which the bare facts create in a Christian heart. A few instances there are of incorrect English, and occasional vulgarisms mar the page; as, for instance, where it is said that "the leaves, when boiled, *eat* like those of the mercury"; that the "canes *girt* from three to seven inches"; and where the cutting of hair on the right and left side of the forehead is described as cutting it to *windward* and to *leeward;* but, in the main, the narrative is easy, flowing, and in good taste. While it is the more interesting as the story of a people about whom very little has been accurately known, it fully confirms the impressions which civilized nations have attached to the name of the "Fijians." With all his softening of color, Mr. Williams has given us the picture of a race of cruel, crafty, malicious, brutal cannibals, with hardly one redeeming feature, either in customs or character. The very worst associations connected with their name are justified. Their religion is a low feticism, their habits are beastly, murder is their perpetual pastime, gratitude is unknown among them, war is their chief duty, and vengeance their ruling passion. Nowhere on the face of the earth does the beauty of nature seem more strongly contrasted with the degradation of man. In these lovely lagoon-islands, every prospect may please, but man is emphatically vile. Some facts mentioned by Mr. Williams may mitigate the

severity of this judgment. He remarks, for instance, that "*tax-paying* in Fiji is associated with all that the people love"! It is the great festival-day, when the people get together to pay taxes. In this particular we venture to think that Fiji will take rank before any Christian nation.

According to Fijian tradition, the human race sprang from a single pair, hatched by the god Ndengci from a couple of hawk's eggs. The Fijians have no tradition of a Fall, though from their Flood exactly *eight* persons were saved. One of the two races extinguished by that catastrophe was composed entirely of women, while the other was furnished with short tails, "like the tail of a dog." The Fijian notion of heaven is peculiar. Mahomet excluded old women from his Paradise, but Fiji excludes *bachelors*. No bachelor has ever been able to cheat the vigilance of the "Great Woman" who guards the doors of Elysium. That unfortunate class lose the joys of earth, only to fail more fatally of the joys of heaven. As human bodies form the choice morsels for the tribes on earth, so the Fijian gods regale themselves on *human souls*, many hundreds of which are consumed at celestial banquets. We are not told, however, that any god had equalled the achievement of Ra Undeundre, king of Rakiraki, whose consumption of bodies, "after his children had begun to grow up," amounted to nine hundred eaten by himself alone.

If the composition of Fiji *poetry* will not seem to offer very great difficulties to those who have imitated "Oriana" and "Hiawatha," the composition of Fiji *grog* will hardly delight even the enthusiastic tourists who expatiate on the charms of American drinks. Each of a circle of young men deposits his own well-chewed mass of *yagona* in a common bowl, and the strained infusion from this score or two of balls constitutes the national punch. The substitute for kissing is queer. When Fijian friends meet, they *smell* of each other, and if they are very fond, each takes a long sniff. They smoke and swim at the same time. It is not considered respectable for husbands and wives to be much together. The estimate which Mr. Williams puts upon the Fijian language seems to us rather too high. They have, indeed, four *numbers*, a "dual" and a "triad" between their singular and plural, and a large number of synonymes, especially of verbs; but, on the whole, we prefer the English as a vehicle of intercourse.

The second half of the volume, the mission history, by Mr. Calvert, details the trials, hardships, and dangers which the Wesleyan apostles have encountered in the islands, and their truly wonderful successes.

8. — *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru, and Brazil, from Spanish and Portuguese Domination.* By THOMAS, EARL OF DUNDONALD, G. C. B., Admiral of the Red, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, etc., etc. London: James Ridgway. 1859. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xxii. and 293, 305.

AT the age of eighty-three, Lord Dundonald, better known, perhaps, by his earlier title of Lord Cochrane, has come forward as an author, to relate events which took place forty years ago, and to defend the course which he adopted at that time. His narrative, though gossiping and egotistical, is interesting and well written, and is confirmed by numerous citations from unpublished documents. The first volume is devoted to a detailed account of the operations of the Chilian squadron while under his command, and to the transactions on the western coast of South America in which he was a principal actor, from his arrival at Valparaiso in November, 1818, until his departure from Chili, in January, 1823. During this period his chief exploits were the capture of Valdivia and the cutting out of the frigate Esmeralda in the port of Callao; and doubtless his services were of much importance in clearing the Pacific of Spanish armed vessels, and in supporting the army in their operations on the land. But he was almost constantly involved in disputes with the Chilian authorities, principally on account of their neglect to pay the seamen, and to provide for the proper equipment of the navy; and in the early part of 1823 he accepted the command of the Brazilian squadron, and left Chili in disgust. He at once transferred the scene of his labors in behalf of South American independence to the eastern coast, where he won scarcely less reputation as a bold and enterprising leader than he had acquired on the other side of the Continent. To the record of his services on the Atlantic, the second volume is exclusively devoted; and, like the first volume, it contains a very curious narrative of brilliant enterprises accomplished in the midst of intrigues and dissensions. Lord Cochrane was certainly a very able and energetic officer; but he had little skill in adapting himself to Spanish and Portuguese manners, and his self-conceit was unbounded. While his volumes show how efficiently he labored for the cause which he had espoused, they contain too many proofs of egotism and self-sufficiency to permit any one to doubt that his Lordship was often an uncomfortable ally. Still, they furnish a very satisfactory justification of his conduct, and throw considerable light on the history of three of the principal South American states. We shall look with interest for the publication of the volume in which he proposes to furnish an account of his connection with the Greek Revolution.

9.—*The Portrait of a Christian Gentleman.— Memoir of Patrick Fraser Tytler, Author of the "History of Scotland."* By his Friend, the Rev. John W. Burgon, M. A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Second Edition. London: John Murray. 1859. 12mo. pp. xii. and 368.

The literary merits of this Memoir are not of a high order, but the life which it commemorates was so pure and noble, that it would be worthy of study even in a much more imperfect record. Patrick Fraser Tytler was neither a great man nor a very eminent historian, and his chief claim to remembrance arises from the integrity of his character, his humble piety, and his fidelity in all the relations of life. He was born in Edinburgh on the 30th of August, 1791, and was the youngest son of Lord Woodhouselee, a distinguished Scotch jurist, and grandson of William Tytler, a scarcely less distinguished Scotch historian. His preparatory studies were pursued in his native country, and at the age of seventeen he was sent to England to complete his education under the care of a clergyman of the Church of England. Here he soon gave evidence of a taste for historical studies, devoting all his spare time to English reading, and particularly History. "What do you think of History, my dear Sandie?" he says in a letter to his brother. "To me it seems to be the noblest of all studies. To say that it is entertaining, is its least praise. It is the school of statesmen and warriors; and the pleasure next to living in the times, and being a witness to the actions of these, is that of reading their life and actions." After leaving school he studied law, and in July, 1813, he was admitted into the Faculty of Advocates. For several years he pursued his profession with considerable zeal; but it did not prove very lucrative, and gradually his thoughts became more and more directed toward literary avocations. His first work was an "Historical and Critical Essay on the Life of Crichton," which was written in the early part of 1817, and was afterward expanded into a "Life of James Crichton of Cluny, commonly called the Admirable Crichton," which was published in 1819, when he was in his twenty-eighth year. In March, 1826, he was married; and two years later he published the first volume of his History of Scotland, a work of considerable research and ability, extending to nine volumes, the last of which was not published until 1843. In the early part of 1835, his wife, who appears to have been a woman of many admirable qualities, died. Tytler's grief was deep and sincere; yet he prosecuted his literary labors with undiminished zeal. Beside the works already mentioned, his principal publications were the Lives of Scottish Worthies, in Murray's Family Library; a Life of

Sir Walter Raleigh, and a Life of Henry VIII., in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library; an Historical Dissertation on the Progress of Discovery in America; and two volumes of unpublished letters illustrative of the history of England under Edward VI. and Mary. He also published at different times several minor historical works and essays. On the 12th of August, 1845, he was again married. But his new experience of wedded life was not destined to be of long continuance. His health was rapidly failing, and on the 24th of December, 1849, death terminated his sufferings.

Such, in meagre outline, was Tytler's life. It has little of stirring incident, and little breadth of interest. But everywhere we see evidence that he possessed in large measure the graces of character which become a Christian gentleman. His works will scarcely maintain a permanent place in English literature; and it is on a knowledge of his manly virtues that whatever reputation he may possess must rest. Throughout his career we see nothing that is not devoted, generous, and self-sacrificing, and the lives of few men of letters have been characterized by greater sweetness of temper, or a more sincere and humble piety. Mr. Burgon's narrative is often feeble, and even puerile; but his extracts from his friend's letters and diaries are, with few exceptions, replete with interest and instruction.

10.—*A Manual of Latin Prosody.* By William Ramsay, M. A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. Second Edition. London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin & Co., Publishers to the University of Glasgow. 1859. 8vo. pp. 320.

The superficial way in which Prosody is commonly taught, and the mechanical and unscientific character of works on the subject, have rather brought the study into disrepute. Professor Ramsay's work, while it gives some interesting results, does not meet the wants of the times. Two things in the plan and execution of his Manual are particularly objectionable.

1. He excludes the Comic Dramatists, Plautus and Terence, "and this," to use his own words, "for the best possible reason: we are still ignorant of the laws by which their verse is regulated, if indeed they did think it necessary to confine themselves within the limits of any well-defined rules. Notwithstanding the labors of such men as Erasmus, Scaliger, Faber, Hare, Bentley, Hermann, and a host of others, the Latin comic metres are involved in the deepest obscurity, and the

original text has in numerous passages been mercilessly mangled by the vain efforts of ingenious men to force it into accordance with their systems."

To exclude the Dramatists in a Latin Prosody is like excluding Homer in the study of Greek. In the subsequent writers we may indeed trace a part of the history of the language; we see change after change gradually creeping in, from Lucretius to Ausonius and Claudian. But the Dramatists, compared with the writers of the classical period, give us a far wider range of comparison. From the Dramatists, and from them chiefly, we learn to what terrible mutilations and twists the Latin language was subjected, in order to fit it for the measure which was most foreign to its whole nature and structure, the Dactylic Hexameter. And it is precisely the prosodical element of the drama which is to connect Prosody with other departments of philological research, and thus to make of it something more than a drill-process for students in their novitiate.

One of the changes above referred to is the change of *o* final in verbs: the long *o*, corresponding to the ω in βουλεύω, having been gradually displaced by a clipt *ŏ*. This is a change which may be traced in hexameter verse. But in many matters the heroic verse leaves us totally in the dark. It fails to show the prosodical concordance between the long end-vowel of the Greek verbal noun, as in σωτήρ, ῥήτωρ, and the Latin *ŏr*, as in *exercitŏr*. Dramatic forms like *exercitōr*, *amatōr*, *gubernatōr*, &c. fill the gap, and show that this termination was originally long, and shortened in the course of time, precisely like the *o* in verbs. The comparative of the adjective in *or*, which in the Augustan poets is uniformly short, is proved in like manner to have been originally long. The second person singular of the verb *sum*, which the Prosody gives as solely *ĕs*, was originally *ēs*. On the quantity of the verbal terminations, with which Professor Ramsay has much trouble, important light would be shed from the same source. Monosyllables like *boves*, *navem*, *ovis*, come nearer to βοῦς, ναῦν, ὄϊς (οἶς) than the Augustan forms, and give a welcome hint of the differences which may have existed between the written and the spoken language. According to Professor Ramsay, "there is no authority for *alterĭus* with the penult long, and none to determine the quantity in *solius*." The latter occurs in Terence's Heautontimoroumenos, 129, though the example is, to be sure, not decisive. But *alterīus* is now known even to the compilers of elementary books.

It may be repeated, then, as an established fact, that no treatment of Prosody which excludes the Dramatists can be satisfactory, or can give a scientific account of the phenomena with which it has to deal. As to

Professor Ramsay's statements on the condition of the texts of the Dramatists, they are true only of *English editions.*

2. The second defect in Professor Ramsay's book is a radical one, and seriously lessens its value as a practical work. He expresses his obligations to the Aristarchus of Vossius, from which he has taken many of his materials. But unfortunately in the use of these materials Professor Ramsay employs the loosest kind of criticism. To him the Bipont editors are invested with a halo of awful majesty. The names of Heinsius and Burman (as he spells it) are unanswerable arguments. On Juvenal he appeals to Ruperti. Many phenomena are proved by spurious readings from Lucretius. No reliance, therefore, can be placed on the mass of his deductions, and pupils who use his book will load their memories with much that they will have to unlearn. For judicious teachers, who can discriminate between the true and the false, and erase the many erroneous examples, the Manual may not be without its use. But it is a bad book for boys who cannot thus discriminate *remota erroris nebula.*

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11. — *Vicissitudes of Families, and other Essays.* By Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1859. 12mo. pp. 437.

This volume belongs to a class of works which are both interesting and suggestive, though they add little of positive value to the historical knowledge of the reader. It comprises six essays on topics connected with English history and genealogy, by a writer who is well known on both sides of the Atlantic for his numerous contributions to these studies. Of the papers now published, the first and longest relates to the strange vicissitudes of fortune in the histories of the Percys, Nevilles, Stuarts, Cromwells, and other English, Scotch, and Irish families of historical celebrity, and includes many striking illustrations of the instability of all things human. Following this we have a brief and instructive paper on the Landmarks of Genealogy, embodying much information in regard to the various sources from which the details of family history may be most readily obtained. The third paper is entitled "The Double Sojourn of Genius at Beaconsfield," and contains a brief notice of the country life of Waller and Edmund Burke. The next essay contains some pleasant Recollections of English Counties, with notices of many of the most noted castles, baronial halls, and other places of historic interest. From this we pass to an excellent paper on Heraldry, explaining to the unlearned reader its various de-

vices, and throwing much light on the subject of armorial bearings, quarterings, and the like. The last paper is a short review of the Marquis of Kildare's historical account of his ancestors, the Geraldines. From this enumeration of his subjects it will be seen that the author has produced a work of limited interest indeed, but one which comprises much information not readily to be obtained in any similar volume.

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12. — *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India: being Extracts from the Letters of the late* MAJOR W. S. R. HODSON, B. A., *Trinity College, Cambridge, First Bengal European Fusileers, Commandant of Hodson's Horse. Including a Personal Narrative of the Siege of Delhi and Capture of the King and Princes.* Edited by his Brother, the REV. GEORGE H. HODSON, M. A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. From the Third and enlarged English Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. 444.

NOWHERE else have courage, energy, and perseverance been more conspicuously exhibited than among the English in India; and few persons there have acquired a higher reputation for these qualities than the subject of this memoir. Born in March, 1821, he went to Rugby when he was fourteen years old, and remained there until he was nineteen. He was then entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was graduated in 1844. In the autumn of the following year he entered the military service of the East India Company, and sailed for Calcutta. His first employment was in the war against the Sikhs, where he displayed much courage; but on the annexation of the Punjaub he was transferred from the military to the civil service, in which he continued for two years. He was then married, and about the same time he was appointed to the command of the Guides, the corps in which he had first attracted notice. Reverses, however, soon clouded his prospects, and some unfounded charges were brought against him which occasioned him much trouble, though he was at length wholly exonerated from them. When the mutiny of 1857 broke out his regiment was ordered to march to Delhi, and in the campaign which followed he acquired his chief fame. The record of his services during this period fills about half of the volume, and is crowded with brilliant exploits. His death occurred on the 12th of March, 1858, from a wound received the day before in an attack on the Begum's Palace at Lucknow.

Throughout the volume the editor has confined himself almost ex-

clusively to his brother's letters, adding only such brief illustrative remarks as are necessary to preserve the thread of the narrative. The letters are written in an unpretending style, and furnish a very interesting narrative of the events in which Major Hodson acted so honorable a part, while they reveal to us the whole character of the man. They show how worthy he was of the affection which his friends lavished on him, and how faithfully he endeavored to discharge every duty as a soldier and a man. Both as a contribution to the history of India and as a personal memoir, the volume is a welcome addition to recent works of its class.

13.— *The Logic of Political Economy, and other Papers.* By Thomas De Quincey, Author of "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 16mo. pp. 387.

There is no more striking characteristic of Mr. De Quincey's writings than the remarkable versatility of their author. Within the long period of his literary life he has been one of the most industrious of men; and a distribution of the papers contained in the twenty-two volumes of his Miscellaneous Writings would afford specimens of nearly every kind of prose composition. Even the single volume before us comprises papers in the four departments of political economy, history, biography, and fiction; and several of the previous volumes exhibit as great a variety. It is scarcely to be expected, however, that one who tries his hand at so many kinds of pen-craft should always excel; yet such is the force of De Quincey's intellect, the brilliancy of his imagination, and the charm of his style, that he throws a new and peculiar interest over every subject which he discusses, while his fictitious narratives in general rivet the attention of the reader with a power not easily resisted. In the volume now before us, the first and longest paper presents a very ingenious and elaborate discussion of some of the fundamental principles of political economy, with especial reference to the meaning to be attached to the term "value," but also touching the subjects of rent, wages, and profits. Like all of Mr. De Quincey's critical and controversial papers, this essay evinces great logical acuteness, uncommon wealth of illustration, and a peculiar fondness for the discussion of collateral topics. Following this we have a brief sketch of the Life of Milton, accompanied by a characteristic and truculent Preface, in which Dr. Johnson is assailed with much spirit for his attack on Milton; and a short paper on The Suliotes, designed as a supplement

to the essay on The Revolution of Greece in a former volume of this collection. The remainder of the volume is composed of four tales of the same strongly-marked character with Klosterheim and The Spanish Nun, and showing scarcely less power. Great as is De Quincey's skill as an essayist, he is scarcely less remarkable as a writer of short imaginative sketches.

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14. — *The Money King, and other Poems.* By JOHN G. SAXE. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 16mo. pp. 182.

THE two principal poems in this collection were prepared for college festivals, one for the anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Yale College, the other for the anniversary of the Literary Societies of Brown University. They have the characteristic merits and faults of the class of poems to which they belong. Their versification is smooth and easy, their humor is genial, and their satire is good-natured. If they unfold only simple and obvious truths, they enforce those truths by well-chosen illustrations, and their tone is always healthful. Unambitious in their plan and execution, they will compare favorably with a very large proportion of similar compositions. The remaining pieces are for the most part short poems and ballads, written since the publication of Mr. Saxe's previous volume, ten years ago. Like the longer poems, they belong to the department of humorous and satirical literature; and they are marked by the same general characteristics. There are, however, a few poems of a graver cast, which deserve special commendation, and show that Mr. Saxe is much more than a humorist and satirist.

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15. — *Book of Raphael's Madonnas.* By JAMES P. WALKER. New York: Leavitt and Allen. 1860. 4to. pp. 104. Photographs 13.

PERHAPS no instrumentality has done so much toward the development of art in this country as the annual publication of elegantly bound and illustrated gift-books. True, the larger portion of these books are *annuals*, or less, as to their hold on the interest of the limited young-lady public, for whose benefit chiefly they have been issued. But they have a permanent historical value, as marking rapid stages of progress in the taste, skill, and enterprise enlisted in their preparation. The earliest books of this class were ludicrously coarse and mean; and yet we remember well the sincere, though brief, admiration with which at

the holiday season they were passed from hand to hand. Now some of the gift-books of each year are among the choicest *perennials*, works of high art, and such as can never seem less beautiful or be less precious than on the day of their issue. Such is pre-eminently the case with the volume now before us, which is undoubtedly the most beautiful and valuable book of the season. Perfect in all the accessories of paper, tint, type, and binding, on all which it is a luxury to look, it has over most works of its class the inestimable advantage of placing in the hands of its owners copies of world-famous pictures, instead of the ambitious doings and darings of mere novices in art. The process by which these illustrations have been obtained, gives them an added value. The editor selected from among the many Madonnas of Raphael those which are the most characteristic of his genius, and then, from the numerous engravings which profess to copy them, he chose those which display the most of the engraver's manual skill and the least of the audacity with which the inferior art sometimes tampers with the genius which it cannot improve. These engravings were not copied by hand, but reproduced in phototype, and the pictures in this volume are phototypes of unsurpassed delicacy, pasted on the richly-margined and tinted leaves prepared to receive them. The volume contains a brief and admirably written narrative of Raphael's Life, and historical sketches of each separate picture given in phototype. For these we are indebted to the graceful pen of the editor, who has interspersed his own text with several appropriate and tastefully chosen extracts in poetry and prose. We trust that a work proffering such strong claims upon the lovers of the beautiful, and the friends and patrons of art, will be so generously welcomed as to enable the editor, with the advent of another year, to fulfil the promise, conditionally given in his Preface, of another similar volume.

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16. — *Annals of the American Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations, from the Early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-five. With Historical Introductions.* By William B. Sprague, D. D. Vol. VI. *Baptist.* New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 860.

The historical names among the American Baptist clergy resolve themselves into two widely distinct classes. In the first, we would reckon the pioneers of the denomination for the many years for which theirs was compelled to be a church militant, disfranchised in the

Northern Colonies and States, and at the South persecuted equally by the adherents of other churches and by the irreligious and vicious portion of the community. This enforced discipline of perpetual warfare developed the hardier sinews of character, but was not propitious to the labors of the study, the artificial graces of oratory, or the refinements of æsthetic culture. Yet during those early generations the Baptist pulpit enjoyed the services of some men of superior learning, and of surpassing amenity of manners and spirit. Such was Rev. Dr. Stillman of Boston, whose praise was literally in all the churches, and whose equal many that knew him felt, when he died, that they should never see on this side of heaven. But the Baptist ministers, prior to the commencement of the present century, were most of them men of strong minds and earnest religious convictions, who were forced into the ministry from secular avocations by an imperative sense of duty, and whose heroic lives attested the genuineness of their call from heaven, and left their path of toil, conflict, and hardship marked by a line of living light. Not unlearned were they, except in the mere technical sense; for they were indefatigable in their study of the Divine Word, and many of them, in their thirst for knowledge, acquired, with little instruction from others, and often at a late period in life, a good degree of conversance with the classic tongues, and with a wide range of the best literature. Such men could not be indifferent to clerical education; and no sooner were they possessed of those equal rights with other denominations for which they had long struggled in vain, than they gave their best energies and elicited the liberality of their churches for the endowment of colleges and theological seminaries. Most of the Baptist preachers who have attained eminence in the present century have been men of superior culture; and we doubt whether any denomination in the land exceeds this in the present high intellectual and educational standard of its ministry.

Dr. Sprague has been equally successful in his delineation of both these classes of divines. Into the adventurous career of the early worthies he enters with a loving enthusiasm, which could not be surpassed by an historiographer of their own order. They furnish materials for some of the most profoundly interesting and exciting biographies we have ever read. The lives of such men as Hezekiah Smith, Samuel Shephard, John Leland, and William Batchelder, none can peruse without deep emotion. Nor have we been less edified by the biographies of those marvellously endowed preachers of the African race, Andrew Marshall, the centenarian, from whom we have a specimen of pulpit eloquence not one whit inferior to that of Wirt's "blind preacher"; Jacob Walker, whose pastorate of twenty-five years was

one of the most successful on record in our whole land; and Lott Cary, who, after an approved ministry at Richmond, went to Africa as a missionary and died acting Governor of Liberia, — all three born in bondage, and manifesting genius, ability, moral purity, and religious fervor which would have done honor to the highest stations in the most privileged race. Among the eminent and richly-endowed clergymen of the present century whose lives are here given, are Drs. Chaplin, Bolles, Kendrick, Sharp, and Cone, with Adoniram Judson, than whom our country has produced no man of more vigorous intellect or more commanding energy of will, and George Dana Boardman, Judson's fellow-missionary, whose sweetly fervent spirit reminds one of the Apostle John, and who, wasted by consumption, was borne on a cot-bed, through almost pathless jungle and across swollen streams, to preside at the baptism of a company of native converts, and then on the morrow to pass to his reward. But there is no need of our adding more. Those who have followed Dr. Sprague's labor of love in the preceding volumes may be assured that the promise which they give is more than realized in this; for, with equal skill on his part, the wider range and greater diversity of subjects deepen and vary for the reader the interest of the work.

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17. — *The Puritans: or The Church, Court, and Parliament of England during the Reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth.* By Samuel Hopkins. In three Volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1859. 8vo. pp. 549.

Some critics say that we ought not to like this book; but we do like it. We have read it through, and part of it more than once; and though we thought ourselves familiar with the portion of history which it covers, its personages are to us more lifelike, and its events have more of verisimilitude in our thought, than ever before. The author's attempt is a bold one, and without any respectable modern precedent. He has dramatized the portion of history contained in this volume, developing its incidents for the most part through conversations put into the mouths of its actors. That the ancients did this we very well know, and we admire and thank them for it. We know not what canon of taste should prohibit a modern author from employing this method. Mr. Hopkins's reader sees at first glance that the conversations are imaginary; and they certainly are in perfect keeping with the characters of the interlocutors. At the same time, there is a precision in dates and facts fully equal to that of the dullest annals. That the work

will have the popular suffrage in its favor, and will attract many readers who could not be induced to read Neal or any of the heavier works that occupy the same ground, we cannot doubt. We are glad, therefore, that such an experiment has been made, and shall take pleasure in announcing and welcoming the appearance of the remaining volumes.

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18. — *The Word of the Spirit to the Church.* Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 86.

THE author of this discourse is the Rev. Dr. Cyrus A. Bartol. Its aim is to exhibit the ever-present Spirit of God as the life of the Christian soul, the element of union in the Church Universal, and the interpreter of the Divine Word in nature, conscience, and revelation. It is an earnest plea against worldliness, formalism, rationalism, and extra-Christian spiritualism, and in favor of simplicity in worship, vital faith, and indwelling and outworking piety. It has more than its author's wonted kaleidoscopic beauty of style. No writer of our day, in our judgment, equals him in the typology by which common scenes and trivial incidents are made impressive symbols of great and profound spiritual truths. His style at first sight may seem redundant in illustration and metaphor; but every illustration proves a mine of rich thought, every metaphor presents a new phasis of the truth under discussion. He abounds in digressions; but his digressions are always forays into a fruitful region, and he comes back with enhanced wealth of argument or motive for the position he is enforcing or the duty he is urging. The page is gorgeous and glittering, yet with no tinsel or false gems, but only with a profusion seldom paralleled of diamonds and precious stones. His method is his own; we should not like to see it imitated; it is the spontaneous and natural process of exhibition for one who is equally a keen observer and a deep thinker, and who must incorporate with his profoundest thought every image that meets his eye and every suggestion from without that falls upon his ear.

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19. — *History of the Life and Times of James Madison.* By WILLIAM C. RIVES. Vol. I. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 660.

WE have the promise, for our next number, of a full review of this volume, by a contributor amply qualified to do it justice; and we shall

therefore confine ourselves now to a very brief notice of it. It hardly needs, to commend it to the interest of every American citizen, more than the names of its subject and of its author. Mr. Rives unites to a rare degree the offices of the biographer and the historian, blending or alternating them with graceful ease as the nature of his material demands, — presenting Mr. Madison's individuality as clearly as if he had not been identified with public affairs, and narrating the history of the times as perspicuously as if the work had been a mere chronicle of colonial and national transactions. The present volume extends through the four years for which Mr. Madison was an active member of the Congress of the Confederation, (from 1780 to the definitive Treaty of Peace,) and gives a fuller history of the proceedings of that body, and of the various political and diplomatic projects and measures, during that period, than had ever been written before. Mr. Rives's style is pure, perspicuous, and forcible, always adequate to the subject in hand, and worthy of a work which must take its place among the classical authorities in the history of the country.

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20. — *Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions.* By EDWARD EVERETT. Vol. III. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 847.

WE hope, at an early period, to make the entire collection of Mr. Everett's Orations and Speeches the subject of a full-length article, and in the brief space now at our disposal we can do little more than to announce its completion, that is, the completion of the present series; for we trust that coming years will add yet other volumes to those of which we would now record our grateful admiration. It would be superfluous for us to dilate on the vast resources, the unequalled command of language always commensurate with his subject and his audience, the mastery over every topic and method of argument, persuasion, and appeal, the wonderful versatility, the matchless grace, which characterize Mr. Everett's speeches, one and all. But were we to select one trait in which he distances all rivals, and challenges our perpetual admiration, it would be his uniform sympathy with, adequacy for, and adaptation to the occasion, whatever it be, whether in a deliberative or a popular assembly, on a political or literary festival, in welcome of a living guest or in commemoration of a departed worthy, in some great public interest or on some narrowly local anniversary. Called to a rural village to celebrate an event which has hardly a place in history, he speaks as if he had been born on the very spot, nurtured amidst its

scenery and associations, intimate with its honored names, conversant with the minutiæ of its annals, under the lifelong inspiration of its *genius loci*. When we consider the unprecedented variety of the occasions of which he has been the orator, and of the causes and interests which have owed their most efficient advocacy to his voice, — and then when we reflect how restricted have been the conditions of the highest success with many who in their place and vein have been unsurpassed in eloquence, — we are sure that we do not overrate this universality of genius as a distinguishing feature of Mr. Everett, and as demanding for the aggregate of his "Orations and Speeches" even a warmer tribute, were it possible, than we yield to his acknowledged masterworks.

We cannot close this cursory notice without referring to the copious and minute Index to the three volumes, which occupies nearly two hundred pages of the third. This is due to the consummate skill and patient industry of Mr. S. Austin Allibone, who has examined the volumes, sentence by sentence, and has inserted in its due place "every proper name, every geographical or topographical designation, every historical or scientific reference, every important thought, and every bibliographical and biographical allusion." The historical value of such an Index cannot be overrated; for the volumes cover a vast amount of national and local history, which is thus made availing for consultation and literary use.

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21. — 1. *The New American Cyclopædia: a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge.* Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. Volume VII. *Edward — Fueros.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 786.

2. Chambers's *Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. On the Basis of the latest Edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon.* Illustrated by Wood Engravings and Maps. Parts 1 – 7. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 1 – 448.

This new volume of the American Cyclopædia manifests the same able authorship and skilful editorial care to which we have already borne repeated testimony. None, who can afford to place this work on their shelves, can need in the lifetime of the present generation any other dictionary of the kind, or can fail to find in this a work better adapted to the demands at least of American readers, or to easy consultation and familiar use, than the more voluminous Cyclopædias that have issued from the English press.

To those who desire a cheaper work, Chambers's Encyclopædia offers superior attractions. It will be completed in about eighty parts, at the cost of but fifteen cents for each part. It is comprehensive in its scope; the articles, though concise, are thorough and elaborate; and the numerous illustrations, especially of objects in natural history, add largely to its value. As might be expected, it is, for our public, somewhat deficient in purely American titles; but it has as large a proportion of these as could be reasonably anticipated from so distant a point of view.

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22. — *History of France, from the Earliest Times to* MDCCCXLVIII. By the Rev. JAMES WHITE, Author of "The Eighteen Christian Centuries." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 571.

A SUCCINCT and popular history of France has long been a desideratum. This want is well supplied by Mr. White, whose work has the merits of careful preparation, well-devised method and arrangement, and spirited narrative. The style, ordinarily pure and classical, sometimes sinks too low in deference to the imagined tastes of the larger public, and sometimes departs from the calmness of history in an appeal to the passions of the readers. The author's point of view is strictly Anglican, and, where national feeling is compromised, though facts are not mutilated or suppressed, they are uniformly represented in the aspect in which they were regarded from across the Channel. But, with these qualifications, we give the book our hearty praise, and thank the author for a positive and great service to the English and American public.

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23. — *A History of the Four Georges, Kings of England; containing Personal Incidents of their Lives, Public Events of their Reigns, and Biographical Notices of their chief Ministers, Courtiers, and Favorites.* By SAMUEL M. SMUCKER, LL. D., Author of "Court and Reign of Catherine II.," "Memorable Scenes in French History," "Life and Times of Alexander Hamilton," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 454.

DR. SMUCKER has succeeded perfectly in conveying to his readers an adequate knowledge of the weaknesses, meannesses, and follies of the four Georges, the stupid debauchery of three of them, and the unredeemed scoundrelism of the last. But the book has no value beyond this. Its history is meagre and fragmentary. Its dates are too few were they accurate; too many for the haphazard way in which they

seem to have been jotted down, often overlapping and contradicting one another. Its style is of the boarding-school type, in which a speech or a poem is an "effusion," and a man of genius an "intellectual giant." The portions of the narrative on which the author expends the most labor, and in which he evidently takes the greatest satisfaction, are the disgusting details connected with the royal mistresses, and with the brutal vices of the Hanoverian swine, in spite of whose stupidity and abjectness the British Constitution survived and developed itself, and British statesmanship and prowess culminated on the Eastern continent, while they lost an empire in the Western world.

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24. — *The History of South Carolina, from its first European Discovery to its Erection into a Republic, with a Supplementary Book, bringing the Narrative down to the Present Time.* By WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS, Author of "The Yemassee," "Eutaw," "Cassique of Kiawah," "The Scout," etc. New and Revised Edition. New York: Redfield. 1860. 12mo. pp. 437.

THIS work does full justice to its author's high and richly-merited fame. It is minute and thorough in detail, and at the same time vivid and graphic in style. It has the merit of intense local patriotism; we should despise the author who could write otherwise than lovingly of his birth-land. Of course, in all sectional questions Mr. Simms shows himself a loyal South Carolinian; but he writes without bitterness. In the Revolutionary history, in which his State bore so honorable a part, his narrative is specially full and interesting. The supplementary chapter is short, yet comprehensive, making very cursory mention of some incidents of marked importance, yet, we believe, omitting nothing that claims a permanent record.

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25. — *Mount Vernon and its Associations, Historical, Biographical, and Pictorial.* By BENSON J. LOSSING. Illustrated by Numerous Engravings, chiefly from Original Drawings by the Author, engraved by Lossing and Barritt. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 376. Engravings 139.

THIS volume is a worthy and almost necessary supplement to Irving's Life of Washington. The vividness of that narrative created the demand for a more intimate knowledge of the home of Washington, — of the objects in his daily use or constantly under his eye, of the style and habits

of his domestic *régime*. This demand Mr. Lossing has met, primarily, by a series of steel and wood engravings — faithful and beautiful — of whatever can illustrate life as it was in Mount Vernon in the latter half of the last century. The range of subjects embraces articles of household and table furniture; personal apparel and ornaments; pictures, vases, and statuary; buildings, apartments, and landscapes; — in fine, whatever that is associated with Washington the artist-author could find and sketch. The engravings are introduced and connected by an easy, graceful narrative, rich in descriptive detail, in characteristic anecdote, and in the wide diversity of materials, which, lying just outside of the biographer's scope, are adapted to give enhanced vividness and interest to his work. To these claims which the author proffers upon the reading public, we must add those grounded on the taste and enterprise of the publishers, who have brought out the book in a style worthy of its subject and of their own reputation.

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26. — *The History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Close of the First Session of the Thirty-Fifth Congress.* By J. H. Patton, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 806.

Mr. Patton's design is to furnish the reading public with a compend of our national history, that shall occupy a place midway between the voluminous works of Bancroft, Hildreth, and Tucker, and the numerous compends designed for use as class-books. In our judgment he has been eminently successful. He has given a narrative, not merely of external events, but of the interior life and growth of the people, of the progress of opinions, the inception and operation of moral causes, and the workings of our successive forms of government. He dwells with special minuteness of detail on such events and postures of affairs as are peculiarly characteristic of the times or the people, even when they do not occupy a large space in general history. He takes more distinct cognizance than is usual of religious opinions and ecclesiastical movements, which have ordinarily had less than their due prominence in our written history, but which have always been a most important and influential element in moulding the character and directing the activity of the various sections and classes of the American people. Mr. Patton's style is deserving of unqualified praise. It is pure, simple, strong, free from mannerism, and singularly easy and graceful. We anticipate for the work a cordial reception and extensive popularity among those who know how to prize the best books.

27.—*The Causation and Prevention of Disease.* By JOHN PARKIN, M. D., late Medical Inspector for Cholera in the West Indies. London: John Churchill. 1859. 8vo. pp. 191.

IT is impossible for one not professionally acquainted with its subject to do justice to this work, which is evidently the result of extensive research and profound thought, and which presents a large array of isolated facts, classified statistics, and tabular views. The author regards the malarious poison, which is the cause of numerous epidemics, as the result, not of chemical processes on the surface of the earth, but of volcanic action far beneath the surface. It is developed from low, marshy, and alluvial soil, because such soil is loosened and porous for a great depth, and thus gives free course to morbid exhalations from subterranean laboratories. It is not, however, developed from a surface permanently covered even with stagnant water, which presents an impassable barrier to such exhalations. Of course, the most obvious preventives of epidemic disease, are, in towns and cities, thorough drainage and paving; for individual dwellings, solid foundations and cellar-flooring; and for the open country, drainage, where practicable, and, under circumstances that do not admit of this, the permanent flooding of marshy districts. Where exposure is inevitable, the author regards carbonic acid, in whatever form it can best be made availing, as capable of neutralizing the malarious poison. The subject certainly claims the diligent attention of scientific men; and whatever may be thought of Dr. Parkin's theory, it is impossible that a work so full of carefully observed and analyzed facts should not throw important light on the causes and the preventives of infectious disease.

28.—*Graham Lectures. Human Society: its Providential Structure, Relations, and Offices. Eight Lectures delivered at the Brooklyn Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.* By F. D. HUNTINGTON, D. D. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 307.

HUMAN society exists, not in virtue of any organizing capacity in its founders or its lawgivers, but by divine appointment. It has its essential God-given constitution, conditions, and laws, and these manifest the same attributes of creative power, wisdom, and love which are displayed in the structure and movements of the physical universe. The relations and inevitable tendencies of society are favorable to the development of individual character and to the progress of the race, and are pre-eminently adapted to the reception, the propagation, and the

ultimate ascendency of a Divine revelation. Society and Christianity in their mutual adaptation attest their common origin in the thought of God; and, made each for the other, they must be brought into an ever closer union, to result in the final establishment of the reign of Christ on the earth. These positions are demonstrated, defended, and enforced, in the lectures now before us, with an exuberance of historical illustration, with irresistible force of argument, and with the author's wonted fervor and eloquence of style. The volume, as a whole, presents a novel and fruitful department of natural theology, and at the same time has a direct and momentous bearing on the intrinsic grounds of the validity of the Christian revelation. While it is sound and impregnable in its reasoning, it is full of the glowing thought of a devout mind, and is no less adapted to the edification of those who need not to be convinced, than to the refutation of infidelity and scepticism.

29.—*The Higher Christian Education.* By BENJAMIN W. DWIGHT, Author of "Modern Philology, its History, Discoveries, and Results." New York: A. S. Barnes and Burr. 1859. 12mo. pp. 347.

THIS is a noble work in its aim, its scope, and its execution. It presents education in its true province, — the culture of body, mind, and soul, every power, sentiment, and affection, every sense, faculty, and propensity, so as to make the human being a recipient of the Divine influence, a reflection of the Divine image, a facile instrument for working out the Divine purposes. In this light the grandeur of the teacher's office, the high self-culture, the thorough religious discipline which he needs, the zeal, patience, gentleness, and love which alone can fit him for his work, are vividly portrayed; and the contents of the phrase, "The True Christian Scholar," are exhibited with a fulness and fervor adapted to awaken a holy enthusiasm, to inspire the loftiest endeavor, and to lead the soul to that dependence on a higher power, which is the sole condition of its energy and its progress. The closing chapter exhibits the necessity of this Christian education for the people at large, as that which alone can make our schools and colleges the seminaries of sound and precious knowledge, and which alone can advance the true good of society, and extend to all the members of the body politic the privileges which are their right and the proffered gift of God. Our analysis is brief and imperfect; but we trust that it may commend the work to our readers. It ought to be in the hands of every teacher, and of every man, woman, and youth who is capable of appreciating what is meant by "the higher Christian education."

30. — *Gold-Foil, hammered from Popular Proverbs.* By TIMOTHY TITCOMB, Author of "Letters to the Young." New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. 12mo. pp. 358.

DR. HOLLAND is certainly one of the most racy and vigorous of essayists. With study, common sense, high moral principle, and thoroughly grounded religious convictions, he unites trenchant wit, genial humor, and an unaffected quaintness of diction. His favorite subjects are the shams and falsities that pass as genuine in society; and these he exposes with a satire at once kindly and death-dealing. No writer of his class could be more entirely free than he is from anger, bitterness, or scorn; his power consists in the vividness with which he reflects the concentrated rays of essential and sacred truth on the very face and front of the pernicious maxim, opinion, custom, or habit that he would demolish. "Gold-Foil" is a series of essays on quite a wide range of topics, ethical and religious, not one of which can be read without unflagging interest, or can fail to leave fructifying thoughts on matters of high personal and social moment.

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31. — 1. *The Simplicity of Christ's Teachings, set forth in Sermons.* By CHARLES T. BROOKS, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Newport, R. I. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 342.

2. *Sermons.* By RICHARD FULLER, D. D., of Baltimore. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 384.

WE have placed these volumes together not because they resemble each other in any wise. The contrast between the constantly outcropping Calvinism in Dr. Fuller's discourses, and the explicit profession of Unitarian dogmas which is singularly prominent in Mr. Brooks's sermons, is hardly so great as that between the style and method of the two writers, both admirable in their way, but with scarce a single characteristic in common. Mr. Brooks's sermons are calm and unimpassioned, indicating indeed that profound religious feeling which is incapable of ebb and flow, but none of that emotion which has its tidal periods and paroxysmal epochs. They have their full effect without the living voice, and would be no less impressive if read in the quietness of one's own chamber, than if pronounced before a crowded assembly? They are characterized by directness, simplicity, definiteness of statement, nicety of moral discrimination, and close and constant reference to the duties of the religious life. The author shows in these discourses his rich poetic vein, not by florid rhetoric or affluence of metaphor, but by his rare tact and delicacy in the choice and collocation of

words, and by the spontaneous euphony of his sentences. The sermons are such as we can well believe have been constantly growing upon the appreciation of his hearers during a ministry of twenty-five years, such as are adapted to produce, not transient excitement, but a steady growth in Christian faith, knowledge, and virtue.

Dr. Fuller's sermons are striking specimens of the opposite style of preaching. Singularly rich in thought, brilliant in metaphor, and apt in illustration, they are at the same time highly declamatory, abounding in apostrophes, earnest personal appeals, and passages of moving pathos, all which, though impressive in the reading, seem incomplete without the mien and countenance, the voice and gesture, of the preacher. Some of these discourses must have had an overpowering effect on the listeners, and none of them could we have heard unmoved. If these are a fair representation of Dr. Fuller's wonted style, he must be one of the most powerful preachers of the time, and can hardly fail to hold crowds in rapt attention, and to work mightily on the convictions and consciences of those whose privilege it is to hear him.

32.—*The Works of* WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *the Plays edited from the Folio of* MDCXXIII., *with Various Readings from all the Editions and all the Commentators, Notes, Introductory Remarks, an Historical Sketch of the Text, an Account of the Rise and Progress of the English Drama, a Memoir of the Poet, and an Essay upon his Genius.* By RICHARD GRANT WHITE. Vols. VI., VII., VIII. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859. Small 8vo. pp. 564, 468, 453.

THE earlier volumes of this edition we found occasion to notice more than once. The present issue contains the historical plays. We can add nothing to what we have already said as to the skill and fidelity of the editorial labor, and the taste and beauty of the mechanical execution. Of all editions of Shakespeare, could we have but one, we should greatly prefer this, as undoubtedly making the nearest attainable approach to the great dramatist's own text, as affording the most trustworthy materials for its elucidation, and as presenting the most luxurious page for the reader.

33.—*Home Dramas for Young People.* Compiled by ELIZA LEE FOLLEN. Boston: James Munroe and Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 441.

MRS. FOLLEN has drawn some of the materials of this volume from Berquin's Child's Friend, some from Miss Aikin and Miss Edgeworth,

others from various sources, while two or three owe their present form to her own taste and skill. Her adoption of them is ample guaranty for their high moral tone, their adaptation to their purpose, and their literary merit. They are designed for juvenile representation, and cannot fail to furnish a pure source of amusement, and a healthful stimulus to the imaginative and imitative faculties of the young persons who may enjoy the benefit of her labor. We welcome so important an aid to home recreation, at a period when home-life needs every possible attraction, to counteract the tendency of those of all ages to seek public amusements, too often with little discrimination as to their character and effect.

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34. — *Women Artists in all Ages and Countries.* By MRS. ELLET, Author of "The Women of the American Revolution," etc. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 377.

THE subjects of this work are so numerous, that the Index of their names fills the double columns of more than six closely printed pages. Of course many of them can have little more than a bare mention; while those illustrious in art, or historically distinguished, or commended especially to our sympathies by their struggles, their misfortunes, or their American parentage, have a space assigned to them proportionate to the interest they inspire. Mrs. Ellet has performed her work lovingly, discriminatingly, and with exquisite taste. Her sketch of Rosa Bonheur is peculiarly happy. The American portion of her work displays an amount of female genius and success in the various arts, of which we previously had no conception. Her memoirs of Mary Swinton Legaré, Lily M. Spencer, Mary Weston, and Harriet Hosmer will be read with singular interest. The lessons of perseverance, courage, and hope to be drawn from the entire record cannot be lost on those, who, under whatever exterior disadvantages, feel the instincts and the aspirations of artistical genius.

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35. — *"Woman's Right to Labor"; or, Low Wages and Hard Work. In Three Lectures, delivered in Boston, November,* 1859. By CAROLINE H. DALL. Boston: Walker, Wise, and Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 184.

THIS book comes to us just as we are sending our last sheets to the press; but we cannot forbear seconding its benevolent aim by a few earnest words. Of the many controverted questions under the head of "Woman's Rights," Mrs. Dall says nothing. She pleads only for the

undoubted right of the multitudes of her sex, who must work, suffer, or worse than suffer, to remunerative employment. In her first Lecture, she brings forward a formidable array of facts to prove that the alternative of starvation is the most frequent cause of female infamy and ruin, — a statement amply confirmed by Mayhew of London, and by Dr. Sanger's History of Prostitution. The second Lecture is devoted to the credentials of female competency to various employments, furnished by their actual success; and the third, to practical suggestions as to avenues which might, to the advantage of all parties, be opened for female industry and enterprise. There is — we are surprised to find it so — no ultraism in the book, not a word which could alarm the sense of propriety in the most inveterate conservative; but it is full of considerations which need only to be placed before the public to insure the thoughtful heed of every philanthropist, and gradually to lead to a social condition, in which the women who need employment shall be able to find it, and with it that equality of compensation with their brethren which, in the same or similar callings, has hitherto been denied them. Mrs. Dall's explicitness, directness, and earnestness, in so worthy a cause, claim our hearty commendation.

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36. — *The Anatomy of Melancholy, what it is, with all the Kinds, Causes, Symptoms, Prognostics, and several Cures of it. In Three Partitions. With their several Sections, Members, and Subsections, Philosophically, Medically, Historically opened and cut up.* By Democritus Junior. *With a Satirical Preface conducing to the following Discourse.* A New Edition. Corrected, and enriched by Translations of the numerous classical Extracts. By Democritus Minor. In three Volumes. Boston: William Veazie. 1859. Small 8vo. pp. 500, 467, 514.

This edition is beautifully printed, and the first volume is enriched by a fac-simile of the curious pictorial frontispiece to the original edition. We suppose that Burton has been little read by the present generation; but his Anatomy of Melancholy has long been a repertory, on which authors have levied large contributions without acknowledgment. Hardly any other volumes ever published contain within the same compass such a vast and wonderful variety of facts, anecdotes, quotations, and allusions, many of them from sources now difficult of access. It is an invaluable work for the library, and, wherever opened, will afford the reader rare entertainment, not without positive accessions to his stock of suggestive thought and availing knowledge. We trust that there is

in our community a sufficient love of learning, wit, humor, and grave discourse, — packed though it be with little more than the pretence and show of orderly arrangement, — to remunerate the American publisher for his munificent, and, we must confess, somewhat hazardous enterprise.

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37. — *The West Indies and the Spanish Main.* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE, Author of "Barchester Towers," "Doctor Thorne," "The Bertrams," etc. London: Chapman and Hall. 1859. 8vo. pp. 395.

ANTHONY TROLLOPE is already favorably known as a novelist, and the effect of his training in that department of letters may be traced in the volume before us. His style has the briskness of movement which the popular taste now demands in works of fiction; his narrative is interspersed with little fragments of dialogue; his topics are chiefly selected with a view of affording amusement to the reader, as well as of imparting information in regard to the places visited; and not a few of his incidents are suited to awaken an incredulous smile. Though the narrative is not cast in the form of a diary, it was commenced on the voyage from Jamaica to Cuba, and was finished on the homeward voyage from New York to Liverpool. About a third of the volume is devoted to an account of the island of Jamaica, its town and country life, white and colored population, government, etc.; and among the remaining chapters are notices of Cuba, British Guiana, Barbadoes, Trinidad, Central America, and the Bermudas. Mr. Trollope's observations are, in general, superficial, but they are always entertaining, and many of his descriptions are striking and picturesque. Of the present condition of Jamaica he draws a very unfavorable picture, asserting that Kingston, the principal town, "is a disgrace to the country that owns it"; and he expresses the opinion that the mulattoes will gradually become the dominant class in the island. The condition of Cuba, he thinks, would be improved by annexation to the United States; and he concludes his chapter on that island with the wish that the transfer may be speedily effected. In speaking of the passage of the Windward Islands, he very candidly admits "the great superiority of the French West Indian towns to those which belong to England"; and in several other places we notice similar instances of candor. British Guiana he apparently regards with more favor than any of the other English colonies which he visited, and he has devoted more than thirty pages to his account of it. Central America also affords a subject for several lively and gossiping chapters, with sketches of life and manners in Costa Rica, and New Granada, and a chapter on the railways, canals, and other modes of transit across the Isthmus.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

A Sequel to "The Suspense of Faith." By Henry W. Bellows, D. D., Minister to the First Congregational Church in New York. Addressed to his own Congregation, September 25, 1859, on the Reopening of All Souls' Church, after the Summer Vacation. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

Theodore Parker, and his Theology: a Discourse delivered in the Music Hall, Boston, Sunday, September 25, 1859. By James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1859.

The Conditions of Ministerial Power: an Address delivered before the Graduating Class in the Theological School at Meadville, Penn., Wednesday Evening, June 29, 1859. By George W. Briggs, Minister of the First Church in Salem, Mass. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1859.

A Church Memorial, consisting of the History of the First Unitarian Congregational Society in the City of Nashua, N. H., with Articles, Covenant, and Statement of Faith, to which are added Letters from Past and Present Pastors. Nashua. 1859.

Our English Presbyterian Forefathers. A Sketch of their History and Principles, from the Time of the Reformation to the Present Day. By Henry Solly, Minister of the English Presbyterian Chapel, Lancaster. London: E. Whitfield. 1859.

Address commemorative of Rufus Choate. By Theophilus Parsons. Delivered before the Students of the Law School of Harvard University, at their Request, on the 29th of September, 1859. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859.

An Address on the Life and Character of Parker Cleaveland, LL.D., late Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Natural Philosophy in Bowdoin College. Delivered in Augusta, January 19, 1859, before the Maine Historical Society. By Leonard Woods, D. D., President of Bowdoin College. Portland. 1859.

An Address at the Inauguration of Joseph G. Hoyt, LL.D., as Chancellor of Washington University, St. Louis, Tuesday Evening, October 4, 1859. St. Louis. 1859.

Liberal Education. An Inaugural Address, delivered at Antioch College, of Yellow Springs, Greene County, Ohio, September 8, 1859. By Rev. Thomas Hill, of Waltham, Mass. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859.

A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Dartmouth College, for the Academical Year 1859 – 60. Hanover. 1859.

A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Brown University, 1859 – 60. Providence. 1859.

Calendar of Trinity College, Hartford, 1859 – 60. Hartford. 1859.

Circular and Catalogue of the Utica Female Academy, for 1859–60. Utica. 1859.

Report of the Ahmednuggur Mission for 1858. Bombay. 1859.

Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Boston Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, October, 1859. Boston. 1859.

Transactions of the New Hampshire Medical Society, Sixty-ninth Anniversary. Held at Concord, May 31 and June 1, 1859. Manchester. 1859.

Address delivered before the Montgomery County Agricultural Society at their Annual Exhibition held at Springtown, October 7, 1859. By Sidney George Fisher, of Philadelphia. Philadelphia. 1859.

Popular Sovereignty in the Territories. The Dividing Line between Federal and Local Authority. By Stephen A. Douglas. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859.

Tom Brown at Oxford. A Sequel to School Days at Rugby. By Thomas Hughes, Author of "School Days at Rugby," "Scouring of the White Horse," etc. Part I. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859.

The Orthographical Hobgoblin. Springfield: G. and C. Merriam. 1859.

Analytic and Synthetic Manual of English Grammar. By I. H. Nutting, A. M. Cambridge. 1859. 12mo. pp. 167.

"Father! thy paternal care." Quartette or Chorale, with Soprano, Tenor, and Bass Solos, as sung by the Choir of the Stone Church, Portsmouth, N. H. Poetry by Dr. Bowring. Music by Oliver J. Shaw. Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co. 1859.

Sermons preached and revised by the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. Sixth Series. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 450.

Avolio; a Legend of the Island of Cos. With other Poems, Lyrical, Miscellaneous, and Dramatic. By Paul H. Hayne. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 16mo. pp. 244.

The Crucible: or, Tests of a Regenerate State. Designed to bring to Light Suppressed Hopes, expose False ones, and confirm the True. By Rev. J. A. Goodhue, A. M. With an Introduction by Rev. Edward N. Kirk, D. D. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1860. 12mo. pp. 352.

The Physiology of Common Life. By George Henry Lewes, Author of "Seaside Studies," "Life of Goethe," etc. In 2 volumes. Vol. I. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 368.

Manual of Geology, designed for the Use of Colleges and Academies. By Ebenezer Emmons, State Geologist of North Carolina, late State Geologist of New York, Professor of Natural History and Geology in Williams College, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, &c., &c. Illustrated by Numerous Engravings, principally from American Specimens. Philadelphia: Sower, Barnes, & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 290.

A Familiar Compend of Geology. For the School and Family. By A. M. Hillside. Philadelphia: James Challen and Son. 1859. 12mo. pp. 150.

A Life for a Life. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," "Olive," "The Ogilvies," "A Hero," "Agatha's Husband," "The Head of the Family," &c. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 396.

Mary Staunton: or, The Pupils of Marvel Hall. By the Author of "Portraits of my Married Friends." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 398.

The Headsman: or, The Abbaye des Vignerons. A Tale. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 496.

The Prairie. A Tale. By J. Fenimore Cooper. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. Darley. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 479.

The Virginians. A Tale of the Last Century. By W. M. Thackeray. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. 8vo. pp. 411.

The Queen of Hearts. By Wilkie Collins, Author of "The Dead Secret," "After Dark," &c., &c. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 472.

Loss and Gain; or Margaret's Home. By Alice B. Haven. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 315.

Book of Plays: for Home Amusement. Being a Collection of Original, Altered, and Selected Tragedies, Plays, Dramas, Comedies, Farces, Burlesques, Charades, Lectures, etc., carefully arranged and specially adapted for Private Representation, with full Directions for Performance. By Silas S. Steele, Dramatist. Philadelphia: George G. Evans. 1859. 12mo. pp. 352.

The Boy's own Toy-Maker: a Practical Illustrated Guide to the Useful Employment of Leisure Hours. By E. Landells, Author of "Home Pastime, or, The Child's own Toy-Maker." With Numerous Engravings. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 153.

Memoirs of Robert Houdin, Ambassador, Author, and Conjurer. Written by himself. Edited by Dr. R. Shelton Mackenzie. Philadelphia: George G. Evans. 1859. 16mo. pp. 445.

Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters. By "Skitt," "who was raised thar." Illustrated by John M'Lennan. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 269.

The Prairie Traveller. A Hand-Book for Overland Expeditions. With Maps, Illustrations, and Itineraries of the Principal Routes between the Mississippi and the Pacific. By Randolph B. Marcy, Captain U. S. Army. Published by Authority of the War Department. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. 16mo. pp. 340.

Poems by James Clarence Mangan; with Biographical Introduction by John Mitchel. New York: P. M. Haverty. 1859. 12mo. pp. 460.

Leaves from an Actor's Note-Book. With Reminiscences and Chit-Chat of the Green-Room and the Stage, in England and America. By George Vandenhoff. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 347.

Parties and their Principles: a Manual of Political Intelligence, exhibiting the Origin, Growth, and Character of National Parties. With an Appendix containing valuable and general Statistical Information. By Arthur Holmes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 394.

Self-Education; or the Means and Art of Moral Progress. Translated from the French of M. le Baron Degerando. By Elizabeth P. Peabody. Third Edition, with Additions. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. 1860. 16mo. pp. 468.

Religious and Moral Sentences culled from the Works of Shakespeare, compared with Sacred Passages drawn from Holy Writ. From the English Edition, with an Introduction by Frederic D. Huntington, D.D. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 226.

Historical Vindications: a Discourse on the Province and Uses of Baptist History, delivered before the Backus Historical Society, at Newton, Mass., June 23, 1857. Repeated before the American Baptist Historical Society, at New York, May 14, 1859. With Appendixes, containing Historical Notes and Confessions of Faith. By Sewall S. Cutting, Professor of Rhetoric and History in the University of Rochester. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 224.

The Manufacture of Photogenic or Hydro-Carbon Oils, from Coal and other Bituminous Substances, capable of supplying Burning Fluids. By Thomas Antisell, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the Medical Department of Georgetown College, etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 144.

Leaders of the Reformation: Luther, Calvin, Latimer, Knox, the Representative Men of Germany, France, England, and Scotland. By John Tulloch, D.D., Principal, and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, Author of "Theism" (Burnet Prize Treatise), etc. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 309.

Baptism in Spirit and in Fire. By James Challen, Author of "Christian Morals," "Gospel and its Elements," etc. Philadelphia: James Challen and Son. 1859. 16mo. pp. 107.

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year 1858. Washington. 1859. 8vo. pp. 448.

The I. II. III. Philippics of Demosthenes. With Historical Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes. By M. J. Smead, Ph. D. New Edition. Revised. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 249.

The Student's Hume. A History of England from the Earliest Times to the Revolution in 1688. By David Hume. Abridged. Incorporating the Corrections and Researches of Recent Historians; and continued down to the Year 1858. Illustrated by Engravings on Wood. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 789.

A Treatise on Arithmetic, combining Analysis and Synthesis, adapted to the best Mode of Instruction in Common Schools and Academies. By James S. Eaton, M. A., Instructor in Phillips Academy, Andover, and President of the Essex County Teachers' Association. Boston: Brown, Taggard, and Chase. 1858. 12mo. pp. 355.

Tower's Common School Grammar; with Models of Clausal, Phrasal, and Verbal Analysis and Parsing; gradually developing the Construction of the

English Sentence. By David B. Tower, A.M., Author of "Gradual Lessons in Grammar," and Sequel, "Elements of Grammar," "Grammar of Composition," "Oral Algebra," Readers, etc. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 232.

Rev. H. B. Hackett, D.D., on Revision. Remarks before the American Bible Union at its Tenth Anniversary, New York, October 6, 1859. New York. 1859.

The Sonship, the Mediatorship, and the Heavenly Glory of Christ: a Sermon preached in the First Church, November 20, 1859. By Rufus Ellis. Boston. 1859.

The Monarchies of Continental Europe. The Empire of Russia; from the Remotest Periods to the Present Time. By John S. C. Abbott. New York: Mason Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 528.

The Palace of the Great King: or, The Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, illustrated in the Multiplicity and Variety of his Works. By Rev. Hollis Read, Author of "God in History," "India and her People," "Commerce and Christianity," etc. New York: C. Scribner. 1859. 12mo. pp. 408.

Life of Vittoria Colonna. By T. Adolphus Trollope. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 247.

Life of Hannibal. By Thomas Arnold, D.D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 320.

Life of Julius Cæsar. By Henry G. Liddell, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 247.

Life of Thomas à Becket. By Henry Hart Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 246.

Life of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. By Alphonse de Lamartine. New York: Sheldon & Co. 12mo. pp. 275.

The North American Spelling-Book, conformed to Worcester's Dictionary: with a Progressive Series of easy Reading Lessons. By L. W. Leonard, Author of the Literary and Scientific Class Book, and Sequel to Easy Lessons. New Edition, Enlarged and Improved. Keene: G. and G. H. Tilden. 1859. 12mo. pp. 180.

Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston, 1858. Boston. 1859. 8vo. pp. 52, 185.

Reply to Sir David Brewster's Memorial to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, on the New System of Dioptric Lights. By D. and T. Stevenson, Civil Engineers, Engineers to the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Amherst College, for the Academical Year 1859–60. Amherst. 1859.

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ART. I. — *Memoirs of William Beckford of Fonthill, Author of "Vathek."* In two volumes. London: Charles J. Skeet. 1859. Small 8vo. pp. 352, 402.

CELEBRATED men, it is said, are seldom happy in their biographers, and in this regard the author of "Vathek" has been singularly unfortunate. During his long life he drew, not less from his genius than from his wealth and his eccentricities, a very large share of public attention. Yet in more than sixty years of his prominence before the world, and in the fifteen years which have elapsed since his death, until the issue of these anonymous volumes, curiosity regarding him could be gratified only by a few brief sketches. The author of this memoir has perhaps done all he could for his hero. He has produced in some respects a readable work, but the greater part of it is silly, mawkish trash. We have been baffled in our hope to penetrate the mind of Beckford. Thackeray says, in commencing his lecture on George IV., that at first he anticipated no keener delight than to hunt down such an animal; but on close pursuit the man disappeared, and he could lay hold on nothing but a wig, a quizzing-glass, a frogged and starred coat, and an eternal silly simper. Placing Mr. Beckford infinitely above the royal brute, we find, on reviewing his eighty-four years of luxurious life, "Vathek" and some Italian and Portuguese travels;

the rest being made up of enormous towers, velvet hangings, illuminated missals, porcelain, and *virtu*.

The Beckford family was one of antiquity, the name occurring in early English annals, and a Sir William Beckford having been killed at Bosworth Field; but there are no traces of the family, from the knight who fought for Richard III. (if indeed he belonged to the same line), until 1702. Peter Beckford in 1702 is noticed as Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, and was the great-grandfather of the builder of Fonthill. He died suddenly in a fit of passion in 1710, leaving two sons, the elder of whom, Peter, became Speaker of the House of Assembly for the island. He died in 1735, leaving thirteen children, the second of whom was William, the celebrated Lord Mayor of London in 1762 and 1770. The second Peter was a very rich planter, the Beckford family having had large possessions in the island from the period of its occupation by England, and he owned no less than twenty-four plantations and twelve hundred slaves. His son William, of much political note, was sent from Jamaica to England at the age of fourteen, and at once put to Westminster School. According to the Memoirs under review, he greatly distinguished himself in his studies, winning the approbation of the chief master; but other authorities represent him always as a coarse, ill-bred man, using bad English and worse Latin. He greatly increased his large fortune by commercial pursuits in London, sitting in Parliament as member for that corporation, and being successively Alderman, Sheriff, and Lord Mayor. It was on the occasion of John Wilkes's liberation from prison in 1770, when addresses were moved and presented to the king, that Beckford acted a part which has insured him celebrity. It is a privilege of the city of London, shared by no other municipal corporation in Great Britain, to present addresses to be received by the sovereign in person; and in accordance with this privilege, an address praying for the dissolution of Parliament, and censuring the House of Commons for expelling Wilkes, was presented. A second address, more energetic and bolder in tone, complaining of "secret and malign influence," — words which had reference to Lord Bute, — followed, to which the

king made an angry reply. The House of Commons then condemned the course of the city by a large vote. This only provoked another remonstrance in vehement language, by some authorities attributed to Lord Chatham, reiterating the former complaints and commenting on the royal reply. When this was presented in state at St. James's by the Lord Mayor Beckford and his attendant suite, the king read the answer prepared for him by his ministers, which in curt and cutting terms expressed his displeasure at the style of the addresses. The business of the deputation was then ended according to etiquette; but Beckford, breaking through courtly rule, asked permission to say a few words, and before the monarch and his courtiers had recovered from their surprise at this bold demand, he made his proposed speech, saying in conclusion: "Permit me, Sire, to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavor, by false insinuations and suggestions to alienate your Majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, is an enemy to your Majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious Revolution." The king listened to this speech in indignant and haughty silence, while Beckford, satisfied with the part he had performed, withdrew. Of late years it has been the fashion to deny that he ever made such a speech, just as it is in vogue with "laborious dulness" to impugn well-earned literary honors; but it is certain, if Beckford's words were not exactly those reported, that he did break through the rule of court, and declare his sentiments firmly, but respectfully; and for such a patriotic act he will long be held in regard by the British people. He died about a month after this event, his decease having probably been hastened by anxiety of mind on political affairs. His statue was set up in Guildhall, with part of his memorable speech inscribed on its pedestal.

William Beckford, Junior, the only legitimate son of the Lord Mayor Beckford, was born at Fonthill Giffard, Wiltshire, September 29, 1759. His father's death took place in his twelfth year, and he was left to the care of his mother.

The great bulk of the elder Beckford's colossal fortune devolved on him, his illegitimate brothers receiving legacies of £5,000 each. His education was strictly attended to at an early age, Lord Lyttleton, who had been his father's friend, selecting a tutor for him. His mother was Maria Hamilton, of the Abercorn branch of that proud family, so that all of young Beckford's connections and associations were, from the first, of aristocratic rank. His fastidious and exclusive spirit found food in the study of heraldry, and he was ever fond of tracing his ancestry, with little reason, to John of Gaunt, while his friends hoped to see him finally abandon these idle pursuits for practical duties, and shine in political life after the example of his father. Lord Chatham had been another strong friend of the elder Beckford, and the sons of these two men, both also destined to celebrity in their way, saw each other frequently in youth, but the intimacy does not appear to have been kept up in after life.

Beckford's education was conducted entirely by tutors. His biographical worshipper informs us that he rode half an hour on horseback at seven in the morning, came back and studied Greek and Latin grammar, read a chapter in the Bible, and then breakfasted. Afterward he went through his routine of classical, French, and English literature, with geography and mathematics. At one he rode for an hour and a half, returned and dressed for dinner, which was then served at three o'clock. He next studied another hour and a half, and for the rest of the day, until eleven, amused himself with light reading, walking, conversation, or music. Whatever he turned his mind to, he learnt thoroughly and rapidly; he had marvellous powers of application, and extraordinary memory; he was gifted with a fine sense of art, a keen eye, an exquisite ear for music, and great facility in acquiring languages. He became well acquainted with Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Persian, and Arabic, — speaking several of these tongues with perfect fluency. Of nature too, picturesque and animate, he had the most passionate admiration; and as an amateur his pencil drawings were above mediocrity. A man of such splendid and varied accomplishments, with fortune to gratify every desire, should have been a benefactor of man-

kind, and not have squandered his vast treasures on whims, and for the greater part of life burrowed in selfish seclusion.

Lord Chatham, taking a strong interest in him, visited occasionally at his mother's house, and also received him at his own seat in Somersetshire. Here he endeavored to turn young Beckford's attention from the pursuit of Oriental literature, to which he seemed prone, that he might fit himself, by other studies, for public life. He encouraged his declamation, which was forcible, and told his own son, afterward so renowned an orator, that he should be glad to see him as brilliant a speaker as Beckford. For a while the youth seemed to give heed to advice, and abandoned his Eastern dreams, and the reading of the Arabian Nights in particular; but it is not probable that at any time he had the slightest inclination for political life. Under private tutorship he passed five years between town and country, and when he was seventeen years of age his mother, having a strong prejudice against the English universities, determined, after consulting her friends, to send him to Geneva to finish his education. Before this time he had composed his first work, entitled "Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters," published in London in 1780. It was a satire on the lives of Flemish painters, and, with remarkable knowledge of art, was pointed by piquant description, and keen and scathing wit. In the author's own words, it contained accounts of "Aldrovandus Magnus, with his disciples Andrew Guelph and Og of Basan, Sucrewasser of Vienna, Blunderbussiana of Dalmatia, and Watersouchy of Holland." The work has been highly extolled by critics for its charm of style and delicate humor; but at the present day, when Flemish art is rated more nearly at its worth than in the youth of Beckford, it will scarce repay the trouble of perusal. Beckford has himself told how the plan of it came into his mind. At Fonthill there was a very fine collection of paintings, many of them by Dutch masters, and it was his delight to hear the housekeeper describe them as she went her rounds with strangers. The work she doubtless made of it can be readily appreciated by any one who has ever heard a beef-eater at the Tower of London dilate, among others, on one particular suit of *Sassenger* (Saracen) armor, which was there some

years since, and probably is now. Beckford mischievously determined that the cicerone should have a printed guide-book, and he used afterward, with great glee, to follow the train of gaping rustics, struck dumb with wonder at the recital of the deeds of Og of Basan and Watersouchy.

At Geneva he remained upwards of a year and a half, not only pursuing his studies to advantage, but also enjoying the charm of the refined society for which that city has been historically celebrated. The exquisite climate and scenery of this region, and the freedom from worldly annoyances obtained there, have long made it the chosen retreat of literary men; and as such it proudly claims the most illustrious authors for its lovers: —

> "Rousseau, Voltaire, our Gibbon, and De Stael, —
> Leman! these names are worthy of thy shore,
> Thy shore of names like these! wert thou no more,
> Their memory thy resemblance would recall:
> To them thy banks were lovely as to all,
> But they have made them lovelier."

As the fame of Beckford's father had preceded him, he received much polite attention from the magistracy and gentry of Geneva, and he was fortunate in making the acquaintance of several illustrious men. Two famous naturalists were resident there, one being Bonnet, so widely known in the scientific world by his correspondence with Reaumur, his researches into animal life, and his philosophical speculations regarding the progressive development of mind from age to age, and the connecting links between the lowest forms of vegetative and animal existence and the highest types of man, and even the Deity. The other was Saussure, one of the most original and successful of naturalists, who made an ascent of Mont Blanc, and whose work on the Swiss Glaciers is a standard authority. The Hubers also, father and son, friends of Voltaire, deserve mention, — the former having left lively sketches of the great Frenchman, while he was himself skilled in music, and was celebrated for the art of cutting profiles in paper of such excellence, that they are now eagerly cherished by virtuosos. His son, who became blind at an early age, was nevertheless an accurate naturalist, aided in his studies by a

devoted wife, and has left several works, the best known being his treatise on bees. With all these personages Beckford was on intimate terms, they valuing his friendship, as no man was more capable of imparting pleasure.

On one of his excursions from Geneva he visited the sage of Ferney. Passing through the village, and observing a small chapel with the inscription over the doorway, *Deo Optimo Maximo*, Beckford asked who preached there, and was told that Voltaire himself sometimes officiated, although the building was usually in the charge of a Jesuit named Père Adam. Of this man Voltaire wittily said, "Quoiqu'il fût le Père Adam, il n'était pas le premier des hommes." The visitors were received by Voltaire's niece, Madame Denis, who announced them to the philosopher. He soon entered, politely saluting each in turn. He stooped very much, and was very dark and shrivelled, while his eyes, at eighty-four, retained all their wonted fire. He spoke to Beckford of his father, and, addressing the company, said, "You see, gentlemen, a poor octogenarian about to quit the world." After other remarks, he concluded, in English fashion, "My lords and gentlemen, many thanks for your visit. Pray take some refreshment; and then, if it will amuse you, look into my garden and my situation, and give me leave to retire," — which he at once did.

Another of Beckford's excursions, made during his residence at Geneva, was to the Grande Chartreuse, at that time one of the most celebrated monasteries of Europe. He has left a graphic and vivid picture of this monkish abode, published nearly sixty years after the date of his visit. His description will well reward perusal. Indeed, of all the multitude of books of travel which have been given to the world, we call to mind but few which have the sparkling grace and the perennial charm of Beckford's. In the grouping and coloring of natural scenery he is altogether unrivalled. The monastery in his time was of vast extent, occupied by more than three hundred Carthusians, the present number being scarce over thirty. The Grande Chartreuse was so called because it was at the head of the religious establishments of that order, and it is placed in a wild, romantic region, among the

recesses of the Dauphiné Mountains. The order was nearly as strict as that of La Trappe, the brethren being allowed to converse together once a week, and on the same day to ramble in the surrounding woods. There were immense ranges of buildings on a high rock overlooking a densely wooded valley; but the place derives celebrity less from its position and former wealth than from the reputation of St. Bruno, who founded it in 1084, and died there in 1101. Beckford spent several days in its hospitable retreat, and has left an enduring record of his gratitude. We cannot better bear our testimony to the charm of his style, in this and all other episodes of his journeys, than to urge upon those who may see this article the perusal of his Travels,* in which they will discover "a new pleasure."

In December, 1778, Beckford returned home, but remained only a short time in England, his time there being chiefly occupied in seeing the country, and in the spring of 1780 he again with his tutor set out for the Continent. He first visited the Low Countries, for which he expresses no great liking, although he has drawn most graphic pictures of their scenery, public buildings, and works of art. It was from his notes made at this time that he compiled his Letters, which were not published until 1834. His passion for music and architecture induced him to linger much about the famous cathedrals, examining their structure with a critical eye, and with rapt soul listening to the solemn organ harmonies reverberating through the mighty piles. The reader is sure to kindle with the enthusiasm of the writer. His fondness for tall towers was doubtless nourished at this period by the aspect of lofty spires, with their lacelike Gothic fretwork. He anathematizes Flemish paintings, with rare exceptions, as well as the tobacco smoke, the stagnant canals, and the oyster-like inhabitants of Holland. Even the more picturesque cities of Germany seemed to have slight charm for him; but he goes into ecstasies over every fine landscape, or brawling cascade, or secluded dell, and in the scenery of the Rhine he found full delight. But his warm and glowing imagination held far greater sympathy with the historic glory and passionate modern life of Italy.

* Republished by Wiley and Putnam, New York (Library of Choice Reading), 1845.

His descriptions of Venice are enchanting, and have also the merit of true pictures of the sea-built city, while the succession of Doges was still unbroken, and the shadow of the once terrible Inquisition of State still brooded over the scene. He made the tour of Italy, visiting most of its famous cities, Bologna, Sienna, Pisa, Padua, Florence, Naples, and Rome. He makes much mention of Pacchierotti, the angel-singer of his day, with a reputation as wide as Europe, but now scarce named, or even remembered, except by the readers of Madame D'Arblay's Diary, so evanescent is the fame of a vocalist. Beckford returned to England shortly before he became of age.

On attaining his majority, and with it his father's colossal fortune, he found himself master of an income of half a million of dollars a year, beside an accumulated fund of some five millions more. When one considers that in his day, owing to the greater value of capital than now, such sums represented much greater money-power than now, he will not wonder at Beckford's being styled "England's wealthiest son." Even estimating the fall of gold within ten years, we perceive what an immense fortune Beckford inherited; and even now, when wealth has so enormously increased as it has in Europe and America within the last thirty years, there are very few incomes in either country which would at all compare with his. He celebrated the occasion of his release from restraint by magnificent festivities, and soon afterward set out again for the Continent. He no doubt moved in style, for the obsequious author of his Memoirs takes good care to narrate every incident of fashionable life with intense satisfaction, — tells how he danced with Lord North's daughter at a court ball, and "*sported* one of the most elegant *vis-à-vis* ever seen." In the same manner, with the minuteness of Jenkins himself, he relates that his idol departed from England with a suite consisting of an artist, a physician, and a musician, filling three carriages, — a retinue which caused him to be mistaken for the Emperor of Austria, but did him no further good than to double the hotel bills. On his return home, toward the end of the year 1782, it is probable that he composed "Vathek," a work which will transmit his memory long after his stone whims have mouldered away and his senseless extravagance

has been forgotten. His biographer, who must drag in everything appertaining to him, gives us from his pen a pretty little story translated from the Arabic, and specimens of silly artificial verses about Cupid and Chloe and Strephon, such as Prior and poets of his time furnished *usque ad nauseam.*

The wondrous tale of Vathek was composed by Beckford, according to his own account, in his twenty-third year. He related this to Mr. Cyrus Redding, during a conversation held with him in 1835, saying: "You will hardly credit how closely I was able to apply myself to study when I was young. I wrote Vathek when I was twenty-two years old. I wrote it at one sitting, and in French. It cost me three days and two nights of hard labor. I never took my clothes off the whole time. This severe application made me very ill." He never translated it, but said that the English version was not unjust to the original. The tale first appeared in print in 1784. He informed Mr. Redding that for some of the characters he made studies from personages about Fonthill, exaggerating their mental and animal defects, and that he drew his description of the Hall of Eblis, one of the most striking portions of the work, from the great hall in his father's house, one of the largest rooms in the kingdom, very lofty and loud-echoing, while numerous doors opened from it into long, dim, and winding passages. It is not easy to discover the exact sources whence Mr. Beckford derived his supernatural machinery, as his demons, gnomes, and sprites differ from those of Arabian imagery, and partake in some degree of those of India. The work appears to have been at once appreciated, stamped as it is with original and brilliant power, and none have ever been more impressed with it than Lord Byron, a most fastidious critic, by no means profuse in his praises, and singularly unerring in judgment. "Vathek," he says, "for correctness of costume, beauty of description, and power of imagination, far surpasses all European imitations. As an Eastern tale, even Rasselas must bow before it; his happy valley will not bear a comparison with the Hall of Eblis."

The plot of the tale is as follows. Vathek, one of the Abbasside Caliphs, and grandson of Haroun al Raschid, finding life a burden, although he is surrounded by pleasures of

every description which minister to every sense, aspires to higher knowledge than that vouchsafed to mankind. Aided by his mother, Carathis, a desperate, remorseless human fiend, he invokes the assistance of infernal agents. In his quest he is too successful, and after committing numberless and frightful crimes at the instigation of a horrible demon, or Giaour, who promises him eternal power in the realm of Eblis, and capping his atrocities by the seduction of Nouronihar, daughter of a subject emir whose hospitality he thus abuses, he and his wretched victim find themselves indeed introduced into the Hall of Eblis, but at the same instant learn their doom of eternal agony. Carathis also joins the infernal company, and all wander together in the abyss of desolation. The whole tale is one of the wildest extravagance. The most grotesque and hideous imagination animates its scenes. Its magic incantations and stupendous horrors have no parallel in the Arabian Nights, nor indeed in the whole compass of fiction. Space will permit us only to quote from the latter portion of the work, descriptive of the infernal splendors amidst which sat throned Eblis, the archfiend of Mohammedan theology.

Arrived at the fatal portal with his companion, over it he found characters inscribed, clearly visible in the bright moonlight, but changing their shape every instant.

"These, after vacillating for some time, fixed at last in Arabic letters, and prescribed to the Caliph the following words: 'Vathek! thou hast violated the conditions of my parchment, and deservest to be sent back; but in favor to thy companion, and as the meed for what thou hast done to obtain it, Eblis permitteth that the portal of his palace shall be opened, and the subterranean fire will receive thee into the number of its adorers.'

"He scarcely had read these words, before the mountain, against which the terrace was reared, trembled, and the watch-towers were ready to topple headlong upon them. The rock yawned, and disclosed within it a staircase of polished marble, that seemed to approach the abyss. . . . . .

"This appearance, instead of terrifying, gave new courage to the daughter of Fakreddin. Scarcely deigning to bid adieu to the moon and the firmament, she abandoned without hesitation the pure atmosphere, to plunge into these infernal exhalations. The gait of those

impious personages was haughty and determined. As they descended, by the effulgence of the torches, they gazed on each other with mutual admiration, and both appeared so resplendent, that they already esteemed themselves spiritual intelligences. . . . . Their progress, however, was at length impeded by a vast portal of ebony, which the Caliph without difficulty recognized. Here the Giaour awaited them, with the key in his hand. 'Ye are welcome!' said he to them, with a ghastly smile, 'in spite of Mahomet, and all his dependents. I will now admit you into that palace where you have so highly merited a place.' Whilst he was uttering these words, he touched the enamelled lock with his key, and the doors at once expanded with a noise still louder than the thunder of the dog-days, and as suddenly recoiled the moment they had entered.

"The Caliph and Nouronihar beheld each other with amazement, at finding themselves in a place which, though roofed with a vaulted ceiling, was so spacious and lofty, that at first they took it for an immeasurable plain. But their eyes at length growing familiar to the grandeur of the surrounding objects, they extended their view to those at a distance, and discovered rows of columns and arcades, which gradually diminished, till they terminated in a point, radiant as the sun, when he darts his last beams athwart the ocean. The pavement, strewed over with gold-dust and saffron, exhaled so subtile an odor as almost overpowered them. They however went on and observed an infinity of censers, in which ambergris and the wood of aloes were continually burning. Between the several columns were placed tables, each spread with a profusion of viands, and wines of every species, sparkling in vases of crystal. A throng of Genii, and other fantastic spirits of either sex, danced lasciviously, at the sound of music which issued from beneath.

"In the midst of this immense hall, a vast multitude was incessantly passing, who severally kept their right hands on their hearts, without once regarding anything around them. They had all the livid paleness of death. Their eyes deep sunk in their sockets resembled those phosphoric meteors that glimmer by night in places of interment. Some stalked slowly on, absorbed in profound reverie; some, shrieking with agony, ran furiously about like tigers wounded with poisoned arrows; whilst others, grinding their teeth in rage, foamed along, more frantic than the wildest maniac. They all avoided each other, and, though surrounded by a multitude that no one could number, each wandered at random unheedful of the rest, as if alone on a desert which no foot had trodden.

"Vathek and Nouronihar, frozen with terror at a sight so baleful,

demanded of the Giaour what these appearances might mean, and why these ambulating spectres never withdrew their hands from their hearts. 'Perplex not yourselves with so much at once,' replied he, bluntly, 'you will soon be acquainted with all; let us haste and present you to Eblis.'"

The demon led them through long "perspectives of halls and of galleries, that opened on the right hand and left, which were all illuminated by torches and braziers whose flames rose in pyramids to the centre of the vault." At length they were tremblingly ushered into the immediate presence of the fiend, sitting upon a globe of fire which topped a lofty eminence. "His person was that of a young man, whose noble and regular features seemed to have been tarnished by malignant vapors. In his large eyes appeared both pride and despair; his flowing hair retained some resemblance to that of an angel of light." He addresses the "creatures of clay" before him, welcomes them to his kingdom, and bids them enjoy all. They eagerly turn to the Giaour, and demand his aid in their introduction to exhaustless riches and joy.

"'Come,' answered this wicked Dive, with his malignant grin, — 'come and possess all that my sovereign hath promised, and more.' He then conducted them into a long aisle adjoining the tabernacle, preceding them with hasty steps, and followed by his disciples with the utmost alacrity. They reached at length a hall of great extent, and covered with a lofty dome, around which appeared fifty portals of bronze, secured with as many fastenings of iron. A funereal gloom prevailed over the whole scene. Here, upon two beds of incorruptible cedar, lay recumbent the fleshless forms of the Pre-Adamite kings, who had been monarchs of the whole earth. They still possessed enough of life to be conscious of their deplorable condition. Their eyes retained a melancholy motion; they regarded one another with looks of the deepest dejection, each holding his right hand motionless on his heart. At their feet were inscribed the events of their several reigns, — their power, their pride, and their crimes. . . . . All these maintained great state, though not to be compared with the eminence of Soliman Ben Daoud.

"This king, so renowned for his wisdom, was on the loftiest elevation, and placed immediately under the dome. He appeared to possess more animation than the rest. Though from time to time he

labored with profound sighs, and like his companions kept his right hand on his heart, yet his countenance was more composed, and he seemed to be listening to the sullen roar of a vast cataract, visible in part through the grated portals. This was the only sound that intruded on the silence of these doleful mansions."

He too addresses the Caliph and his mistress, informing them that for his crimes and idolatry he was condemned to anguish, but that, in consideration of his early piety, his punishment was not eternal, like that of the others; that when the cataract should cease to flow he would be released, but until then a burning fire would prey upon his heart.

"Having uttered this exclamation, Soliman raised his hands toward heaven, in token of supplication, and the Caliph discerned through his bosom, which was transparent as crystal, his heart enveloped in flames. At a sight so full of horror, Nouronihar fell back like one petrified into the arms of Vathek, who cried out with a convulsive sob, 'O Giaour! whither hast thou brought us! Allow us to depart, and I will relinquish all thou hast promised. O Mahomet! remains there no more mercy!' 'None! none!' replied the malicious Dive. 'Know, miserable prince, thou art now in the abode of vengeance and despair. Thy heart also will be kindled like those of the other votaries of Eblis. A few days are allotted thee previous to this fatal period: employ them as thou wilt; recline on these heaps of gold; command the infernal potentates; range at thy pleasure through these immense subterranean domains: no barrier shall be shut against thee. As for me, I have fulfilled my mission. I now leave thee to thyself.'"

At the words, the demon vanishes, and the dupes of wicked ambition wake to a full sense of their wretched lot, and wander about hand in hand, unheeding of the majestic scenes and unimagined riches opening on every hand, — of the Dives falling prostrate before them, and of the portals opening untouched at their approach. At length they meet with several other personages like themselves waiting doom, and all agree to relate the story of their crimes. While thus engaged, they are startled by a clap of thunder, and Carathis enters the vault on the back of an Afrit. She, utterly undismayed either by the terrors of the scene or the curses which Vathek heaps upon her,

"eagerly entered the dome of Soliman, and, without regarding in

the least the groans of the prophet, undauntedly removed the covers of the vases, and violently seized on the talismans. Then, with a voice more loud than had hitherto been heard in these mansions, she compelled the Dives to disclose to her the most secret treasures, the most profound stores, which the Afrit himself had not seen. She passed by rapid descents known only to Eblis and his most favored potentates, and thus penetrated the very entrails of the earth, where breathes the Sansar, or icy wind of death. Nothing appalled her dauntless soul. She perceived, however, in all the inmates who bore their hands on their heart a little singularity not much to her taste.

"As she was emerging from one of the abysses, Eblis stood forth to her view; but notwithstanding he displayed the full effulgence of his infernal majesty, she preserved her countenance unaltered, and even paid her compliments with considerable firmness.

"This superb monarch thus answered: 'Princess, whose knowledge and whose crimes have merited a conspicuous rank in my empire, thou doest well to avail yourself of the leisure that remains, for the flames and torments which are ready to seize on thy heart will not fail to provide thee with full employment.'"

Carathis is startled for a moment, but, recovering, she calls on all the demons of the abyss to do her reverence, and even attempts to usurp the place of one of the Solimans, when a voice proclaims, "All is accomplished."

"Instantaneously the haughty forehead of the intrepid princess became corrugated with agony; she uttered a tremendous yell, and fixed no more to be withdrawn her right hand upon her heart, which was become a receptacle of eternal fire.

"In this delirium, forgetting all ambitious projects, and her thirst for that knowledge which should ever be hidden from mortals, she overturned the offerings of the Genii; and having execrated the hour she was begotten, and the womb that had borne her, glanced off in a whirl that rendered her invisible, and continued to revolve without intermission.

"Almost at the same instant, the same voice announced to the Caliph, Nouronihar, the four princes, and the princess, the awful and irrevocable decree. Their hearts immediately took fire, and they at once lost the most precious gift of heaven, — Hope. These unhappy beings recoiled with looks of the most furious distraction. . . . . All testified their horror for each other by the most ghastly convulsions, and screams that could not be smothered. All severally plunged themselves into the accursed multitude, there to wander in an eternity of unabated anguish."

These extracts will sufficiently denote the style and tone of the book. Portions of it are repulsive and disgusting, and it can never be from its peculiarities a strictly popular work; but its wondrous invention and splendor of language will effectually preserve it from oblivion.

On the 5th of May, 1783, Beckford married Lady Margaret Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Aboyne. With his wife he took up his residence in Switzerland. She lived but about three years after her marriage, and died on the 26th of May, 1786, after giving birth to a second daughter, who subsequently married the Duke of Hamilton. Beckford appears to have been fondly attached to her, and never married again. He returned to England, remained there but a short time, and then set out on his first journey to Spain and Portugal. For full details of this, and of his second visit, we must again refer the reader to his published volumes, whose charms should not be marred by extracts. It is sufficient to observe that he saw Spain and Portugal, as he had seen Venice and other Italian cities, under the old *régime*, before the French Revolution swept down so many feudal barriers with its resistless waves, when the divine right of kings was yet unquestioned, and priestcraft ruled the state with iron will. Beckford took with him a large suite, and his wealth and position enabled him to mingle with the very highest society, with the most powerful nobles and ecclesiastics, and even with royalty itself. With the Marialva family in Lisbon he was on terms of great intimacy, and through their aid he was enabled to see much usually denied to strangers. Never on earth did the monkish order enjoy more than in the Portugal of old time, and Mr. Beckford narrates with lively gratification scenes of their good cheer in splendid monasteries, furnished ever with the fat of the land, where they had no cause to envy even the monks of Melrose, who

> "Made good kale
> On Fridays when they fasted;
> Nor wanted they for beef and ale
> As long as their neighbors' lasted."

Of course superstition and ignorance went hand in hand. Going out to dine one day, he found the heir of the family

learning to look out of the window, such being the chief employment of high life in Portugal. At the dinner he was entertained by stories of a most marvellous order from a young priest, who, among other things, told how a nun had intrigued with Beelzebub. The demon had climbed in through a window, but it had been fastened up and painted over with crosses, so that he was effectually shut out for the future. What must have been the state of society when tales like this were implicitly credited in the highest circles? It is not at all singular that, when the whole mind of the nation was swayed by the priesthood, magnificent convents and monasteries should have abounded. The royal palaces even — that of Mafra, like the Escorial in Spain, after which it was planned — appeared built rather for priests than for princes. Beckford visited it, and describes his first distant glimpse of it, rising with its lofty dome and towers over the landscape, and a vast expanse of the blue sea beyond. The eminences around were planted with cypresses and Italian pines, and rocks and trees concealed a nearer view of the edifice on approach, until, on turning an angle of the garden, the mighty pile burst on the sight, the grand front being eight hundred feet long. The centre was broken by the porticos of the church, and towers two hundred feet high, of light, graceful architecture, relieved the extreme length. Within, the visitor found an imposing temple incrusted with the rarest marbles and sculptures, made solemn by the most impressive religious services, with six great organs to enrich the pomp of full ceremonial. Throughout the building were enormous vaulted halls of alabaster and porphyry, carpeted and gorgeously furnished. A library, three hundred feet long, stuccoed and paved with marble, contained sixty thousand volumes, many of them the rarest editions of the classics. A dormitory, six hundred feet long, was supplied with three hundred cells, each well lighted and furnished. As for the part appropriated to the palace, the stranger saw vast suites of apartments and staircases, but all empty and deserted. The monk had driven out the king.

Thus was it also in his visit to the Escorial while at Madrid. He had letters to the Prior, which were to open at one view

all the recesses of that "wilderness of building,"—perhaps the most remarkable monument of kingly power and bigotry ever reared by man,—planned, superintended, and finished by Philip II., who lavished upon it untold wealth, and left it in charge to his successors to adorn yet further. Mr. Beckford saw it when it was still peerless; for until 1808, when it was sacked by the French, it remained the richest palace in the world, most precious, even if in nothing else, in its masterpieces of Titian. But it never could have been a cheerful residence. Its architecture is sombre, its situation harsh and sterile, while the stern spirit of its founder ever brooded over it. Uniting in one pile church, palace, monastery, and tomb,—all its characteristics seemed to be merged in the last, and it ever impressed the stranger with the solemn dread of the mausoleum. The building was shown to Beckford by a monk of stern, forbidding presence; and he describes, with great effect, the church and convent; the sepulchral chamber of the Spanish sovereigns, with the sound of running water through passages in its walls falling with chill terror on the ear; the endless corridors, staircases, and apartments; the cabinets enriched with the rarest pictures; the collection of sacred relics, hideous bones and skulls sparkling with gems, and, holiest of all, a feather three feet in length, shed from the wing of the Archangel Gabriel,—to be contemplated kneeling and in perfect silence.

Again, during his second Portuguese visit, which we anticipate, he visited the celebrated monastic establishments of Alcobaça and Batalha,—the former the seat of the most luxurious life,—both now, we imagine, remembered only in Beckford's pages; for the storm which followed the French Revolution burst upon them as on the Escorial, and the regions which they dignified were changed to deserts by the contending legions of Wellington and Massena. But when Beckford saw Alcobaça, it maintained a spiritual army of four hundred monks. How they fared we learn from him after he had inspected the monastery, and proceeded to its kitchen. Through the centre of a vast hall sixty feet in diameter ran a rivulet of clear, fresh water, containing swimming fish of the finest kinds. Game and venison were heaped about, as profusely as

in Landseer's picture of Bolton Abbey, and ovens and saucepans alternated with fruits and vegetables. A crowd of lay brothers were rolling out pastry, and singing merrily. The guests were splendidly entertained, in apartments containing fine pictures, and lighted by a profusion of wax candles in silver sconces. In these rooms the basins and ewers were of the same rich metal. When Batalha was visited in company with some of the monks, wines and provisions in abundance were despatched in advance, as that monastery was poor; but Beckford appears to have been much better pleased on this and subsequent visits with the devout bearing of the inmates, and the fine, solemn music, than with the prodigality and gluttony of Alcobaça. He visited Portugal for a third time some years later, and during a stay in Paris, between his excursions, he witnessed the capture of the Bastile, and he was also there when Louis XVI. was executed. While in the French capital, he was much interested in magical experiments.

Beckford returned from his second Peninsular visit in 1796, at the age of thirty-six years. Sixteen years of his life had passed in almost constant residence abroad, and he now determined to stay at home. His foreign experience had confirmed his taste for splendor, and his immense wealth pampered his intense selfishness. His father's house at Fonthill was one of the finest of its day in the kingdom; but it did not satisfy the son, and he resolved that his new creation should have no rival. The old house did not interfere with the new, being on a different site; but no thought of disposing of it seems to have entered his mind, and, princely as it was, he proceeded to demolish it, — first the wings, of two stories, and then the centre, of four. Thus what had cost more than half a million of dollars was recklessly destroyed for a mere whim. Beckford maintained a large household, and a physician, a musical performer, and the Abbé Maquin, topographer, artist, literary character, and adept in heraldry, were permanently attached to his establishment. One of his first operations was to build a wall around his domain, seven miles in extent, and twelve feet high. He said that it was to keep off trespassers on his game; but it had the effect of keeping the general public at a

distance, which no doubt was nearer his desire. When he pulled down the old house, he proceeded to alter the grounds about it. There was an artificial lake near it, its banks ornamented with rocks, caverns, and grottos. This was all changed, and in due time sheep ran wild where the mansion had stood. No amount of money was spared to gratify any extravagance. Beckford would still have maintained the bulk of his fortune unimpaired, in spite of losses in Jamaica, had he not so senselessly broken in upon his capital. Hundreds of workmen were employed day and night upon the Abbey, as it was styled; and it is said that laborers were induced by larger pay to desert the royal works at Windsor, although the fact is not stated in these Memoirs. If true, it was probably on the occasion of Lord Nelson's visit in 1800, when, in order to complete a certain part of the pile, he set five hundred men at work, a portion of them laboring at night by torchlight. He had known Sir William Hamilton and his first wife intimately in Naples; and now that his second wife had become so scandalously connected with Nelson, she and her husband were included as guests at his splendid fête. Old Fonthill was still in existence, and the visitors with a brilliant company were entertained there for three days in such style as excited their wonder. The crowning glory of the entertainment was reserved for a night scene, when the Abbey, as far as it was completed, was fitted up in monastic style, and a fête was held in it such as might have been seen in Sicily, the buildings and plantations being illuminated by myriads of lamps, torches, and fires.

About six months after this time the Abbey was so far advanced that its master decided to occupy it, and accordingly he left his father's mansion, sold off its magnificent effects, and proceeded soon afterward to demolish it. Although this place never excited a tithe of the curiosity which the Abbey did afterward, it attracted vast numbers at the sale, and people wondered equally at the wealth and the folly of one who could deliberately destroy what had cost such vast sums, and in point of true taste probably far excelled its successor. The building was not only a palace in size and appointments, but the grounds were of the highest elegance, planted with every

American, European, and Asiatic tree and shrub that could be procured, and enlivened with sheets of water, the haunt of aquatic birds. All was sacrificed to the whim of "Vathek." We should perhaps hardly prolong this article by an account of the Abbey, but for the fact that it avenged the Vandalism that attended its erection by crippling the owner, and that its celebrity is now only historic; for after passing from Beckford to Mr. Farquhar, a wealthy miser, in whose hands the great central tower, its distinctive feature, fell, it passed again out of aristocratic keeping to Mr. Morison, a tradesman, who died in 1858, leaving twenty millions of dollars, thus ending about where Beckford began. There was no story, however extravagant, that was not believed of the famous Abbey when building. A writer in one of the leading London papers said that the ascent of the central tower would be so wide and easy, that a coach and six could be driven to the top and down again without difficulty. The gaping public were content to swallow these marvellous figments; for they could obtain no sight of the pile.

The building was in the form of a cross, the arms of which were nearly of the same length, although differing in breadth. The exterior measurement was two hundred and seventy feet from east to west, and from north to south three hundred and twelve. In the axis of the cross rose the central octagon tower, to the vast height of two hundred and seventy-six feet. The interior was divided into numberless halls, staircases, galleries, saloons, libraries, oratories, drawing-rooms, and cabinets. Everything like convenience was sacrificed to grand effect, to long perspective aisles and arches. One octagonal room, formed by the great tower, was thirty-five feet only in diameter, and one hundred and twenty-eight feet high. In the huge fabric there were but seventeen bedrooms, thirteen of which were at a most distressing height; and the whole far better merited the satire of Pope on Blenheim, than the sumptuous palace of Marlborough: —

> "'T is very fine;
> But where d' ye sleep, or where d' ye dine?
> I find, by all you have been telling,
> That 't is a house, but not a dwelling."

Part of the interior of the eastern wing was never finished, but all the rest was completed. The most splendid effect was secured, not only by architecture of gigantic proportion, but also by vast mirrors multiplying aisles and galleries, by a profusion of stained glass and heraldic decorations, by the richest velvet draperies and hangings of various colors, and by a collection of furniture, pictures, books, antiques, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, and dazzling articles of *virtu* of Cellini's time, in apparently exhaustless profusion. A mere catalogue of these costly toys would bewilder the reader. The amount spent upon them was almost fabulous, and when they were dispersed in 1823, their sale under the hammer occupied forty-one days. Beckford stated that the Abbey alone cost him nearly a million and a half of dollars. Its interior decoration must have cost twice as much, without estimating anything for the grounds, while we know that millions of dollars were spent upon the plantations. In his impatience, which could brook no delay, parts of the Abbey were so ill constructed that the work was necessarily renewed.* Thus his great tower was three times rebuilt, and fell at last. It is said that he was swindled enormously by builders and agents, as any man with sublime contempt for economy is likely to be.

In his palace of pleasures Beckford lived for more than twenty years, sixteen of which were passed in almost entire seclusion. He entertained nobody, had very few friends or visitors, and in great part made associates of his topographer, musician, and others of his household. Still, these were mere subordinates, and even his own daughters do not seem to have passed much time with him.† Something out of the common course of events must have contributed to his withdrawal from the world, and we have heard of circumstances not even alluded to in these Memoirs to account for it. Beckford had

* Once the tower fell from the effect of a large flag hoisted on the top of it, which exerted in a high wind such leverage as to topple it over. When informed of the mishap, Beckford, merely regretting that he had not seen it fall, gave an immediate order for the construction of another.

† The Duchess of Gordon, hoping to catch him for one of her daughters, once paid him a visit. She was splendidly entertained for a week, but her host never once allowed her to see him, and she finally left Fonthill in a rage.

an ugly dwarf as servant, and the story goes that he was accused of improper practices with him. He prosecuted an editor who mentioned it for libel, and recovered damages. It was doubtless foul slander; but such an accusation might naturally tell powerfully against one so shy and haughty as he, and from his command of money and mental resources little dependent on society. His biographer only says that he survived the vilest detraction, referring doubtless to this calumny. Recluse as he was, Beckford was neither idle nor unhappy. His knowledge of French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Persian secured to him the literary charms of those languages; he was an omnivorous reader and book-collector, and a thorough musician; his taste for art was elaborately cultivated, while his passionate love of nature and acquaintance with botany afforded him constant recreation abroad. The magnificent gardens and groves covered nearly two thousand acres within the wall, while beyond it were three thousand more. When he gave an order or wished an alteration made, it was obeyed as if by Vathek's magic power. At night scores of laborers were set to work, those of the adjacent village being sometimes wanted, and by the next morning, when the Caliph walked out, the transformation was complete. Although he lived for himself, his expenses were immense; and in 1822, when he decided to sell Fonthill, he stated that he could not live there for less than thirty thousand pounds a year.

By that time his colossal fortune had become seriously impaired. His palace, reared upon a barren mountain, which by plantations became a paradise, cost, as we have seen, prodigious sums; the managers of his West Indian property doubtless cheated him; the estates themselves, in view of emancipation, declined in value, while some were totally lost in lawsuits. Even as far back as 1801, one of the Jamaica estates which had been sixty years in the family, and had produced twelve thousand pounds per annum, was taken from him for want of title by a decree of chancery, and, as chancery proceedings in those days were proverbially costly, he sunk thousands more in defending his claim. From one cause or another, the principal one his unbridled extrava-

gance, he found in 1823, when sixty-four years of age, that his five million dollars of ready money had disappeared, beside which his regular annual income of five hundred thousand more was reduced to a mere fraction of what it had been. His biographer sees with a snob's eye imposing grandeur in such waste, and whines over the downfall as he would over that of a kingdom. In the whole record of prodigality we can scarce call to mind a parallel to Beckford's folly. He hesitated for some time whether to live in a small place on his estate, and keep his huge pile to look at, since he could not live in it, or to part with it altogether. He wisely decided to sell it, disposed of the whole estate to Mr. Farquhar for a large sum, removed the choicest of his paintings, books, porcelain, and *virtu* to Bath, and then the sale of his rarities commenced. The disposal of them attracted greater attention among the fashionables of the kingdom than any event of the century. The sale occupied more than six weeks, during which time every house within many miles of the Abbey reaped a golden harvest by letting rooms, while thousands were eager to possess some relic of the place, and thousands more to see a palace from which they had been rigidly excluded. Then all were dazzled by the sight of its riches within and without; but for one who appreciated its real beauties of groves and gardens, hundreds were tickled by the display of tapestries, stained glass, ebony cabinets, caskets, Eastern vases, marble tables, coffers, robe chests, clocks, candelabra, jewelled ornaments, onyx cups, lapis-lazuli and gold boxes, miniatures, ivory furniture, and unnumbered articles of luxury. Then many stories of his magnificence, taste, and prodigality were repeated, some true, and many more without foundation. His worshipper tells us that his table was generally plain, and we may believe that he could now and then dine simply, without insisting on "venison cutlets, each served up in a hundred pound note, with sovereign sauce."

On his removal to Bath, he at once established himself in splendid style, and began the formation of another collection as far as his means would allow. He planted a lofty hill adjoining his house with trees and shrubs, laid out walks

and gardens, and on the top of it built another tower one hundred and twenty feet high. He made, in short, upon the hill and his residence below, a smaller Fonthill Abbey, and there in the same seclusion passed the last twenty years of his life without incident. We will spare the reader any further details of brick and mortar, Sevres china and *virtu*. He died on the 2d of May, 1844, aged eighty-four years and seven months, and lies buried near his tower, the hill-grounds having been given for a public cemetery by his daughter, the Duchess of Hamilton. On his tomb is inscribed a sentence from "Vathek," and a quotation from some beautiful lines of his, entitled "A Prayer": —

> "Eternal Power!
> Grant me, through obvious clouds, one transient gleam
> Of thy bright essence in my dying hour."

Of Beckford's genius we have spoken already, and endeavored to do it justice. In his private character we find little to admire, and many others like ourselves will feel tempted to ask of one singularly gifted in mind and fortune, "What is all this worth?" Nearly all the property he held at his death passed to his daughter, the Duchess of Hamilton, whose elder sister married to displease him, lived poor, and died unforgiven. It is said that he was charitable, and gave money freely to the needy; but during his whole life we do not learn that he was for a moment interested in any philanthropic purpose, or bestowed a shilling for one. He lived in utter selfishness, and had no sympathy with his fellow-men. For his wonderful romance we have high admiration, and his travels are charming. These are the sole fruits of his life, which in other respects we regard as wasted; his pursuits having been of far less value than those of another noted literary character, Anastasius Hope, when he "meditated on muffineers and planned pokers."

ART. II. — *The Ways and Means of Payment: a full Analysis of the Credit System, with its various Modes of Adjustment.* By STEPHEN COLWELL. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. xii. and 644.

NOTWITHSTANDING the vast labor and ingenuity expended by men of all classes — of a practical as well as philosophical turn of mind — upon the "Currency Question," the principles which are involved in it, whatever they may be, are still to be considered, according to one of the latest writers upon the subject, as "desiderata," and as matters about which inquiry has not by any means been exhausted. It is indeed natural to suppose, that a series of phenomena, the formulæ of which are handled by almost every one in his daily transactions, and recognized as bases for the most extensive and important operations, would be understood as things of course, about which elucidation must be entirely wasted; but that the essential elements of the currency are not fully comprehended even by those most familiar with its use, is sufficiently apparent from a survey of the peculiarly empirical views promulgated of late in various quarters.

Nor are these views confined to those among whom we should not be at all surprised to find them. After exhausting all the very extensive means of inquiry in the possession of her Majesty's government, Sir Robert Peel procured the passage of the famous Currency Act of 1844 (embracing the Bank of England), which has been denounced in the most unequivocal terms by those to whom we now look as correct expounders of the system; and one of the most remarkable disputes upon record, in which were engaged, without bringing the point to a settlement, such men as Francis Horner and William Huskisson, to say nothing of many others of the highest eminence as men of business in the great commercial centre of London, was the celebrated controversy whether, during the twenty-five years' suspension of the Bank of England, a depreciation had taken place in gold, or in the bank's own notes.

While such is the latent uncertainty and the peculiar lia-

bility to error in the discussion of this class of questions, and while the principles on which they depend are still open to debate, we may welcome every new contribution, which we are certain has been, like the book before us, the result of careful and unwearied investigation.

"It is taken for granted," says our author in his Introduction, "that whilst there are so many conflicting opinions on the subject of money, currency, banking, and credit, — that whilst both theory and practice remain in doubt and dispute, and no authority high enough to settle those differences has yet appeared, — there is room for the labors of those who may wish to furnish materials for the final adjustment of many vexed questions."

The first broad principle to be understood in any theory of the currency, is the entire separation of Money from Credit, whatever form credit may bear, whether that of bank-notes, promissory notes, bills of exchange, or any other kind of transferable obligation; and it must also be understood, that the use of money causes no change in the relative exchange value of commodities *inter se*. There has been adopted in all civilized nations what we may term a nomenclature in respect of money, in which accounts are kept and prices stated. In the United States this nomenclature is dollars and cents; in England, pounds, shillings, and pence; and in France, francs and centimes. This is the money of account. When we write or say that the price of a commodity is fifty dollars, we convey a perfectly intelligible idea; and if this commodity can be exchanged for fifty dollars in the market, its price and its value are synonymous. But it may be asked, How have we arrived at the knowledge that fifty dollars is the value of this thing? In saying that it is worth fifty dollars, we have not taken into consideration the weight or quantity of coined gold that is contained in fifty dollars. If the commodity is a manufactured product, its value is calculated at so many dollars for the raw material, so many dollars for the labor, so many for the use of the machinery, and so many for the market rate of profit; which sums together make up the fifty dollars. Now, as we have said, the quantity or weight of gold has not entered into the calculation at all; we make use merely of the nomenclature, — the money of account. How, then, do we

know that the dollars which we have paid for the raw material and the labor, and have calculated for the other factors of the value, are in reality equivalents for them, so that their aggregate is the equivalent for the finished commodity? There is no way to determine this question on just grounds, but by a return to first principles.

Let us suppose a community in which there is no medium to effect exchanges, no generally recognized nomenclature like a money of account to express prices and values. Under this condition of things, a man can arrive at no idea of the value of commodities in exchange, except by a comparison of the relative amounts of labor it has taken to produce any number of different commodities. But as this process would be found very tedious, and would need to be renewed on different data with every new exchange, it would be manifestly of advantage if some commodity could be introduced, of a value as nearly as possible permanent, with which *all* other commodities could be compared, and therefore compared with one another. Then, if a certain portion of this commodity cost ten days' labor, all other commodities which cost ten days' labor would be exchanged for it, all commodities which cost one day's labor would be exchanged for one tenth of it, and so on; and as this commodity might be assumed to be generally acceptable, by taking it in exchange for commodities in hand, other articles of desire could readily be procured by means of it. But suppose that, instead of speaking of definite quantities of this commodity, and continually comparing other articles with those quantities, a central authority, on which all were willing to depend, should divide this commodity into convenient parts, and invest each of those parts with a name; it would then be necessary, in case an article were worth the quantity contained in one of those parts, to say that it was worth the name of that part; and where there was a general consent to express values in the same nomenclature, it would become a general habit to refer value to those names, without any mental reference to the quantities or intrinsic value of the things for which they stood.

We have thus arrived at a distinction between the nomenclature of money — the money of account — and the material

of money. When this nomenclature has come into general use, relative values may be expressed in it to any amount whatsoever, by means of the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., as we express in algebra relative values by $1\,x$, $2\,x$, $3\,x$, etc., without any reference to the intrinsic value of x.

If there were no generally recognized authority for coinage, there would still exist the same necessity for a nomenclature to keep accounts and express prices. In this case the nomenclature might be, as well as in the other, dollars and cents, provided it were generally understood that the dollar of account was the representative of $23\frac{1}{5}$ grains of fine gold. But it would then be necessary to weigh or assay whatever coins might be in circulation, to ascertain what portion of them, or how many of them, contained $23\frac{1}{5}$ grains of fine gold. A money of account would be as efficient under these conditions as under a fixed and certain process of coinage; for whatever coins were in circulation would soon come themselves to be expressed in the money of account, as so many dollars or parts of a dollar, and relative values of commodities would be equally well understood, even though there were, in point of fact, no such coin in existence as the dollar, containing $23\frac{1}{5}$ grains of fine gold.

Such, we apprehend, is the idea which our author means to convey of the money of account, to the elucidation of which he has devoted about seventy pages of his book; but while considering this point, we have been perplexed with the inquiry whether it is, in point of fact, worthy of so much attention; — whether the theory of the currency is at all illumined thereby, excepting so far as it was merely necessary to state the fact, — and whether the laborious reasoning of this treatise is anything more than a mere logomachy expended upon a subject intrinsically trivial; and we have been compelled to conclude that the writer has followed the idea to conclusions which it does not justify, and has given it altogether too prominent a place. He says: "The credit system could not exist for a day, but by the aid of a money of account. It can dispense with the use of the precious metals to a very great extent; but it cannot operate at all but through the agency of a money of account." This is undoubtedly true, — as true as

that expression of ideas could not go on for a day without a language in which to express them. They are both truisms, and need no more than a simple statement in order to be understood. But when our author says, in the very next sentence to the above extract, "During the suspension of specie payments in Great Britain, between 1797 and 1822, the entire payments of the country, in all transactions above the merest retail trade, were made under the operation and by the devices of the credit system," — this is not an argument *ad rem* at all, nor does it follow from any previous reasoning with regard to a money of account; it is merely the statement of the phenomenon of business being carried on by an inconvertible currency, which currency was expressed in the commercial nomenclature, — the money of account. We shall have occasion to refer to this historical fact more fully hereafter. But it is proper to remark in this place, that in the passage quoted the fundamental distinction between a convertible and an inconvertible currency is made to depend upon the idea of money of account, when in fact there is no such dependence whatever in any tangible form; money of account being merely an expression of money, and the distinction between it and money being as well marked as that between language and ideas.

Our author next occupies himself with a consideration of the use of gold and silver as money, apart from the use of credit substitutes. Gold and silver are the equivalents of the commodities for which they may be exchanged; and they are so because of their intrinsic value, and not because they are made into coins. Coinage is the mere agency introduced, to obviate the trouble of weighing the gold and silver at each transaction. It does not invest those commodities with any additional value; it is simply the means by which they are made to pass the more readily from hand to hand, and to conduct the greater number of transactions. In this connection we cannot avoid calling attention to a manifest desideratum which in the progress of political improvement will perhaps be accomplished, — the adoption of a universal system of coinage. Some such measure seems to be the necessary complement of the idea of coinage. The relations of the commercial world

seem at this time to favor in a peculiarly fortunate degree such a step; commerce binds the nations together in an almost indissoluble union, and the rapidity of communication brings them as near to one another as the different provinces of the same country. A congress for the universal regulation of currency would be an act only in perfect keeping with the singular progression in utilitarian enterprises of the nineteenth century. The extraordinary confusion which may be produced by a multiplicity of mints is happily depicted in the volume before us.

"Germany alone had sixty-eight mints, each with its separate coinage and regulations. When all the gold and silver coins, with their subdivisions from sixty-eight mints, were circulating over a territory no larger than Germany, it can readily be conceived what a nuisance this variety became in business. But when this nuisance was enhanced by a due proportion of counterfeits, by the abrasion, clipping, and other deterioration of coins, it can scarcely be imagined how intolerable the burden became. The complaint was loud and bitter, and projects for reform abounded; a system to be uniform not only throughout Germany, but Europe, was earnestly demanded. The same evil induced the establishment of banks of deposit in Holland.

"In urging upon the public his proposal of a convention of delegates from the various governments of Europe, to devise a uniform mode and system of coinage, Scaruffi placed before his readers the whole mischief in bold relief. The director of the mint in Reggio, however, could not move the authorities of that day by his logic, nor by his position; and he lacked the power which Napoleon applied to the subject more than two centuries after, when he introduced a uniform coinage into Italy. No sooner had the power of the French Emperor ceased to be felt in Italy, however, than the Pope, and other princes, commenced the old system of multifarious coinage, the evils of which are now seriously felt: 'Dont la diversité embarrasse tous les jours, non seulement les étrangers et les voyageurs mais même les banquiers et marchands Italiens.'" — p. 106, *note*.

There has been a great deal of unnecessary contention among economists with regard to the attributes of money as a measure and standard of value, and many objections have been forcibly urged against the ascribing of such properties to money. Gold and silver, like all other commodities, vary in their value according to the abundance or scarcity with which

they are produced; it is therefore represented as absurd to consider them as measures or standards of value, the idea of which terms must necessarily be connected with something invariable. Moreover, in commercial transactions money is bought with commodities, in the same way in which commodities are bought with money; money therefore is not a measure of other commodities any more than they are a measure of money. Such arguments as these against the employment of the expressions alluded to are strongly dwelt upon by our author. He says: —

"The precious metals are in no proper sense a *measure of value;* they are simply a convenient equivalent, being of very great value in small compass, susceptible of being brought to uniform quality, and of being subdivided into pieces or coins of any required weight." — p. 124.

Again: —

"Another attribute frequently given to the precious metals is, that they are a *standard of value.* This is equally inaccurate. There may be a common equivalent, — an article that is commonly given in exchange for other articles; but there can be no standard of the value of all articles of merchandise. Every commodity may have its standard of quality, — a certain grade being assumed, with which all other specimens are to be compared; but no article can be assumed or regarded as a standard for other things of a totally different kind. Gold cannot, in the mint, be made the standard for silver; nor can silver be made the standard for gold. Much less, taking the whole range of articles of human consumption, can there be any standard of value or price to which all can be referred, or with which all can be compared." — p. 125.

Let us examine for a moment the assertion that "the precious metals are *in no proper sense* a measure of value." In connection with this matter there are two points which we believe were first enunciated in a distinct form by John Stuart Mill; namely, that money, or the precious metals, must be a measure of commodities at the *same* time and place; and that they must be a measure at *different* times and places, if we are provided with the necessary data. That the precious metals are a measure of commodities at the same time and place, may very easily be shown; for they must at any one time possess the same value relatively to one commodity that they do to all,

as they do not fluctuate in value from day to day, like other commodities, but their fluctuations are extended over long periods of time, and are not visible at one given moment. In this sense, therefore, money is not merely a relative, but a positive measure. The object to be attained, however, with regard to the precious metals, is not to provide a positive measure, but data by which comparisons may be instituted between commodities; and in this relative sense they are a measure, not only at the same time and place, but at different times and places. To illustrate this principle Mr. Mill introduces the following example: —

"If wheat is now fifty shillings the quarter, and a fat sheep the same, and if in the time of Henry the Second wheat was twenty shillings and a sheep ten, we know that a quarter of wheat was then worth two sheep, and is now only worth one, and that the value therefore of a sheep, estimated in wheat, is twice as great as it was then; quite independently of the value of money at the two periods, either in relation to those two articles (in respect of which we suppose it to have fallen), or to other commodities, in respect to which we need not make any supposition."

Nearly the same course of reasoning, we apprehend, applies to the term *standard* of value. If the value of a horse, for instance, is a hundred dollars, and of a cow fifty dollars, by the standard of the United States, the fact that the horse has twice the value of the cow is not altered by any change that may take place in the standard. For if we suppose the standard to be depreciated one half, then by the same standard the horse will be of the value of two hundred dollars, and the cow of the value of one hundred dollars; their relative value being the same as before. We may further illustrate this principle as follows. Suppose that the length of one field is a hundred feet, and of another field fifty feet. If by some unaccountable means the foot, the unit of the measure of length, should become twice its former length, and if both fields were lengthened in the same proportion, the essentials of the case would remain the same. Now this is precisely the phenomenon with regard to the precious metals; with every expansion and contraction in their value, all other commodities expand and contract in a like proportion, and therefore preserve their relative value.

While, however, we contend for the principle, we do not affirm that the terms *measure* and *standard*, used in a positive sense, are the most appropriate terms that could be found to express the essential qualities involved in the principle. If the essentially relative character of the terms could be always kept before the mind, no harm would grow out of their use; but as it cannot be hoped that disputants will always preserve this qualification, some modification of terms may perhaps be desirable. Yet we cannot perceive that this desideratum would be obtained by calling the precious metals a "standard of payment," as our author suggests. The essentials of the case are not altered in our view, either in fact or in meaning, by this modification. Standard of payment is a totally different idea from standard of value. A standard of value, or whatever we may at last, in the progress of the science, conclude to call it, must be a valuable material; a standard of payment may not be a material at all, it may be merely an inconvertible currency.

We are aware that all the arguments we have cited would be referred by our author to "the want of attention to the functions of a money of account." But we have seen that the money of account is not a thing, but a nomenclature; or rather a formula which conforms to the conditions of things, and not the things to it; and if the money of account is merely a formula to facilitate, or to exhibit in a universally understood form, the relations of commodities, it has no bearing whatever upon those relations themselves.

Money is also spoken of as a medium of exchange. But if we survey the actual course of commercial operations, we shall find that there are perhaps ninety-five exchanges which take place without money *in esse* being used at all, to five in which it is so used. It is only in retail transactions, — or, as it has been expressed in a scientific formula, the expenditure of incomes, — that gold and silver are used as a medium. In all wholesale business the balances of many series of transactions are paid in gold and silver; for the separate transactions no money passes, but merely securities in the shape of checks or the larger denominations of bank-notes, which, being drawn on or from one bank, immediately

form the *materiel* of deposits in some other. Under the Clearing-House system, transactions amounting to many millions daily are cancelled by the final payment of not more than five per cent of gold.

The theory of our author with regard to the use of the precious metals as a medium is, that where they are not absolutely employed in exchange they are of no utility. "Whatever indefinite ideas some may entertain upon this subject," he says, "the real use of coins [gold and silver] is merely that in which we see them employed. Though every man may exact payment in coins of all that is due to him, yet this is almost never done. When not so exacted, the payment is made in some other satisfactory way." He believes that, in all those transactions into which money does not enter, commodity directly pays for commodity, not through the medium of money, but of the expedients of the credit system; that the *measure*, or whatever it may be called, which serves to make the extent of these transactions apparent, is the money of account, without any reference to gold and silver; that, inasmuch as the whole of the vast business of England, including the payment and receipt of the revenue, was carried on for twenty-five years with an inconvertible currency, this is *prima facie* evidence that a currency may be so regulated as to dispense entirely in large transactions with the use of gold and silver as a centre of oscillation, and that by the proper adjustment of the credit system this end may be in effect accomplished.

But without taking any prospective view of the case, and confining ourselves to present conditions, if the class of transactions under consideration — that is, exchanges where gold and silver do not pass at every step — take place without money *in esse*, they do not take place without money to which each of the exchanging parties has a right, if he should choose to assert it; and if there were any detriment of the parties from the use of the economical expedients, as they are called, that is, if the expedients did not transact the business as satisfactorily as it could be transacted by money, the money would be demanded and used. But if any one can buy the same amount of commodities, and on the same terms, with a bank-

note or a check, that he could buy with the same amount of metallic money, he will not take the trouble of drawing the metallic money. Therefore, where confidence is so exerted as to invest these expedients with the full force and effect of gold and silver, their use, as being more convenient, and more conducive to commercial activity, will prevail. While, therefore, money is not, in the strict sense of the term, the medium of exchange in wholesale transactions, it is undoubtedly the basis upon which all those transactions are conducted, and without which, or some generally acknowledged security equivalent to it, the economical substitutes might be multiplied to an extent utterly subversive of the healthy condition of the commercial community, as was witnessed in the Continental money of the United Colonies of North America, and in the assignats of France.

With regard to the idea that commodity is exchanged for commodity more directly under the system which obtains in the wholesale trade than in the retail trade, we have only to say, that commodity virtually pays for commodity, even where the medium is entirely gold and silver, and certainly where the medium in the retail trade is bank-notes. The difference between the two classes of transactions is only one of form. In the process of clearing, we see a series of receipts ranged on one hand, and of payments on the other, and instead of gold and silver passing to and fro, at each receipt and payment, it passes only once, when an ultimate balance between these receipts and payments is struck. The ownership of the gold and silver is continually transferred by a written instrument, until it finally rests with the merchant or the banker, who has no corresponding debt to cancel with it. Now if we could imagine the gold and silver absolutely passing from one to another at each of the transfers, although the process would be infinitely more cumbrous, it would be the same in principle: it is the knowledge that the gold and silver can be eventually procured, that gives to these transactions their whole efficacy; and if at any stage any instrument should be found among the rest which had no claim to the gold and silver, it would not be able to make a transfer; and if any banking institution should not be able to pay the ultimate balance in gold and silver, this

would be equivalent to bankruptcy. These principles are sufficient to show that, under the present system, there is a prospective use of gold and silver besides that in which we see them immediately employed. They are like the fortifications of a city, which in a time of peace seem utterly useless, yet in a state of siege may be the only means of safety.

But leaving out of view all other and minor considerations, a monetary system in which gold and silver are not the base of transactions amounts in point of fact to an inconvertible currency. Now an inconvertible currency may be as effective as a convertible one, provided it is kept under the same restraint. In any community where bank-notes and gold and silver circulate alongside of each other, the bank-notes are as effectual for all exchanges as gold and silver; and would be as effectual even in a state of inconvertibility, provided they were a substitution for a part, and not an addition to the whole of the currency. Thus suppose the circulation of a country were ordinarily a hundred million dollars, half of which was in bank-notes, and half metallic; if one half of the metallic currency were replaced by bank-notes, and the bank-notes varied the same as the metallic currency would do, — that is, were never in excess, — such issues would be as effectual, and as little liable to fluctuation, as the metallic money. But without the check of convertibility, here lies the peril. The temptation to issue such a currency is too strong to be resisted.

The value of every commodity depends temporarily upon the quantity offered for sale. If more is offered than can find buyers, it must inevitably fall in salable value. Now, inasmuch as money in every transaction is as truly bought with the thing for which it is exchanged, as that thing is bought with the money, an order of events may come about by which there may be too much money offered for sale, or for exchange, as well as too much of anything else. But when money is gold and silver, if too much is offered, so as to reduce its exchange value, the surplus will very quickly retire from the market; that is, will be exported to another country, where it has a greater power of purchase. What is true of gold and silver is true also of an inconvertible

currency, where it is the sole currency, and is possessed at its first issue of a factitious or a conventional value. Its actual value will depend on the quantity of the inconvertible paper in the market seeking to be sold, or, what is the same thing, seeking to buy commodities, — with this difference, that in the case of gold and silver, if the quantity is in excess, the surplus quickly retires from circulation by well-known processes, while with the inconvertible currency there is no such provision to restore an equilibrium; what is once issued must stay there, and the excessive quantity will cause a depreciation of the whole. In the commonly used formula an inconvertible currency has no regulator of its value but its quantity; and where there is not the continual convertible check, such a currency is always liable to be depreciated by excess. If it be held that the inconvertible notes of the Bank of England from 1797 to 1822 are a striking refutation of this argument, we can perhaps best reply in the language of one who was a witness of the actual operation of that financial measure, and was possessed of a knowledge and judgment capable of seeing through its evils in the midst of all its apparent success. We allude to Mr. Fullarton, from whose work on the Regulation of Currencies, called forth by the agitation in relation to the Currency Act of 1844, the following extract is taken.

"There is not, I believe, a single example on record, of the power of creating money out of cheap materials having been exercised by a sovereign state for any length of time, or through any season of public difficulty, without having been abused. So long as the whole supplies of the year are raised by means of taxes and loans, no great mischief can befall; for the paper which the state issues in its payments will, in that case, all flow back again regularly in the shape of loans and taxes, and there will be no surplus left to accumulate in the hands of the public. But say, that the nation is once embarked in a destructive and expensive war, with little prospect of bringing it soon to a termination, — that the revenues are failing, the government at its wits' end to discover some new tax that will supply the deficiency, and the impatience of such exactions on the part of the people already at its height, — the temptation to substitute issues for taxation, to relieve the wants of the treasury, by intercepting, through the depreciation of the currency, a portion of every payment in its

transit from the pocket of the debtor to that of his creditor, becomes too strong to be resisted, and the iniquity is, probably, perpetrated with the general acquiescence of a community, who are scarcely aware of its tendency. The career of debasement once entered upon, it has no pause till there is scarcely any value left to be destroyed. And if, in this country, the portentous experiment of the suspension of cash payments was not followed by the same disastrous consequences which attended the issues of the Mississippi notes and the assignats in France, and of the several paper currencies put forth by the principal states of Northern Europe, it was because the inconvertible notes were disbursed, not in the *payments* of a government, but in the *loans* of a bank; because the vast resources of the nation enabled the government, to the last, to raise all its supplies either by taxes or by loan; and because, whether the Bank of England advanced its funds to government or to individuals, no impediment ever arose to the punctual return of those funds into its coffers. Much credit has been claimed for the moderation and self-denial with which the directors of the bank exercised the very extraordinary powers intrusted to them, and to which are attributed the very different results of their administration of a currency of inconvertible paper from those which have attended all similar enterprises, — nor have I any wish to detract from that credit; but the truth is, that the bank was fenced round and protected by the peculiarities of its own constitution, and by the whole financial system of the state, — a fortuitous and fortunate combination of precautions, which nearly precluded the possibility of its committing any great error, however it might have been inclined, and without which all the moderation and self-denial of its directors might have been exerted in vain."

Under the most favorable aspect of the case, we must conclude, therefore, that, without a basis of gold and silver, the safety of commercial operations is placed in imminent peril, and that the speculative views which Mr. Colwell has advanced with regard to commercial transactions as capable of being carried on as effectually without as with a metallic basis, through the medium of credit, are applicable (and are no doubt so intended by him) to an order of events and a perfection of exchanges which has not as yet been reached. When a principle of limitation shall have been discovered equivalent in its operation to the check provided by a metallic basis, such speculations may be realized.

We have followed thus far our author's reasoning with regard to a money of account, a measure and standard of value, and some phenomena arising from the use of the precious metals in commercial transactions; but we have not yet inquired into the nature of the economical expedients to which the credit system has given rise. Metallic money is an expensive agent, which is used only when some economical expedient cannot be used as well, and exchanges are effected and operations carried on as effectually by the use of those expedients as by the money itself. But it is important, before advancing any further, that we should mark the radical distinction between money and these credit substitutes for money. Money is either gold and silver, or inconvertible paper possessed of a conventional value. Neither bank-notes, promissory notes, bills of exchange, nor any other circulating medium, come up to the designation of money. They are merely substitutes, some of them very effectual ones, it is true, but still mere tickets for the payment of money at a future time.

The "currency theorists," as they were called in the great controversies to which their peculiar views gave rise, and who in 1844, with Colonel Torrens, Mr. Jones Loyd (now Lord Overstone), and Mr. Norman at their head, were instrumental in procuring the passage of the act of 1844, selected the bank-note from the mass of circulating obligations of the credit system as money *par excellence*, to the exclusion of all other credit instruments, and were led by that assumption into some extravagant theories respecting prices, which were most luminously refuted by Mr. Tooke and Mr. Fullarton. "You cannot," says Mr. Fullarton, in the work already quoted, "include the bank-note under the generic designation of money, without finding yourself immediately embarrassed by the claims of bills of exchange, bankers' checks, and a variety of other typifications of the same principle of credit, all of which being more or less competent to perform, and in point of fact performing, the functions of money, and some of them on a scale of vast extent, have *primâ facie* just the same pretensions to be rated as money which bank-notes have." This principle, however, leads more directly to theories concerning prices than to a consideration of the matter now before us, — the expedients made use of in the credit system.

It is obvious that a comprehensive view of the currency must embrace the distinction which exists between that used in the retail and that used in the wholesale trade. In the former, gold and silver, and the *permanent* circulation of banks, serve to carry on the operations, while in the latter the principal part of the exchanges is effected by checks against deposits, or the transient circulation; that is, the larger denomination of bills, which return through other banks almost as soon as they are issued. According to Mr. Tooke, in his Inquiry into the Currency Principle, the former is merely the currency by which individual *incomes*, including wages, are distributed; and the latter, the currency by which actual *capital* is passed from hand to hand. The incomes of the community require a certain amount of gold and silver and small bank-notes in circulation all the time, because there is each day a portion of income to be expended; while the transfers of capital are made from the hands of one merchant to another. The profit arising from this transfer, or the portion of the profit that the merchant reserves for expenditure, forms income; but the transfer of the merchandise, which is capital, by wholesale, is merely changing it from one warehouse to another, and the checks and the large bank-notes which serve to make these transfers are the currency of this description of trade.

When notes are drawn from a bank, it depends upon the use to which they are put whether they remain in circulation, or immediately return. If they are drawn to be expended as income, that is, for personal expenditure, or to be paid away as wages, they will remain in circulation; that is to say, although they return, after having permeated the retail trade, they will be immediately replaced by others. If a manufacturer, for instance, pays away a thousand dollars in bank-notes, in one week, for wages, although these notes will in the course of the next week find their way back to the bank, they will be replaced by others to pay another week's wages. The same remark holds good as to the expenditure of incomes. It is only in these classes of transactions that a bank can obtain a permanent circulation. For if we suppose a sum to be drawn from a bank, or a check passed in payment of a trans-

action between merchants, it will immediately form part of the *materiel* of the deposit of the person to whom it was paid, and will return to the bank from which it was drawn in the next day's clearing operations. The circulation, or the means of payment in the wholesale trade, is therefore made up of the bank balances or the deposits of individual merchants; and the banks are the channels by which, when these balances become mobilized, they are collected in the reservoir of the Clearing-House, and thence again distributed to their respective and final destinations.

It is plain, therefore, that unless the bank use forced or illegitimate means to get its circulation out, that circulation must be limited to the extent of the individual incomes of the community. An increase of individual incomes thus implies an increase of circulation, and *vice versâ*, the circulation being in all cases the effect, and not the cause. A rise of prices, from any course of events whatsoever, is an efficient cause of an increase of the expenditure of incomes, and thence of an increase of bank circulation. And because an increase of bank circulation has generally been seen to accompany any long-sustained general rise of prices, it has been held, by a certain class of reasoners, to be a cause of such a rise, whereas it is only an effect; the rise of prices being generally occasioned by elements of an entirely different character, such as the state of credit in commercial circles, and the existing relations of supply and demand.

We have already intimated that the fund used for carrying on the wholesale operations of trade consists mainly of the balances in bank to the credit of individual merchants. On any given day the currency of the wholesale trade will be that part of these aggregate balances which is set in motion. If on any morning the banks hold deposits amounting to fifty millions, and checks are drawn during the day for twenty-five millions, the currency of the wholesale trade for that day's operations will be twenty-five millions, while the whole fifty millions possess the property of *mobilization*. Without confining ourselves, however, to any specified time, we may extend this principle, and say that the currency of the wholesale trade consists of the whole of the circulating capital of indi-

viduals; for the whole of that circulating capital becomes in time resolved into bank deposits, whether it consist of bills receivable, bills of exchange, drafts, or merchandise; and the nature of the case demands that these deposits shall not remain idle, but shall become transformed again into bills receivable, bills of exchange, drafts, or merchandise, through the medium of deposits. If the circulating capital of a merchant consists of fifty thousand dollars, by the time that the whole of it circulates once, and returns to him again, his aggregate deposits will have been equal (excepting of course all usual allowances) during that time to fifty thousand dollars; but as he lays it out again as fast as it returns to him, by drawing checks against his deposits, either to pay directly for merchandise or to cancel his bills payable drawn for merchandise, the whole of this sum resolves itself in time into the currency of the wholesale trade; and what is true of one individual must be true of the mercantile community.

We have been thus particular in illustrating the nature of wholesale operations, in order to exhibit in a clear light our author's exposition of the credit system.

"Credit, in no one of its meanings," he writes, "is the same thing as the credit system; the latter implies the former, but the former does not include the latter. Credit refers chiefly to the confidence which dealers repose in each other, and to the consequent postponement of payment upon transactions of sale. When one sells and delivers goods to another, agreeing to receive payment at a future day, that is giving credit upon one side, and taking it upon the other; but this transaction may not fall within the credit system, which imports something more than personal confidence and deferred payment. The credit system is that by which not only personal confidence exists between the parties, inducing them to sell and deliver goods, and defer the payment, but by which the payment is eventually effected without resort to coin, bullion, or any similar equivalent: it is that by which commodities or services are made to pay for commodities or services: it is a system by which men apply their credits to the extinguishment of their debts. It embraces all the devices by which payments are properly made, without the use of the precious metals, except cases of strict barter.

"Under the credit system, no equivalent is given at the time of sale, the payment being postponed for a time definite or indefinite; the payments for commodities are separated from the actual transactions of

sale and purchase; the articles of trade are bought and sold, and distributed for consumption at home and abroad, — the payments accruing being reserved for a separate and a distinct department of commerce.

"This is in direct contrast with the cash or money system, in which every article is either paid for in the precious metals at the time of delivery, or at some time afterwards. These two systems work side by side; and though frequently much blended in operation, the distinction between them is plain enough to be always kept in view. It must, indeed, be strictly regarded by those who would understand the subject of money and credit." — pp. 188, 189.

Under a strict and general view of the subject, it does seem in fact that there is some such distinction of functions as is here stated between the operations of purchase and the operations of payment. The former process is conducted by the merchants, while the latter — payment, or rather we should say the process of set-off, to distinguish it from the mere act of payment — is carried on immediately by the banks or bankers, and ultimately by the Clearing-House. A merchant will pass away a considerable number of checks in one day, and he will perhaps receive as many, — the bank-notes used in this class of transactions being, *mutatis mutandis*, equivalent to checks, as they do not remain permanently in circulation. Those that he receives he deposits to his credit in bank; those that he gives are deposited by the parties receiving them. In the clearing-house, the next day, one class is confronted with the other; those checks which he has given away appear against his deposit, and those which have formed his own deposit appear against others who have drawn them. But this process is a matter carried on entirely by the clerks of the different banks; the merchant has nothing to do with it, — does not see it, — but is nevertheless positively certain that it is done, and that such checks as he has given have actually been debited to his account in the bank in which he deposits.

A process so regular and efficient as this, and yet so simple that all the extensive transactions of the day previous may be set off against one another in one or two hours' time at the Clearing-House the next morning, and without the use generally of more than about five per cent of gold, cannot fail to

strike us as a beautiful example of the precision with which the elements of the credit system coincide; and we are moreover, from a comprehensive view of the matter, irresistibly led to the conclusion, that the circulating capital of the community is made to cancel debits and credits without the use of money, excepting in a prospective sense, for the payment of balances; that, in the language of our author, the credit system is "that by which commodities or services are made to pay for commodities or services," or "by which men apply their credits to the extinguishment of their debts."

Our views thus far have been confined to a statement of the action of principles in an undisturbed condition; but there is a very wide and extensive class of phenomena which transpire at periodical intervals, and which not only disturb the action of these principles, but for the time suspend them. Economists seem generally disposed to admit that, while the present system of currency is sufficient for the exchanges which are made, and highly beneficial in the ordinary course of events, it is powerless to prevent, nay, even heightens the intensity of what is called a commercial crisis. We shall exhibit in the words of our author the fearful effects of one of these convulsions.

"In the fatal panic of a hundred days, which occurred in the last quarter of 1857, vast numbers of men in business failed in the United States, and hundreds of millions were lost in the wreck of credit, in the depreciation of securities and of property, real and personal, besides hundreds of millions lost by the check to industry, the stoppage of business, and the cessation of labor. Millions of idle laborers lost millions of dollars daily. The loss in a panic of a hundred days is a fearful thing to contemplate in figures! How much more so the reality, if it could be brought at one glance under the eye! The grave of many vast fortunes, the gulf which has swallowed the competency of thousands, the comforts, the homes, the food and raiment of millions who toil with their own hands for their daily bread! . . . . .

"Our banks are so constituted, that when the ignorant and alarmed multitude commence a run for coins, they have no resource but to withdraw the usual facilities of banking from the very men of business to whose custom they owe every day's existence. When this race begins, the banks, whilst they are daily receiving, in their own notes and credits (checks on deposits), the sums payable to them, withhold the

customary facilities or discounts from their customers, and by this means create such a strong demand for bank-notes and credits for payment of debts, as checks their presentation for the specie. The stream of bank-notes and deposits sets steadily and strongly towards the banks, and returns to the public in a constantly decreasing volume. The demand of the banks upon the public may continue unabated for some sixty days, in which time, in a commercial community, the stringency may become such that few, if any, can have bank-notes or credits upon which to make demand for specie; and those who have will be tempted by the debtors to the banks to accept at the rate of twelve, eighteen, twenty, or thirty per cent per annum; and thus these bank-notes and bank credits will be returned to the banks in payment of debts, instead of being presented for payment in specie. The contraction in New York, in the panic of 1857, is a specimen of what the banks are constrained to do to save themselves. They can only protect their coffers by refusing to issue the usual supply of currency. The diminution of loans and deposits in the banks of New York stood thus in August and October, 1857: —

	Loans.	Deposits.
15th of August,	$121,241,472	$92,356,328
19th of September,	108,777,421	75,772,774
17th of October,	97,245,826	52,894,623

"This exhibits a reduction of discounts in one month of $13,000,000, and in the succeeding month of $11,000,000; that is, $24,000,000 in sixty days: in one month deposits ran down, under this operation, $17,000,000; in the succeeding month, $23,000,000; making in the two months a reduction in the chief medium of payment of $40,000,000. The deposits were thus reduced nearly one half. It cannot be surprising that, under such a process of contraction, interest went up to between fifteen and thirty-six per cent, and exchange down to nine or ten per cent below par. . . . . .

"The late panic has inflicted, in all its bearings and ramifications, a loss upon the country, which may be variously estimated from $500,000,000 to $1,000,000,000. No doubt the ill effects of the panic were much enhanced by the previous abuse of credit, and that a considerable portion of this devastation should be set down to that account. With every allowance in that respect, we shall have a vast sum of loss to charge to the panic; and whether this sum be $400,000,000 or $800,000,000 matters not to our view. The loss was to a great extent unnecessary, cruel, terrible, — a loss which has carried privation, distress, and ruin to a million of homes. For a time, at least, not yet passed, it reduced hundreds of thousands of the best people to a state of entire dependence, if not beggary." — pp. 483 – 486.

"What was the cause of these dire calamities?" pertinently asks our author. They were incurred, as he says, to save the specie in the banks from passing into the hands of the public, or from being remitted to foreign countries. If this be true, cannot a remedy be applied? Must we quietly sit down with folded hands, and await the advent of another panic, and a renewal of these manifold evils? Can no arm be put forth to save us, or is the intelligence of this whole people so hard to be moved, that it will not exert itself for good in a tangible, visible form? In our view the remedy is simple and obvious, although we have faint hope of seeing it speedily applied. We have said that the currency of the country divides itself into two well-marked and distinct portions; — that which is employed in the retail trade, in the expenditure of incomes and wages, without the use of credit; and that used in the wholesale trade, involving the transfer of circulating capital between merchants, which is conducted almost entirely upon credit. We would make each of these two descriptions of currency homogeneous. In the first class, no credit substitutes should be used, because the operations are mainly for cash; and in the second class, nothing but credit substitutes should be used, because the operations are mainly on credit. To prevent the use of credit substitutes, that is, bank-notes, in the retail trade, no notes should be issued under the denomination of twenty-five dollars. The banks would then be almost entirely deprived of their permanent circulation in the retail trade; for no notes would be drawn to pay wages, or for personal expenditure; but their use would be entirely confined to the wholesale trade. The channel of circulation for all sums under twenty-five dollars would be filled by metallic money, a state of things which would effectually prevent any popular panic, or run upon the banks by the ignorant masses. The circulation of the city banks forms but a very small part of their means of profit, but it forms almost the whole of that of the country banks; the distinction between the city and country banks being, that the discounts of one are made upon the strength of deposits, and those of the other, upon circulation. If no notes under twenty-five dollars were issued, while such a course would affect the city banks very slightly, it would take

away from the country banks almost their whole power. If there were any country circulation, it would be confined to the dealings between the country and city merchants; no notes would be held by the people; and as this circumstance would cut off from the country banks a chief source of their profit, it would leave no inducement for their multiplication. It would, on the other hand, have a tendency to close some of those now existing, and to transfer the business of domestic exchanges into the hands of private bankers, with no power of issue.

With regard to the foreign exchanges, it may be said, that they form a peculiar class of operations, and should be treated on peculiar grounds. We imagine that the difficulties connected with this class of transactions are directly due to the *ad valorem* system of revenue. The substitution of specific for *ad valorem* duties, as suggested by President Buchanan in his message to the last Congress, would have gone far to remove the evils of the periodical efflux of bullion. It is extraordinary that our legislators should remain so blind to the pernicious effects of the present system. There is no merchant in any of the importing cities who could not name numerous instances of fraudulent invoices; and there can be no doubt that, under the existing system and rate of duties, the government is actually cheated of at least one third of its just dues. But even without the supposition of fraudulent invoices, the general establishment of foreign agencies is an evil of equal, if not greater moment. "The foreign manufacturer now sends here a clerk, or agent, or partner, who becomes forthwith an importing merchant. The goods to be imported are invoiced to him at cost, without any perjury, or other evasion of law. The goods are sold in our market for the highest price which can be obtained; and the whole proceeds, profits and all, less only the expenses of the agent, are remitted to the foreign concern in specie, or by bill, according to the state of the exchange." The amount of these profits, which would otherwise remain with ourselves, is the whole amount necessary to make an unfavorable balance, and to cause an efflux of bullion. So long as we are producers of gold, it must be expected that we shall be exporters of it to

some extent, and so long as that exportation is confined to gold as an article of merchandise, no harm will grow out of it; but when it extends itself to currency, when the importer withdraws coin or bullion from the banks to send over his own profits as well as the original value of the goods, the transaction is extra-mercantile and ruinous.

In conclusion, we would say a word concerning the moral lessons which commercial revulsions inculcate. There is no doubt that greediness of gain and wealth is an extensive source of evil in commercial circles. Men cannot be content with a trade proportioned to their capital, but extend their credit to a limit which it cannot under any circumstances bear. That merchants are in a state of absolute dependence upon banks, so that a suspension of their usual line of discounts produces ruin, is the strongest argument against banking institutions; and it may be fairly and forcibly urged, that so long as men will persist in trading beyond their own means through bank accommodations, no reform of the currency can be of any avail. In this view of the case, the preventive or remedy lies with each individual; and it consists in making the laws which regulate our moral relations paramount and supreme in our economical transactions.

ART. III. — *Poems*. By ANNE WHITNEY. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 191.

QUIETLY as a nun goes from cloister to grave, this little volume of last June has proceeded from the press to the shelf. The publishers did not give it their best style, the advertisement was limited, the criticism casual. But if some illuminator had passed his youth in emblazoning the margins with floral devices in lapis-lazuli, orpiment, and gilding, the reader, turning the lingering leaves, would have found their contents commensurate with his highest and finest moods. Forgetting that

"He who blows through bronze, may breathe through silver,"

the newspapers, in the midst of their wars and rumors of wars, could not devote a second thought to this singer under the battlements. Had they sounded the song, they had not wasted their breath. But they made gallant mention, for it was a woman; they "roared you as gently as a sucking dove." *Earnest* and *thoughtful* have been the only adjectives to spare. Earnest and thoughtful! What verses, if otherwise, would deserve a notice? Was there no more to say for poems overflowing with beauty, serene and calm, yet instinct with the fire of a proud, passionate nature? Nothing of the *dilettante* is here, — the scorn of the poet would have withered it from the book; experience has proved the earth rich enough, hearsay scarcely finds a listener. Imagination does not here outstrip the truth, bidding her follow if she can, but mounts upon the plane of higher truth not to be clearly defined by unanointed eyes. The writer does not merely watch and follow Nature, but is in *rapport* with her, so that the simplest fact thus acquires a fuller significance. Observation as keen and faithful as a Pre-Raphaelite's, yet without his servility, abounds, and it has been distilled through an alembic of pure thought into the crystal currents and tides of poesy. Let the great sunbeam of genius once strike through a soul, every little mote floating in the common air is transfigured to dust of gold and rimmed with rainbows. But neither keen eye nor sympathetic heart makes a poet, as the silent cloud of witnesses attest. A lyrical and dramatic power is needed, together with that sway over language which welds a fancy immutably into its own sentences. This last the author has in the highest degree: every word strikes home; every line is clean, distinct as if cut in stone; the pen in her hands becomes so like the sculptor's chisel that one questions if poetry be the fittest exponent of her genius. Her lyrical power is equally beyond question, but the dramatic element is entirely wanting.

Though the trumpet be cast of most sonorous metal, tempered and tuned to the finest vibration, if the divine spirit do not breathe through it, what does it signify? Empty of sound, it can but thrill faint echoes on the wall to the joyous peals without. Let the reader open the volume, and taking up with

us "A Last Dream," judge if there the divine breath be wanting. If he have a soul in his body, we need not tell him what Arctic Hero dreams. He is announced with the cry of the herald in the lists: "Three against one!" But that one is Sir Galahad. And on that awful battle-field,

> "Which glimmered east and west, and north and south,
> Farther than eye might see,"

we know that the three giants must reel before the stanch faith of the pure knight; — the three giants, of whom

> "One covered o'er
> With his vast hand heaven's gracious breadth of light";

one drew "the healthy vigor" from the brain, while

> "In its place
> There was a motley whirl of fantasies,
> A dreadful dance of wicked things, that struck
> Strange gleams and painful lightnings through my lids,
> Which still I saw upon the midnight snow,
> Mingling with pure auroras from the bergs,
> And meteors' silver flashes. And one — one
> Loaded these limbs with dull, invisible chains,
> So subtilely imposed, so stern and still,
> It seemed to lull the will into accord,
> And hoodwink all my soul with trust."

The very lines quiver with the intensity of feeling. A strong and heavenly confidence sustains them. The relief from horror is not so much described as created: —

> "And, lo!
> Not overhead, I think, nor from the east,
> Where the sun has its solemn, annual birth,
> Nor glazing the waste whiteness, nor unsheathing
> The glaciers' keen swords, — but fine and still,
> And, as it seemed, dilating from a seed
> Of light within, — light, peaceful, broad, and soft,
> Grew round me where I stood. And God, who watched
> The battle from his trembling depths of Night,"

seals the victory with a satisfying calm that henceforth leads him, unquestioning and relying; —

> "For heart and life are pillowed on his love."

To these fragmentary quotations we add another from the sequel of the poem, — the story told by the shaft of ice to whoso reads its inscription.

"And one day, Earth,
Gray mother, bound with frost and torn with fire,
Shall surely be redeemed by hero dust.
Each sluggish atom of her sphere shall bloom
Nobly in human shape, and take the print,
And do the mandate, of a godlike will,
Until her apotheosis be won.
Dear then to her and to the silent Powers,
And borne on their strong wings above defeat
And fear of mockery, all they who build
In stern emprise a shrine for the Unseen;
Making life poor to show how rich it is.
Round them heaven's flaming currents stoop and play,
And lap the stifling vapors of the world,
Till the space freshens into festal depths;
And Soul, before a royal mendicant,
Pensioned of flesh along her dusky way,
Goes forth with bounty to exultant crowds,
With pulse of music ordering the winds,
And trumpets blowing the eternal morn.
And so to guard from loss and blight of Time
The memory of such faith, and of a will
That thrilled our adamant from coast to coast,
This pale resplendent pillar of the frost
Scores the dark, grasping air. But he who held
Within his eyes the sacred fire that pierced
Our ancient mysteries, and laid them bare
Behind their five-fold barriers, afar
Wins smiles from other heavens, and breathes the meed
Of mighty toils, — the insatiate sweet of rest."

At a time when the whole nation yet throbs with the fervor of its welcome and prayer for Kane, could it be imagined that such words should fall in silence? Perhaps so brilliant a contrast between pole and tropic, rasping frost and languishing heats, was never before drawn. The cold stings us as we read; the gloom enfolds us; darkness, drowsiness, disease, death, rise up like phantoms, and back again they slide

"Into that night of sound, that northward far,
Where the white sea-gull flies, for leagues on leagues,
Wraps in its shadowy arms the gleaming coast."

On a sudden, from the biting iciness,

> "Beyond the last low wall of crimson light,
> That struggles to hedge off, with baby gleam,
> The insurging Dark, — where sits the sceptred cold
> Impassible and still, and the awed sea
> Groans only, and upheaves in marble waves,
> When the black sleet-wind whispers, Mutiny!"

How intense the contrast between this and the sweet vision of rest that succeeds it!

> "Be it then — rest. All round the scented coast
> Flashes the living sea; and on my brow
> I feel the silken touches of strange winds;
> While overhead such light, and sumptuous blue,
> And rustle of great plumes!"

What richness of painting and depth of color! Out of the frigid, ghastly weather, into what warmth and wealth of luscious tropical loveliness have we plunged! All the delight and luxuriance of Southern archipelagoes rise around us at the talismanic words. But we have already quoted too largely to give more of this wonderful poem, which climbs with so strong and stately a step to the last line: let us pass to others.

"The Bridge of the Dragon," occupying by far the largest space, we leave unmarked, in spite of certain vivid touches like the finger of autumn on waning summer woods, — the story, as it is recited, not being worth the beauty of the first three stanzas and the Keats-like charm of the fourth. We much prefer the light rustic grace of "The Prospect."

> "O wondrous delight of a window
> A fair three stories high,
> With its view to the southward and west,
> And its *limitless boon of sky.*
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "When swallows on cleaving pinions,
> Disdaining the earth and you,
> *Follow the hunt far up*
> *In the calm, embosoming blue.*"

The italics, of course, are our own. Criticism is apt to seem impertinent, because an author forgets that, in giving his book to the public, he gives himself also, in some degree, to

their speculation and love. And so we are glad, here at the close, to get this little glimpse of individuality: —

> "Ah, world, if you yet must have me,
> Sing me a better strain,
> Or hold me a moment, I pray,
> Lightly, and loose me again."

Indeed, individuality is the characteristic of the volume. It is not many-sided, — no volumes of to-day but those containing dramatic romances and lyrics can afford to be. It is all in the same strain, lofty and earnest; not always so artistically wrought out as might be, but modulated with varying inflections, here and there detaching a loose melody that nestles in your remembrance, and all day long flutters in time with your thoughts, and everywhere adorned with more redundance of beauty than it would seem capable of supporting. But the persistent tone of the book — at once its charm and its defect — seldom becomes personal. The subjectivity is purely mental. In the very page where we feel like an intruder, we discover the individuality to be one whose heart, when we seem to have reached it, we find hidden with a veil of singular reserve and closest texture.

None of these poems are to be slighted, although they are of quite unequal merit. They appear to have been produced at very different epochs. Many, such as "Susanna," "Bertha," "Kristel's Soliloquy," and "The Ceyba and the Yaguey," must have been written much earlier than "A Last Dream," "Camille," and the "Hymn to the Sea." The last-named of these is so well known through "Thalatta," that we shall make but brief pause before it. On its first appearance, a distinguished critic remarked that it appeared to have taken shape a moment too soon, — before the crystallization was complete. But perhaps the remaining formative stages have been supplied through the insertion of five additional stanzas. It is almost impossible to quote from this, each syllable is so embedded in the mosaic of the whole. It is full of felicitous phrasing, of which

> "the infinite
> And quenchless possibility of day,"

the "hoar silence of the lone mid-seas," and "their unrelated

strength," are not the only examples. Could the pathos of history be more briefly written than in

> " the blue
> Of that famed gulf in earth's broad girdle set,
> With endless voice of waves calling to shores long dumb" ?

To those who love the music of the sea, who even up among the hills hear it still, like the murmur of a shell, and who return with thirsty ears to drink that sound, what repeats it more clearly than this appeal ? —

> " Roll in from far thy deep, broad-skirted thunder,
> Whereon the wild winds fawn! *Thy* voice by day —
> But Night adopts, and trances it away
> Into its clear, sad universe of wonder.
> O weary of life's lavish, shallow sound,
> Enrich me beyond hunger with that tone!
> Tell in what deep gray solitude
> It may be born, what caverns rude
> Still haunt it; and if the infinite ALONE
> Touch it himself with calm, and utterance so profound."

Is there anything in Shelley's " Skylark " sweeter than the following ? —

> " When morning, loosing from its crimson drifts,
> Some panting skylark overtakes, most tender
> Of such weak rivalship, and prone to render
> Homage unto great-heartedness, it lifts
> The breaking strain, and all along its lines
> Of thrilling light, its currents of pure air,
> And rosy mists, winds it at will,
> Unites and separates, and still
> Wreathes it, and builds anew beyond despair,
> Till light is song, song light, through all heaven's steadfast signs."

This Hymn is also rich in picturesque effects : —

> " Along yon soft tumultuousness, the Dawn
> Reaches a glowing hand."
>
> " Hark'ning through all the music of her leaves,
> And inland murmurs, o'er the seaward steep,
> The stately Summer leans, while dim winds sweep
> Her shining tresses back."

Successive firmaments seem to fade into one another, and into the purple and serene depth of the last, as we read : —

"Afar thou veil'st thy kingliness in mist,
And stretchest in the heaven's most deep embrace,
Like the great Future, waste and gray,
Dissolving day to yesterday —
But what fair shores thou lapp'st in azure peace! —
What isles of joyous palms with tropic starlight kissed!

That this Hymn loses no jot of its regal resonance in the presence of its subject, but interprets and is interpreted best there, is its highest praise. The old Homeric strength, that delighted to dip its fancies in the wine-dark depths, is infused through its majestic mould. It is certainly the finest single piece among the poems, though "Camille" affects us more from its warmer humanity, and the better-developed power it exhibits. There is no fault to be found with "Camille." It is the work of an artist. Its pathos is unsurpassed. It would be too painful for poetry, did not its beauty spring like an arch over the dark current between the sombre prison with its dungeons of despair, and the stately palace which, rising like a hope, sheets its rich architecture and gay fretwork in the full sunlight of eternal mercy and love. In its structure, instead of any extravagance of youth, a fine maturity is apparent; and in the fearlessness with which it is handled, we scarcely observe the delicacy of the light, though strong strokes. The key-note of this poem is struck most clearly in the fourth stanza: —

"To swell some vast refrain beyond the sun,
The very weed breathed music from its sod:
And Night and Day, in ceaseless antiphon,
Rolled off through windless arches in the broad
Abyss. — Thou saw'st I too
Would in my place have blent accord as true,
And justified this great enshrining, God!"

The same chord is struck again in the sixth stanza: —

"If I dare
Take up a thought from this tumultuous street
To the forgotten Silence, soaring there
Above the living roofs, its calm depths meet
My glance with no reply."

But this is not peculiar to "Camille." How many have felt the cruel indifference of the elements, — have found no sym-

pathy in the alien sky, — their lives being out of tune with Nature, and their pulses beating to another measure! The reverse of this sentiment is stated in such snatches as these, scattered through the pages before us: —

> "The heavens spread broad and calm, they looked not far;
> With all their depth, their old mysterious birth,
> They seemed to be the feeling of the earth." — p. 58.

> "When the robin's song
> Thrills the odorous winds along,
> The innermost heavens seem to ope." — p. 67.

> "What life in every peaceful thing!
> What trance of living, joyful might!
> The heavens may breathe it unto men,
> And bulbuls by the charméd light
> Sing it to sacred night,
> But who may utter it again?" — p. 129.

The three chief faults of these poems are obscurity, lack of euphony, and defect of artistic polish. As regards the first, it is often the result of a generous trust in the reader, — sometimes, of quite as ungenerous a niggardliness, on the part of the poet; but one may be assured that, if he will only grope for the latent truth, he will always find it, glowing and precious. There are no words woven to conceal the absence of thought; but, on the other hand, the line teems with more significance than it can express.

The lack of euphony will prevent the book from being popular. Flowing measures, clustering rhymes, with all the accessories of tune and rhythm, constitute a pomp of sound that insures the success of many hollow books. It is true that most of these fanciful issues of the press might be appropriately described on their grandiloquent title-pages, as "Studies in Rhyme, after the Fashion of *Les Études en deux Crayons, par M. Emile.*" But one is to be blamed for rejecting, as meretricious ornament, that which is essential; and though success cannot be the object here, we must be allowed to regret the too general absence of an outline of syllabled sweetness around the themes. That Miss Whitney is capable of music in its fullest effect, we are sure. The sentences, singly, are distinct as prisms, and have a slow involution of melody that is charm-

ing; but these sentences are jewels in an unworthy setting. Of the attempt at a quick, light measure, the best specimen occurs in the opening verses of "Undine," — a trifle, whose movement is admirably chosen for its subject, and which has here and there a fine fancy, such as this: —

> "She is not like Atlas, curled,
> Stooping 'neath the gray old world,
> But she takes it, lithe and bland,
> Easily in her small hand."

On the want of artistic finish we will not linger. An author must generally be as painfully aware of this as his reader. Abruptness of manner and rapidity of thought and execution are responsible for the form that clothes these verses; but though we know that the fruits of the earth's richest gardens are oftenest wrapped in rough, stiff integuments, we yet lament the crust we must pierce here before reaching the core of sweetness. We may remark, in this volume, such minor details as the introduction of a French word, — sufficiently bad taste in prose, insufferable in poetry; a hyphen breaking an epithet at the end of a line; the unpleasant collocation of similar sounds; the use, and, still worse, the need of italics; and the indolence which, not always fortunate in the selection of titles, frequently gives us none at all. When not owing to deficiency, these things are the result of carelessness, and carelessness, in fine, is rudeness. The writer virtually says: "The poems, — here they are. If the Public like them, well and good for the Public; if not, it is of no manner of consequence. Pearls before swine." But those who will receive this book are not to be treated with rudeness; their number is too limited, and they are worthy of the author's lavish skill and kindliest recognition. We hope that, for another edition, such censure as these blemishes have elicited will be as untrue as it now seems uncourteous.

Although we have mentioned a want of the artist's thorough skill, we ought in justice to say that the artist's soul is keenly represented, especially the "Five Sonnets Relating to Beauty," most worthily so entitled. In these the love of Beauty is a passion. In one she is "the Divine"; in another, "darling of the universe"; again, "the bride" of "God's wide deep

ordering." In beauty is found the reconciliation of pain and joy, the riddle of the earth, the secret of the sea. Full of immortal freshness, she underlies all time, and is the fragrance of eternity.

The heart of the book still awaits our notice. We refer to the sonnets entitled "Night." All through the preceding pages has run the golden cord on which these gay, many-colored beads are strung, — a pure, high, and profound religious love. These sonnets seldom have the accumulated flow, breaking in a rush of meaning at the fourteenth line, demanded by rule; but they all enclose a brimming flood of calm, full thought within their margins. A truth, perhaps not new, but certainly never so keenly felt as at the present day, revolves in all its phases here, — the necessity of joy in faith, — the quintessence of the text, "Rejoice evermore." Cheerfulness of temperament for the painter is insisted on by Ruskin; we demand it equally for the poet. If it be true of individuals, it is not true of the class, that they learn in suffering what they teach in song.

> "Life's gift outruns our fancies far,
> And drowns our dream
> In larger stream,
> As morning drinks the morning star,"

writes one, and the same sweet tune throbs through these fifteen chorals, — *chorals*, we say, since the author does not sing alone, but carries her audience with her in her joyous melody. Trust, patience, action, are all owned here as Angels of the Covenant, together with a love of God, which, filling the heart with gladness, lifts its tides still higher, as if one were to stand forever in

> "The deeps of June,
> When life surged up so warm and affluent,
> It wrapt the very whiteness of the moon."

This religion has no narrow bound, but its measure is as broad and generous as the light that overflows the sky.

We believe this poet equal to much more than is accomplished here, where the fruit is apparently not that of extended reading or study so much as of an intense experience of life, and this through thought rather than through action.

Language is too costly a gift to be wasted as the minor poets dare to waste it. When the organist lays his hands upon the solemn banks of keys, and with slow pedal and thrilling stop blows out from the great golden pipes a cloud of harmony, he touches no higher sense than the master of words touches. But thought as well as language is at the command of the poet of whom we have written, and whom, if it were not for the deficiencies we have mentioned, we might regard as crowned rather than aspirant. Originality, strength, and imagination that seldom degenerates into fancy, characterize her method; and the maturity it already exhibits is only, we trust, the promise of a rich harvest in coming years.

ART. IV. — SANCTI PATRIS NOSTRI BASILII *Epistolæ secundum Ordinem Temporum nunc primum dispositæ, et in tres Classes distributæ. Opera et Studio Monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, e Congregatione Sancti Mauri.* Parisiis: Apud Gaume Fratres. MDCCCXXXIX.

THE elder Pitt is said, in the later years of his life, to have deplored his elevation to the peerage, since he perceived that it had withdrawn him from the sphere of popular sympathy and affection, and thus forfeited the great element of his political and social power. The good and eminent men of early Christian times have had equal reason to lament that accession of historical dignity which has been attended with a like forfeiture of real and living power in the Church. The canonization which has made them titular "fathers" and "saints," while it has exalted them to a niche in the history of the Church, where they have been objects of distant and awful veneration, we had almost said of worship, has effectually eliminated them from all living contact with the heart, the memory, the thought and life of the Church.

It has fared especially hard with Basil in this particular. Though his birth and nurture were aristocratic, he was thor-

oughly, during his life, in spirit and in labors, a man of the people; and he says in a letter to Diodorus, that the highest aim of Christian authorship is "to leave behind one discourses which might be useful to the brotherhood." If we may accept his own declaration, he had no thought of posthumous fame as an author. He states in the same letter, which was written not long before his death, that his infirm health, and the scanty leisure allowed him by the active duties of his office, forbade the attempt to write. He lived heartily and laboriously in and for his own age, and is represented to later times principally by popular, and, as it would seem, extemporaneous homilies and expositions of Scripture, and by his extensive correspondence. But for the titles of "Father," "Saint," "Archbishop," and "the Great," — for by all these orders and decorations ecclesiastical tradition has raised him to the highest rank of the spiritual peerage (prefixes and affixes, by the way, being alike unknown to his own time and to the two centuries following), — his fame in the Church would have been the natural, healthful, and influential memory of a good man, an eloquent preacher, a laborious pastor, a bold and somewhat sharp asserter of the faith of the Church, but at the same time an earnest advocate of her peace and unity.

By far the most important works which Basil has left to posterity are his letters. He was unrivalled among the great men of the fourth century in this description of writing. Athanasius surpassed him in dialectic and controversial skill and power. Chrysostom was, probably, his superior in eloquence. But neither the letters of Athanasius nor those of Chrysostom (though both of them wrote many which are in all respects worthy of their character and fame) will bear a comparison with those of Basil, either in the easy and captivating grace of their composition, or the variety and importance of their contents. What Voltaire said of the Provincial Letters of Pascal may with truth be affirmed of the letters of Basil, — "they abound in examples of every kind of eloquence." There is scarcely a question pertaining to the doctrine, government, worship, and life of the Church, agitated in that remarkable period, — when all the elements of historical Christianity

were in a state of profound and universal fermentation, when the Church was in conflict with heathenism from without and dissent from within, when the imperial power acted at one time as a genial sunshine, stimulating even to an unhealthy luxuriance all the germs of her life, and at another as a sweeping tempest of hostility and persecution, — which is not handled in a profound and masterly way in the course of these letters; and yet they are thrown off with the ease and vivacity which marks the true epistolary genius; they are characterized by the high-bred urbanity and polish of a man who had received the best and most refining culture of his age from school, court, and travel, and they are pervaded withal by a warm, earnest, and elevated piety. In respect to historical materials, they are to the age of Basil what the letters of Cicero are to his,* and they derive an especial and inestimable value from the fact that they are an unstudied, actual, and therefore truthful aspect, of an age in relation to which the spirit of historical falsification has shown an almost unparalleled activity and boldness, stimulated as it has been by the powerful interests of a system, which for many centuries had the whole literature of the Church in its irresponsible keeping.

Basil, we say, was an epistolary genius. This kind of writing, to possess its true charm and power, requires a peculiar turn, talent, or temperament. Basil evidently possessed it. In a letter of Athanasius, you have before you in full panoply the theologian and controversialist. Chrysostom cannot lay aside the grave and stately tone of the orator and preacher. But Basil in his letters is a friend talking with a friend, who glides into the discussion of graver topics without losing his colloquial tone. A letter of Athanasius is a controversial tract; a letter of Chrysostom is a sermon; but a letter of Basil is a conversation, — written only because the absence of the person addressed forbids the use of the living voice. He was born to be a letter-writer. Friendship and friendly correspondence was a need of his nature. "Many and great," he says, in a letter to Ambrose, "are the gifts of our Master; such as we cannot measure for their greatness or count for their multi-

* "Quas qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum." — Cornelius Nepos in Vit. Attici, 16.

tude. But to those who have a just appreciation of his favors, this must appear one of the greatest, that we who are at so great a distance asunder in space are permitted to meet and talk together in our letters." "Thus," he says again to the same person, "we may be near in spirit, though in our earthly residence utterly remote." If such words were addressed only to the princely Bishop of Milan, they might lie open to the suspicion of flattery. But he thus replies to a letter from Pæonius, an humble brother, whose name has come down to our times merely from its association with his own: "How much delight your letter gave me you may conjecture from the nature of its contents"; — and concludes as follows: "Since you have begun to write, fail not to continue to do so. You will give more pleasure by sending me letters, than those who send much gold to the covetous." To Phalerius he returns his thanks for a present of fish, and adds: "I am yet more obliged to you for the letter which accompanied the present. Wherefore let me have more letters, and never mind the fish." *

The collection which bears the name of Basil contains three hundred and sixty-five letters. A few of them are, beyond all reasonable doubt, spurious, and a few more, by other hands, have probably crept into the collection. They appear to have been written during a period extending from A. D. 357 to 378, while the imperial throne was successively occupied by Constantius, Julian, Jovian, and Valens, the first of whom was an active supporter of Arianism; the second, a bitter and unrelenting persecutor of Christianity in every form; the third, during his very short reign, a professor and friend of the established faith; and the fourth, a zealous and persecuting patron of Arianism. It would be difficult to select a period of the same length during which the Church passed through so many sudden changes, and underwent such violent agitations, both in her dominant type of doctrine and in her relations to the state and the world.

The great advantage we possess for friendly intercourse, and, in fact, for every work and aim of civilized human existence, in the cheap, sure, and rapid conveyance of letters, is vividly

* Rather a free translation, perhaps, of ὥστε ἐπίστελλε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπόστελλε. (Ep. 329.)

brought to mind in almost every page of the correspondence before us. We write what we have to say to a friend, attach a cheap stamp to it, and commit it to the post, assured that it will be conveyed with all possible security and despatch to its destination, though across continents and seas, and through countries under different, perhaps hostile governments. It seldom occurs to us how very recent are the facilities which habitual enjoyment has made so necessary. They are, in fact, in anything like their present perfection, a peculiarity of our own time. It is less than a century since the mail was first carried in coaches running at regular intervals. The first mail-coach left London for Bristol on the 2d of August, 1784. The mails had been previously conveyed by carts with a single horse, or by boys on horseback. The following proclamation of Charles I. dates but little more than two centuries back (1635): "Whereas, to this time, there hath been no certain intercourse between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, the king now commands his postmaster for foreign parts to settle a running *post or two* to run night and day between Edinburgh and London, to *go thither and come back again in six days*." Enlarged postal arrangements were made by act of Parliament in 1657, "with a view to benefit commerce, convey the public despatches, and as the best means to discover and prevent many dangerous, wicked designs against the commonwealth *by the inspection of the correspondence*."

It seems curious and incredible, that, while the transmission of intelligence by relays of mounted couriers was in use among the Persians, and is accurately described by Herodotus, the high and liberal civilization of Greece and Rome should never have applied so simple an expedient to the popular benefit; and that, while kings occasionally gratified their impatience for news by such arrangements, the regular conveyance of letters for the general convenience was never thought of till the early part of the sixteenth century. Horse posts were at that date (under the reign of Maximilian I.) introduced into the Low Countries by a gentleman bearing the name of Francis de la Tour et Taxis, and were gradually but slowly introduced into other countries of Europe. So late was the plantation of that germ, which in about three centuries has expanded into a sys-

tem which now binds together, by the regular and rapid interchange of intelligence, all the civilized nations of the world, and which, having subjected the powerful forces of steam and electro-magnetism to its service, promises at no distant period to put the whole human race in intimate and almost instantaneous connection. The introduction of posts for the carriage of letters has never been admitted to a place in the constellation of great inventions which distinguishes these latter centuries. Yet it would be difficult to mention one which has led on, step by step, to more brilliant discoveries, or has exerted a more powerful influence on the diffusion of knowledge, freedom, peace, and every constituent of human improvement and happiness. The rudely graven blocks of Costar did not more certainly initiate a train of inventions which has resulted in the gigantic operations of the steam-power presses of our day, than the horse posts of Francis de la Tour met the want and suggested the idea which have at length wrought out steam navigation and the electric telegraph, and are daily looking and striding forward towards new and yet more wonderful means for perfecting rapidity and accuracy of communication.

The extent of the correspondence before us appears the more astonishing, that it was kept up in the absence of all such conveniences. The conveyance of a letter, in the fourth century, continued to be the same simple affair as when, in an antiquity far beyond Homer, Bellerophon is said to have borne that which contained his own sentence of death,* from the court of Prœtus to Lycia. There were indeed, in the early days of the Roman empire, carriages with relays of horses along the military roads, so that any one furnished with the imperial *diploma* could travel night and day to the remotest region of the empire.† The *cursus publicus*, as this line of posts was termed, of the earlier Cæsars, reappears in the *res vehicularia* of Ammianus. One of the letters attributed to Julian, in this collection, invites Basil to "come with all speed to court, and to use the *public conveyance* in making the journey." But though

* If the σῆμα ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ (Iliad, VII. 155 *sqq.*) *was* a letter.

† This system appears to have been organized by Augustus. Suetonius, *Octavius*, 49.

public despatches were carried by these posts, they were never used for *mails*, in our sense of the word, or for the general conveyance of private letters. When Basil had occasion to transmit a letter, to however distant a place, he had no other resort (unless in the rare event of a trustworthy bearer presenting himself in the person of a casual traveller) than to send a special messenger to carry it, generally some "co-presbyter" or "co-deacon," and the tardy and precarious conveyance of his letters,* even when thus despatched, and their frequent loss and interception, are oft-recurring subjects of complaint. To Theodora, a devout and noble lady of uncertain residence, he thus writes: —

"Excuse my tardiness in writing to you, my dear friend, as it is really caused by my uncertainty whether my letters have reached you. The faithlessness of messengers, added to the agitations and disorders which now pervade the whole world, cause a multitude of my letters to fall into other hands. So that I await your own complaints and censures and urgent requests for more letters, before I am quite sure that you have received those already sent." — *Ep.* 173.

A correspondence carried on in the midst of such difficulties, and yet extending almost to the remotest limits of the still undivided Empire, — to Edessa and Carrhæ beyond the Euphrates in the East, and to Gaul in the West, to Mœsia, possibly Sarmatia, in the North, and Egypt in the South, and thus making the influence of its writer felt throughout the civilized world, — is indeed a surprising monument of a vigorous mind, and of a large and philanthropic spirit; the more so, since it was achieved, as we shall presently see, in a condition of health which would have excused a man of ordinary energy from exertion of any kind. So indefatigable a letter-writer can hardly be matched in literary history. With all the advantages of modern times for writing and sending letters, there is no living man, probably there has been none since the Reformation, who has filled so wide a sphere, and filled it so influentially, by his correspondence, as this energetic church-leader of the fourth century.

Basil, it is true, had incomparable incentives to so wide

* He speaks of the severe and protracted winter having interrupted his correspondence with Theodotus. (Ep. 121, Theodoto Episcopo, &c.)

a range of correspondence, and incomparable advantages for it, in the political and ecclesiastical condition of the world at that time. Christendom and the civilized world then constituted one Church and one State. There were no denominations in the former, no independent nations in the latter. One imperial will on the shores of the Bosphorus gave laws to the world, from the confines of Persia to the Atlantic, and from the Danube to the deserts of Africa. The Church, with the exception of her remote missionary outposts, had the same limits with the Empire, and was undergoing a rapid assimilation to it in political spirit and form. There were, it is true, the geographical divisions of the East and the West, and the doctrinal distinctions of Arianism with its subdivisions, over against the general faith of the Church as established by the Council of Nice. But there were no sectarian lines. The Church visibly, formally, and nominally was one.* This unity, at once political and ecclesiastical, brought the whole world-wide Church under the eye of such a man as Basil, active in intellect, fervent in spirit, intimately associated in his educational years with many of the leading men of the Church and Empire, conspicuous from the first for his abilities and zeal, self-released by the surrender of his property from all worldly cares and ties, and so thinking, caring, and living only for the Church and the Faith, — holding, too, so important a position as that of metropolitan of Cappadocia and leader of the Nicene interests after the death of Athanasius. Christendom is, in modern times, so divided by national lines, and mustered into sectarian encampments, that no one man, however eminent, can hold such a relation to the whole Church as that which was occupied by Basil in the fourth century.

The great variety of persons to whom these letters were addressed increases their interest and value. To say nothing of his correspondence with the Emperor Julian, which is of doubtful authenticity, and the single letter to The-

* "All who hope in Christ," says Basil (Ep. 161), "are one people (εἷς λαός); all who are Christ's are now one Church (μία ἐκκλησία νῦν οἱ Χριστοῦ), though it be named from different *places*." The only denomination, then, was that derived from *place*.

odosius, which is clearly spurious, here are letters to persons of every political and social rank, from generals, counts, and governors of provinces to persons of the humblest grade; letters to the bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, Thessalonica, Milan, and other metropolitan churches, and to Christian ministers whose names are unnoticed in history, and their residences unknown to geography; letters to cities, senates, and bodies of magistrates; to national communities of Christians, to the bishops of the East and to the bishops of the West, to the bishops of the country and to the bishops of the sea-shore, to Christian congregations and to associations of recluses; letters to students, sophists, soldiers, courtiers, and exiles, — to widows, lapsed virgins, and "strong-minded women"; letters of introduction, of friendship, of counsel; — some, not more than three or four lines in length, containing some passing incident or expression of kindness, and not unfrequently of playful raillery, — a mere link to keep unbroken the chain of correspondence, — and others elaborating at great length some theological distinction pertaining to the controversies of the time, or clearing up some obscure passage of Scripture or case of conscience for the relief of an inquiring correspondent. Here we have an intercession with the government for poor miners, who found their taxes oppressive; there, a deprecation of imperial severity in behalf of a censitor whose accounts had become embarrassed; again, a solicitation of court patronage (never asked for himself) in behalf of a decayed gentleman; and yet again, an energetic remonstrance with despotic power against a *gerrymandering* scheme for cutting up Cappadocia. There are letters of advice to the young, of rebuke, tempered with true Christian lenity, to the fallen, and of eloquent consolation to the afflicted. So wide a range of subjects and of correspondents shows how the writer, though "pinned to his bed,"* as he expresses it, by almost continual illness, and scarcely able in the later years of his short life to attend a meeting of the synod in the next province without mortal peril, yet contrived to live all over the Church and Empire

* πῆχθεις τῇ κλίνῃ.

by his letters, — how keenly he watched every cloud that appeared above the horizon of the Universal Church, — and how widely and warmly he sympathized with every interest of humanity.

"The letters of St. Basil," says Dupin, "are the most learned and the most curious of all his books, and perhaps of all ecclesiastical antiquity. They are written with inimitable purity, majesty, and eloquence, and contain an infinite number of things. One may see there all the history of his time described to the life, the different characters of men, the opposite interests of parties, the motives which actuated both sides, and the intrigues which they made use of for carrying on their designs. The state of the Eastern and Western Churches is there described in lively and natural colors. He handles an infinite number of questions of doctrine, of discipline, and of morality, which he decides with much learning and prudence. There one may find many letters of consolation or exhortation, which are very edifying and pathetic; and even those which are complimentary are full of wit, and abound in solid and useful thoughts."

The absence of chronological order, and the frequent omission of other material circumstances, in the ancient editions of these letters, has been matter of general complaint. The modern practice of affixing invariably place, date, address, and signature * to a letter, if used by the ancients, would have saved a vast amount of critical sifting and weighing in the chronological adjustment of such documents, without which they are of course almost valueless to history. But these are among those simple but inestimable expedients which have been suggested by the long experience of mankind, minute

* The ancient letter seems to have been identified by the *handwriting* of the author. Basil (Ep. 223), defending himself against a charge founded on a letter said to have been written while he was at Athens to Apollinarius, says that the very letter itself which formed the ground of the charge was doubtful. "They could not know it," he adds, ἐκ τῶν τῆς ὑπογραφῆς σύμβολων (ex subscriptionis signis), "*inasmuch as they had not in their possession the original letter, but a copy.*" This shows that the ὑπογραφῆς σύμβολα were not the *signature* as understood by us, i. e. the name subscribed, but the proof of authorship by the handwriting. When an amanuensis was employed, *an autograph postscript* was the sign of genuineness. So Paul (2 Thes. iii. 17) says, "The salutation by the hand of me, Paul, which is *the sign* in every epistle," — "a token whereby all my letters may be known." (Conybeare and Howson.) This was like putting an autograph signature to a letter written by another hand.

accessories of a highly finished civilization, the perfection of which, like that of a great and complicated machinery, has been attained through a long series of successive inventions. To have *dated* a letter in ancient times, would indeed have been a difficult matter; as there was no generally recognized era from which to reckon, the birth of Christ having been first used as an era about the beginning of the sixth century, and thenceforward gradually becoming the chronological centre whence all time was calculated and every document dated.

For ascertaining the place as well as time of an ancient letter, we are thrown entirely on internal evidence. It seems curious and unaccountable that the writer should not have told where he was when his letter was written. All we can say is that he did not, except in special cases and for special purposes. The letters of Plato, Cicero, Pliny, and Basil are utterly without designation of place, unless it be mentioned incidentally. Those of Basil, whether from primitive omission or later carelessness, are sometimes unaccompanied by the name of the writer or the person addressed. Dupin tried his hand at amending the "Vetus Ordo," which was mere confusion. The "Novus Ordo" of the indefatigable Benedictines is the last result of critical labor and skill in their adjustment. It is certainly an advance on anything of an earlier date. But it is the judgment of Romanists and monks, who, however learned and candid, could not be supposed without bias in a matter having important historical bearings on their Church and order.

In this "New Arrangement," the letters of Basil are distributed into three "Classes"; — the first, consisting of forty-six, supposed to have been written before his episcopate, between A. D. 357 and 371; the second, containing two hundred and forty-six, written during his episcopate, from A. D. 370 to his death; the third, including the letters of uncertain date and doubtful authorship, and those bearing unquestionable evidence of other hands or later times.

Of Lives of Basil there has been no lack. Damascenus cites one by Helladius, his successor in the bishopric of Cæsarea. It is lost. Another has been attributed to Amphilochius. No man knew more profoundly the secrets of

his soul, or was better able to appreciate his character at every point, than the excellent Bishop of Iconium. But the work which bears his name is allowed on all hands to be a late and poorly executed imposture. Gregory of Nyssa, his brother, and Gregory of Nazianzus, his intimate friend, both pronounced at his death funeral orations, which include biographical notices. But funeral orations are not very trustworthy sources of true biography. The naked facts they state are not to be questioned; but in an estimate of the character of Basil, and of the influence of persons and events in forming it, more reliance is to be placed on the modest photograph of his own letters, than on the highly colored portraits of his brother and friend, both of which are disfigured by the exaggeration and superstition then so prevalent, from which no eminent man of the time appears to have been so free as Basil.

He was born in Cæsarea of Cappadocia about A. D. 329, of a noble and opulent family. His ancestors had been distinguished for the offices they had borne in the army and state, but were more illustrious in the memory of the Church for their firmness in confessing Christ even to exile and death. His maternal grandfather is said to have suffered martyrdom. His ancestors on the father's side were driven from their country by persecution, and wandered about in the "deserts and mountains," the "dens and caves," of northern Pontus. Better times and Christian emperors had restored them to their worldly possessions before the birth of Basil. His early education was conducted by his father, who bore the same name with himself, and is represented by both the Gregories as a person of extraordinary endowments as well as piety. It is remarkable enough that Basil has nowhere mentioned him, nor his sister Macrina, who is also represented by the Gregories as having exerted a most important influence in the formation of his character, while he is profuse and fervid in his acknowledgments to his grandmother and mother. From the private tuition of his father he passed into the public school or university of Cæsarea, then a renowned seat of learning, resided for some time at Constantinople, and finished his education at Athens. He appears to have gone to Athens about the

year 351, at the age of twenty-two, and to have left it in 355. Here he became acquainted with Julian, afterwards Emperor, and formed that close intimacy with Gregory Nazianzen which continued for life. He appears thus to have devoted a considerably longer period to study than is included in a full *cursus* of school and college education in these days. He had, however, given evidence of extraordinary talents (if we may believe the Gregories) before he entered on it; and the reputation which went before him from Constantinople to Athens, as Nazianzen assures us, joined with a certain shyness and austerity of manner, and probably his always infirm health, induced the students of the latter university to dispense, in his case, with *hazing*, or whatever initiatory torment was then in vogue. When he had completed his studies at Athens, he travelled extensively.* Egypt, Palestine, Cœlesyria, and Mesopotamia were among the countries he visited, induced principally by the desire of seeing the religious life of the far-famed anchorites who abounded in those regions, for he was then agitated by deep spiritual anxieties and longings which had not yet found repose in Christ.

About this time he lost his younger brother, Naucratius. This young man, according to Nyssen, after giving brilliant evidence of rare talents as an orator, had suddenly been "inspired by divine grace with disgust for the world," and had withdrawn into seclusion among the mountains of Pontus. The residence of his mother and sister was near enough to enable him to continue in the observance of filial and fraternal offices. A favorite servant, Chrysaphius, was his perpetual attendant. His principal occupation was to catch fish for the maintenance of some old and infirm recluses who lived around him. After living five years in this retirement, he was one day brought home dead with his attendant. The fertile imagination of Nyssen does not fail to throw a suggestion of mystery and miracle over his sudden death.

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* πολλὴν ἐπελθόντες γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν. (Ep. 204.) The allusion must be to this period of his life, for in later years he tells us that his infirmities fixed him in one spot "*like a tree planted in the soil*," (ὥσπερ τὰ φυτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ἀεὶ κατεχόμεθα.) That he sometimes, however, made tours of Christian labor and visitation through the different regions of Asia Minor, is evident from some even of his latest letters, e. g. Ep. 216.

This event may have served to give a more serious turn to the thoughts of Basil. Nyssen says that his sister Macrina, observing that he aspired with idolatrous enthusiasm to the culture of eloquence, and was elated with an intellectual pride which looked down with austere contempt even on earthly greatness and honor, sought earnestly to draw him to a Christian life, and succeeded the more easily on account of the satiety and disgust he already felt for the world.*

Basil himself speaks only of an interior efficacy † in the following account of his conversion, which occurs in a letter written long afterward to Eustathius of Sebaste: —

"After I had spent a long time in vanity, and wasted nearly all my youth in laboriously doing nothing, — inasmuch as I had passed it in the acquisition of that wisdom which God hath made foolish, — at length, awaking as from a deep sleep, I beheld the marvellous light of the truth of the Gospel, and I saw how utterly worthless is the wisdom of the princes of this world, who shall come to naught. I then wept much over my miserable life, and prayed that a hand might be extended to me to guide me to the doctrines of godliness. And, first of all, my care was to correct my way of life, which had been perverted by long association with evil men. And then when I read the Gospel, and learned therein that it is a very great help towards perfection to sell one's goods and make distribution to the poor brethren, and to live absolutely without care of this life, and to have the soul distracted by no sympathy with the things that now are, I prayed that I might find some brother who had chosen this way of life, so that with him I might pass together over this short wave of existence. And indeed I found many such at Alexandria, many in the rest of Egypt, others still in Palestine and Cœlesyria and Mesopotamia: whose temperate way of life I admired; I admired, too, their fortitude in labors; I was amazed at the intense

* Vit. Mac., p. 181. In his discourse on the Resurrection, which was occasioned by the death of Basil, he calls this accomplished and excellent lady at once "the sister and teacher" of his departed brother (ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ διδάσκαλος). She survived him; and this discourse on the Resurrection is in the form of a conversation with her. Its abstruse and metaphysical ideas are a proof of the extent to which the culture of Christian females was carried in the fourth century. Basil too (Ep. 223) says that his mature Christian knowledge and faith were nothing more than a development of the sentiments implanted in his mind, ἐκ παιδός, by his mother and grandmother. The discourse on the Resurrection is preserved in Wolfii Anecdota Græca, Tom. II.

† Which he calls elsewhere "the grace of him who hath called us with a holy calling to the knowledge of himself." The expression occurs in the course of a retrospect of his early religious life, Ep. 204, Ad Neo-Cæsarienses.

fervor of their prayers, and how they overcame sleep, and were bowed by no physical necessity, but maintained always a lofty and indomitable temper of soul, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, paying no attention to the body, nor allowing themselves to waste any thought upon it, but, living as if in the body of another, they showed indeed what it is to sojourn among the things here and to have one's conversation in heaven. I admired what I then saw, and esteemed the life of those men happy, because they show what it is in reality to bear about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, and I prayed that I too, as far as it was attainable by me, might resemble those men."—*Ep.* 222.

He appears to have planned with his friend Gregory, while at Athens, a retirement from the world for the purposes of study and devotion. Gregory declined the immediate execution of the project on account of the age and infirmities of his parents, which he thought made it wrong for him to absent himself from them. Basil, therefore, determined to accomplish his purpose alone.

This "secessus" of Basil* is a matter of considerable historical interest. It forms the principal ground on which he is represented by later historians as the father and founder of monastic institutions in that highly organized and widely extended form which gave them so powerful and baneful an influence in the subsequent history of the Church. This theory is neither true to history nor just to the character of Basil. To say the least, no adequate proof can be brought to sustain it from his own letters, though the Benedictine editors have done their best, by means of title, translation, margin, notes, and index, to bring them to that complexion. The ultimate ground of proof must of course be the example of Basil in his own "secessus." He alludes to it so often in the course of his letters, that there is no difficulty in showing how little it had in common with the monastic life of later times.

Impatient, he says, of the delays of his friend, he went off to explore Pontus in quest of a hermitage. He found a place in every way suited to his purpose on the banks of the river Iris. He thus describes it in a letter to his friend: † —

* Called by himself ἀποχώρησις, ἐσχατία.

† The passage here quoted is inserted by Humboldt in his Cosmos, as an instance of the high appreciation and enjoyment of nature which is discernible in the writings of the Christian Fathers. He thus introduces it: "I begin with a letter of the great Basil, which has long been an especial favorite with me."

"I believe I have at last found the end of my wanderings; my hopes of uniting myself with thee — my pleasing dreams, I should rather say, for the hopes of men have been justly called waking dreams — have remained unfulfilled. God has caused me to find a place, such as has often hovered before the fancy of us both; and that which imagination showed us afar off, I now see present before me. A high mountain, clothed with thick forest, is watered towards the north by fresh and ever-flowing streams; and at the foot of the mountain extends a wide plain, which these streams render fruitful. The surrounding forest, in which grow many kind of trees, shuts me in as in a strong fortress. This wilderness is bounded by two deep ravines; on one side, the river precipitating itself foaming from the mountain forms an obstacle difficult to overcome; and the other side is enclosed by a broad range of hills. My lodge is so placed on the summit of the mountain, that I overlook the extensive plain, and the whole course of the Iris, which is both more beautiful, and more abundant in its waters, than the Strymon near Amphipolis. The river of my wilderness, which is more rapid than any which I have ever seen, breaks against the jutting precipice, and throws itself foaming into the deep pool below, — to the mountain traveller an object on which he gazes with delight and admiration, and valuable to the native for the many fish which it affords. Shall I describe to thee the fertilizing vapors rising from the moist earth, and the cool breezes from the broken water? Shall I speak of the lovely song of the birds, and of the profusion of flowers? What charms me most of all is the undisturbed tranquillity of the district; it is only visited occasionally by hunters; for my wilderness feeds deer and herds of wild goats, not your bears and your wolves. How should I exchange any other place for this! Alcmæon, when he had found the Echenades, would not wander farther."— *Ep.* 14, *Gregorio Sodali.*

In this romantic retreat, which he assures his friend surpasses the island of Calpyso, as described by Homer, he by no means lived from

> "A scrip with herbs and fruit supplied,
> And water from the spring."

How well he was attended there comes to light incidentally from a letter to Candidianus (a magistrate, perhaps the governor of the province, and evidently associated with him by literary and friendly ties), in which he claims redress for an outrage on his dwelling.

"A servant of mine lately died. One of the peasants living in my neighborhood here at Annesi, without even the pretence of a claim on him, without any previous notice or request to me, assailed my dwelling with a band of rude fellows like himself, broke open the doors, beat the women servants in attendance, and carried off everything, taking part for himself, and leaving the rest to be plundered by his companions." — *Ep.* 3.

He demands the protection of Candidianus, and says that he must be perpetually exposed to such outrages, unless they are repelled by the energetic interposition of his official friend. He adds, however, that he would be satisfied if the man were "arrested by the pagarch, and shut up in jail a little while."

We do not expect to find men-servants and women-servants in attendance upon the abode of a veritable anchorite. Its contents would be hardly worth plundering. The last request, too, scarce breathes the spirit of a monk or a martyr. The beginning of this same letter "to Candidianus" is as little redolent of monastic austerity.

"My impressions on receiving your letter were worth telling. I shrank from it, expecting that politics, or public business, would be its burden; and while I was breaking the wax, I looked at it with a dread such as no Spartan under impeachment ever felt on handling the scytale. But when I had opened and read it, I had a good laugh, — partly from relief on finding that it contained no news, and partly from a comparison of your condition with that of Demosthenes. When he was obliged to take charge of a chorus, he said that he ought no longer to be called Demosthenes, but Choragus. But you, who have more than ten thousand soldiers in charge, write me in the same quiet strain as usual, and are as much as ever addicted to your books."

"Annesi," which he mentions above as the place of his retirement, — and the name occurs nowhere else but in two of his letters, — appears to have been a hamlet on the Iris, perhaps an estate belonging to his family; for just beyond the river was a residence of his mother, with whom he was "in communion night and day," not on subjects suggested by natural affection, but on those "spiritual things" which were uppermost in both their hearts. It was by this good, kind mother that his residence on the Iris was furnished and sup-

ported. Her society and her liberal arrangements for his comfort alike forbid the idea of a properly monastic isolation and austerity.

Such a retreat, surrounded by scenery of romantic beauty, in a most comfortably-appointed home, with beloved and accomplished relatives within call, and cheered by occasional visits from his friends, is quite another thing from the "hairy gown and mossy cell," and studied self-privations and self-tortures, which were essential to the later monachism. And when we add, (a circumstance to which Basil gives a tempting prominence in his description to Gregory,) that the region abounded in deer and fish, we cannot help thinking there would be no lack of cenobites, even in these self-indulgent days, who would relish just such a "secessus," and who go annually to Moosehead Lake and the Adirondacks in quest of a retirement not *materially* differing from this far-famed hermitage of Basil on the banks of the Iris.

That passionate delight in nature which the delicate criticism of Humboldt has traced in the writings of Basil, added to a natural love of retirement so strong that, he says, he "shrank from publicity," and "courted solitude," and "no life seemed to him more happy than one of complete seclusion from the world," — probably had much to do with his retired sojourn in Pontus. The general impulse which, from Egypt and the East, was then spreading to other parts of Christendom, doubtless strengthened these constitutional tendencies. But often as he has alluded to that period of his life in his letters, he nowhere speaks of the maceration of the body by privations and austerities as forming any part of his design. He went into retirement, he says, "to form his plan of life," and "to escape the tumults of political life."

"A longing came upon me," he writes, "for divine truth, and undisturbed meditation upon it. How, thought I, can I subdue the depravity which dwells within us? Who shall become Laban to me, and shelter me from the pursuit of Esau? Who shall take me by the hand and lead me to the highest wisdom?" — *Ep.* 8.

How far the hopes of spiritual melioration which had drawn him into retirement were fulfilled, may be learned from a very fine passage in one of his letters to Gregory. To Basil's

tempting description of his retreat, Gregory had replied, that it did not so much matter where he was, as what he was about, and how he was succeeding in the object which they both had at heart. Basil rejoins: —

"I knew your letter as people know the children of their friends by their likeness to their parents. That remark, that the charms and advantages of my retreat could not tempt you to join me unless you knew the way I was passing my time and the progress I was making, was just like yourself, — a true expression of that spirit which esteems the things of this life as nothing in comparison with the blessedness laid up for us in the promises. Well, then, what I am doing night and day in this remote solitude I really am ashamed to tell you. For I forsook the crowd and bustle of the city as the occasion of innumerable ills, but *I have not been able to leave myself behind.* I am, in truth, like people at sea, unaccustomed to navigation, and therefore ill at ease and sea-sick, who fret at the great size of the vessel, as if that were the cause of the rolling and pitching, and so get out into a cock-boat or pinnace, and still roll and pitch and retch, and are as sea-sick as ever; for their discomfort, with the disturbed bile which causes it, goes along with them. My case is very much the same. For carrying about with me as I do my indwelling lusts,* I am everywhere in the like disquietude. So that *I have derived no great advantage from this solitude.*" — *Ep.* 2.

A memorable confession, which ought to have gone far to correct any monastic tendencies in his writings or his example.

Basil's ideas of Christian culture and virtue, and of the Christian life, are such as cannot be reconciled with the maxims and the spirit of fully-developed monachism. Take, for example, the following fine letter "To a Soldier": —

"My late journey left me many occasions of gratitude to my gracious Lord, and I esteem as one of the greatest of them, the opportunity it afforded me, honored sir, of forming your acquaintance. In you I beheld a man giving actual proof that, even in a military life, it is possible to maintain, in its utmost fervor and constancy, the love of God, and that a Christian should be distinguished, not by the peculiar-

* Τὰ γὰρ ἔνοικα πάθη συμπεριφερόντες. This description of his inner life may be compared with a remark of his cited by the Benedictine biographer from Cassianus: "Fertur S. Basilii Cæsariensis episcopi districta sententia: *Et mulierem,* inquit, *ignoro, et virgo non sum.*"

ity of his dress, but by the disposition of his soul. My intercourse with you inspired me with great affection for you; and the pleasure it gave me is renewed at every remembrance of it. Quit thyself, therefore, like a man; be strong; give all diligence to cherish the love of God and to increase it many fold, that the ministration of his blessings to you may also abound more and more. Of your kind remembrance of me I need no other proof than the testimony of your actions." — *Ep.* 106.

A gentleman who had resigned an important magistracy from the love of retirement he thus exhorts to resume his office, for the glory of God and the public welfare: —

"You write me that public life is annoying and oppressive to you. I knew it before. It was long ago observed, that those who are laboring to form themselves to virtue are disinclined to public offices. The life of magistrates is in this respect like that of physicians. They behold sad sights, and go through painful experiences. They feel the calamities and sufferings of others as if they were their own. I speak, of course, of those magistrates who deserve the name. For those who look upon life as a mere mercantile speculation, who are ever on the watch for gain, and dote upon honor and notoriety, — such men esteem it the greatest blessing to be an office-holder, since it enables them to advance their friends, to crush their enemies, and to gratify their own wishes. But you are not a man of that stamp. You have withdrawn of your own accord from a high political station; and when it was in your power to rule a city as if it were a single family, you have preferred a tranquil and untroubled life, esteeming a quiet and humble lot a greater blessing than the haughty elevation which others prize so highly. But since it is the will of the Lord that Iboris should not be under the rule of knaves and hucksters, and that the appraisement and taxation should not be like the dealings of a slave-market, but that every man should be registered, rated, and taxed fairly and according to justice, accept the office, however disagreeable it be to you, as giving you an opportunity of pleasing and of serving God. Fulfil it without the fear of power or the contempt of poverty; but maintaining towards those you govern an equity more delicate than the poise of the most accurate scales. So shall your zeal for justice be manifest to those who have confided the office to you, and you will win the general esteem. Or if you even fail of that, our God will not forget you, who encourages us to good works by the promise of great rewards." — *Ep.* 299.

These letters certainly do not breathe the spirit of an ere-

mite. That Basil felt and yielded to the influence then moving over Christendom like a breeze which gradually stiffens into a furious and resistless gale, is not to be doubted. His own temporary seclusion, the association for religious culture formed under his auspices at Cæsarea, and many things in his letters, as well as other writings, prove this. But, without attempting nicely to estimate his historical relations to the monachism of the Middle Age, we only affirm that what he taught and practised was a totally different thing. He assumed no religious vows, and we may naturally conclude that he imposed none upon others; his system did not include community of goods; he says nothing in disparagement of marriage, or of domestic and social affections and duties, and his societies (if he really formed any besides that which he mentions at Cæsarea) appear to have been associations more or less isolated from the world, and passing their time in prayer, praise, and the study of the Scriptures, laboring with their own hands to support themselves and to minister to the poor.* We do not discern in this system the severer features of the later monachism.

About seven years seem to have intervened between the completion of his course at Athens and his full entrance on the Christian ministry. He does not appear to have been ordained presbyter till the year 364, when he was thirty-five years old. This scrupulous tardiness in assuming the ministerial office was a characteristic of the period. Basil, however, was not idle the meanwhile. He wrote his "Moralia," perhaps his books against Eunomius, within that interval. He kept up an extensive correspondence. He was probably employed as a teacher of youth, his admirable "Discourse to the Young" on the study of the ancient Greek writers having been evidently addressed to young men under his care. Several of his letters appear to have been written to his pupils and to their parents. How long a portion of this interval he passed in his retirement in Pontus it is impossible to deter-

* Such at least was the theory, ἐργαζόμενοι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν χερσίν. (Ep. 207.) Gregory says (Ep. 8) they would have starved if their wants had not been supplied by the timely bounty of Basil's mother. The later history of manual-labor institutions has been much the same.

mine. In one of his letters to the Neo-Cæsareans he alludes to his having spent several years at a retired and modest residence of his family near their city, which had been inherited by his brother Peter, to escape the tumults of the world, and give himself to undisturbed study and meditation. We cannot well find room for these "several continuous years" in any other part of his life than the interval between his departure from Athens and his entrance on the ministry at Cæsarea.

The letters contained in the second "Classis" are supposed to have been written during the episcopate of Basil. His predecessor in that office at Cæsarea was Eusebius. Basil several years before had received some affront from him which induced him to withdraw from the scene of his labors at Cæsarea and indulge his love of retirement by another "secessus." A reconciliation was, however, brought about by the good offices of Gregory, and Basil, says Gregory, had so commended himself after his return by his reverential deportment and pastoral assiduity, that the good, though somewhat infirm and mutable Eusebius, "peacefully breathed out his soul in the arms of Basil," about A. D. 370.

Great was the anxiety with which the election to so important a place was anticipated. The bishops were still chosen by the general suffrages of the congregation. The language of Ammianus in describing the competition of Damasus and Ursinus for the bishopric of Rome indicates that the popular sovereignty was still acknowledged even there.* A letter of Basil himself to the people of Neo-Cæsarea on the death of their bishop thus summons them to a conscientious and earnest discharge of their collective duty of providing a successor.

"Fierce wolves, hiding their treacherous nature under sheep's clothing, are everywhere rending the flock of Christ. Against such you must defend yourselves by the guardianship of some watchful pastor. To seek him is yours, — and in doing this, purify your souls from all strife and love of leadership; to point him out to you is the Lord's, — who since the great Gregory presided over your church, down to him who has just departed, has ever added and adapted one to another, so as to make the history of your church beautiful as a setting of very

* Amm. Marc. Valentin. et Valens, XXVII. 3. This election took place A. D. 367.

precious stones. You are not therefore to despair of the future. For the Lord knoweth them that are his, and can bring before us those whom we look not for..... I adjure you, therefore, by your fathers, by the pure faith of your church, by this excellent man whom you have lost, to stir up your souls, and, each one esteeming the matter in hand his own proper concern, and remembering that he must share in the consequences of the measures now taken, whether for good or evil, not to devolve on his neighbor the care of the common interest; and afterwards, in consequence of each one making light of his share of responsibility, all unconsciously draw upon themselves the calamitous consequences of neglect." — *Ep.* 28, *Ecclesiæ Neo-Cæsariensi Consolatoria.*

Basil ends a letter of consolation to the church of Ancyra, under the like circumstances, with these words, — after dwelling on the happy unanimity which the church had enjoyed under the care of its deceased pastor: "There is no small peril lest the strifes and dissensions which spring up at the election of a bishop should overturn all his work."

It was not uncommon for vacant churches to invite bishops of approved piety and wisdom to assist them in the choice of a pastor. A bishop deemed it in every way appropriate to his office to visit a church bereaved of their pastor, and offer them his sympathy and counsels. When the church was that of a metropolis, as in the case of Cæsarea, the presbyters sometimes sent such invitations. Both the clergy and people of Cæsarea had on this occasion requested the good and venerable Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus, father of Basil's friend of the same name, (for a bishop might still honestly be a father,) to come without failure to Cæsarea, and use his influence to bring the pending election to a good result. This urgent request called forth the following letter from Gregory to Eusebius of Samosata.

"O that I had wings like a dove! O that this aged frame might renew its youth, so that I might hasten to you, my dear friend, and at once gratify the longing I have to see you, and disclose to you the sorrows of my soul, and through you find some consolation in my troubles! The good Eusebius has gone to sleep! And no small anxiety has come upon us lest those who have for some time been lying in ambush for the church of our metropolis, and trying to fill it with the tares of heresy, may seize on this opportunity and root out the seeds of piety which have been sown in the souls of men, and replace them with their own

mischievous doctrines, and so break up the unity of this church, as they have of many others. And since I have received letters from the clergy entreating me not to be out of sight on so important an occasion, I have looked about in every direction, and have bethought myself of you, dear brother, and of your pure faith, and of the zeal which you always have for the churches of God. And for this cause I have sent the beloved Eustathius, our fellow-deacon, to entreat you, reverend sir, and to importune you, to add this also to all your labors for the churches; and to refresh my old age by your fellowship; and to establish in this church of pure faith that piety which is spoken of throughout the world, by giving to it along with me (if I shall be deemed worthy to share the labor with you) a pastor after the will of the Lord, who shall be able to guide his people. We have, in fact, before our eyes a man who is not unknown to you. If we shall succeed in obtaining him, I feel sure that we shall acquire great confidence towards God, and confer a very great blessing on the people who have summoned us. I entreat you, therefore, again and often, to put aside every hinderance, and to come before the severities of the winter have set in."

The candidate so mysteriously hinted at by the good Gregory in the above letter — it was perilous in those days to put confidential matters on paper* — was Basil. Eusebius obeyed the summons of his friend, and, with the two Gregories, exerted himself to procure the election of a candidate equally known and esteemed by them all. The extremely feeble health of Basil was objected; but the elder Gregory reminded the people that they were going to choose, "not a boxer, but a bishop," and that "the strength of the Lord was made perfect in the weakness of his servant." The choice fell upon Basil; and in the year 370, when he was about forty-one years old, he entered on the charge of the metropolitan church of Cæsarea.

How assiduously he fulfilled this office, with what unwearied exertions as a preacher, a pastor, and a curator of the young and the poor, he ministered to his own immediate flock; with what public spirit he watched over the interests of his country, and labored to shield it from oppression, and to advance its welfare by the exertion of his influence with the great; how earnestly he toiled for the unanimity and peace of all Christendom, seeking a "Broad

* So Basil says (Ep. 9), and warns his friend to come to him for a personal interview, *καὶ μὴ γράμμασιν ἀψύχοις καταπιστεύειν τὰ τηλικαῦτα.*

Church" comprehension which should bind together the East and the West in the bonds of a common faith, communion, and affection; with what a large humanity he strove to do good to men everywhere, always on the principle that the Gospel includes a remedy for every disorder and misery of mankind,* — these letters and his other works, as well as the funeral eulogies of his friends and the testimonies of Church historians, give ample proof.

Many interesting details of his ministrations come to light in his letters and homilies. They quite surpassed anything in modern times, in the way of frequent services. He held morning and evening services in his church for prayer, praise, and exposition of the Scriptures. The terms used will by no means admit of being understood in our sense of *forenoon* and *afternoon* assemblies. They were held at the dawn and close of the day. He says in one of his homilies, that he brought the service to a close in order that those who were occupied with labor for their daily subsistence might go to their customary occupations, meditating the meanwhile on what they had heard, and seasoning their repasts with the recollection and discussion of it, and return, with minds released from worldly cares, to "an evening banquet on the word of God." Their assemblages could not, therefore, have been held exclusively on the Lord's day, which was appropriated to rest and worship. Some of his most elaborate and admired productions were delivered at these morning and evening meetings. His homilies on the Creation are among them. A free and colloquial tone pervades all his public discourses, and they appear to have been delivered extemporaneously.† He speaks of the eagerness with which the people crowded to hear the word of God, and yet there were some who stood around him to mock and ridicule. On one occasion he accounts for his late appearance at the service by saying that he had just come from ministering to a distant church, — a proof that he fulfilled the office of a

* He says (Ep. 261) that "our Lord went through all things pertaining to ministration to the race of men" (*πάντα διεξελθὼν τὰ εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν ἥκοντα τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων*).

† *ἀγράφως .. ἀεὶ .. ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ διελέχθημεν.* Ep. 223.

bishop in the primitive way, by doing at the same time "the work of an evangelist." Even here, too, we are reminded of the ill-health under which he constantly labored, when he tells the congregation that "the failure of his voice by reason of the infirmity of his body" compelled him to bring his discourse to an end.

The Neo-Cæsareans accused him of introducing novelties into divine worship in his church at Cæsarea. His defence, completed from incidental notices in his homilies, presents us with a very full and distinct picture of the service. "With us," he says, "the people go at the dawn, before it is light,* to the house of prayer, and in labor and affliction and continual tears confess their sins to God. At length they rise from prayer," (which would thus seem to have been offered in a kneeling posture,) "and engage in singing psalms." He speaks of prayers at the dawn and in the evening as a customary practice in the churches. He says that there arose from his congregation a mingled sound of the voices of men, women, and little children, as the sound of many waters, adoring God. It is quite plain, therefore, that the whole congregation took an audible part in the service. He insists much on the use of the voice by every member of the congregation in public worship, often citing that passage, "In his temple doth *every one speak* his praise." But there were no forms of prayer. He recommends that each one should compile from the Scriptures prayers adapted to his own wants. Every worshipper was supposed to offer up the congregational confession, with a mental application to his own particular sins.† The communion was administered four times a week. Litanies or confessions of sin, it appears, were also a part of public worship in the church of Neo-Cæsarea. Thus Basil replies to his accusers: —

"You accuse me of innovation because I have introduced certain changes in the worship of the Church. You say, such things were not in use in the time of the great Gregory. But neither were the litanies which are now part of your worship. I do not say this to accuse you. I could wish that you all passed your lives in tears

* ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθριζει.

† ἴδια ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος τὰ ῥήματα τῆς μετανοίας ποιούμενοι. No other confessional is hinted at by Basil than "the throne of grace."

and continual repentance. We, too, offer up litanies for the pardon of our sins. But there is this difference: we do not, as you do, propitiate our God in human words, but in the utterances of the Spirit."

The music of the Church was with him an object of special attention and culture. He was a true Greek in his love of music, and his delicate appreciation of the influence of its different styles. He dissuades his youth from indulging in that soft and enervating music which slackens the tone of the spirit and disposes to voluptuousness, and exhorts them to cultivate that severer and higher kind which contributes to mental vigor and promotes all good and manly dispositions. As every work and joy of life among the ancient Greeks was cheered and elevated by appropriate song, so Basil sought to introduce into Christian life a taste and a habit which he deemed so conducive at once to goodness and to happiness.

"Hymns should alternate," he says, "with prayers and reading of the Scriptures. Hymns should refresh, and, as it were, season labor. The soothing influence of hymns conduces to that serene and joyous condition of soul which is the beginning of inward purification. What is more blessed than to imitate on earth the harmony of angels? The work of angels is to adore God. The whole army of heavenly beings has no other employment than to give glory to the Creator. The whole creation, whether mute or endowed with voice, whether heavenly or earthly, glorifies the Creator. While thy tongue sings his praises, let thine heart explore the sentiments uttered, that thou mayest sing with the spirit and with the understanding." — *Ep.* 2.

One of the innovations so bitterly charged upon him by the Neo-Cæsareans, was the introduction of antiphonal singing.

"As to this charge," he says, "respecting psalmody, by which my calumniators disturb the minds of simple people, I have this to say. The arrangements I have made are in full conformity with the practice of the churches of God. . . . . When the people rise from prayer they engage in singing psalms. And now, distributed into two classes, they sing in response to each other, thereby at once strengthening their apprehension of divine truth, and acquiring an intent and undistracted frame of spirit. Then one chorister leads the strain and the rest sing in concert. And so, with various psalmody, intermingled with prayers, they finish the night, and usher in the morning; and when the dawn

appears, all together, as with one mouth and one heart, offer to the Lord the psalm of confession. . . . . If these things offend you in us, go to the Egyptians, go to the inhabitants of both Libyas, to the people of Thebaïs and of Palestine, to the Arabs, Phœnicians, Syrians, and the dwellers on the Euphrates; and all those without exception who observe watchings and prayers, hold also in high esteem congregational psalmody."

When the Emperor Valens, with his court, attended service in the church of Cæsarea, according to the account of Gregory Nazianzen, he was astonished at the multitude of worshippers, the order and beauty of the service, and the magnificence of the music, which seemed to him like the roll of thunder, or like the harmony of angelic choirs. Some allowance must always be made for Gregory's fondness for superlatives.

About the year 372 he was making preparations to erect certain edifices in the neighborhood of Cæsarea in connection with his ecclesiastical and benevolent plans, on so extensive a scale as to startle and displease Helias, the governor of the province, though "a Christian and a friend." Basil's explanation (it can hardly be called a defence) is interesting, at once as an exposition of his plans, and as a specimen of his tone in addressing the great on matters which he courteously but firmly insisted belonged only to the Church and its ministers.

"To Helias, Governor of the Province:—

"It was my purpose to have waited on your excellency in person, that I might not stand on less favorable ground than my accusers by reason of my absence. But as bodily infirmity (lately much more severe than usual) has hindered me, I am compelled to rely on a letter. . . . . I desire that those who have disturbed your mind with suspicions of my designs should be asked what harm the public has received from me, or what damage, small or great, has resulted to the general interest by my ministration to the churches, — unless it be represented as a public damage to have erected to our God a house of prayer magnificently appointed, and adjoining it a residence, suitable for a gentleman,* to be occupied by the bishop, and other dwellings in due

* οἴκησιν ἐλευθέριον. Not at all consistent with the theory of the Benedictine biographer, that "he lived in a monastery at Cæsarea." As little is the invitation to Hesychius, in a letter assigned to an earlier date (Ep. 64), to come and visit him at his old fireside (τῇ παλαιᾷ ἑστίᾳ ἡμῶν), which looks as if he were then inhabiting a paternal residence.

order, for those who have the care of the church, the attendants on divine service, — the common use of which is open to you, our rulers, and your suites. And whom do we wrong when we build lodging-places for strangers, — both those who are mere passers-by, and those who are sick, and therefore need attendance and medical treatment, — and when we provide all that is necessary to their comfort and relief, such as nurses, physicians, bearers, escorts? Such arrangements must necessarily include various arts, both those which are needful to life and those which have been invented to adorn and elevate it, as well as houses and shops for mechanics and artisans. All these buildings are an ornament to the place, and a reputable thing for our governor, to whom the credit of them redounds. . . . . And let not your excellency suppose that this is a mere scheme of ours; for we are already at work, and have accumulated the materials. So much for my defence before you as governor of Cappadocia. But as to the carpings of malicious fault-finders, the vindication which I owe you as a Christian and a friend who has my reputation at heart, — I shall not attempt that now, for my letter has already exceeded the due length; and besides, some things which I have to say it is not safe to intrust to a lifeless letter. I shall have an interview with you erelong. But, lest your kind estimation of me should suffer some interruption from the calumnies of certain persons in the mean time, do as Alexander did. When an information was presented to him, it is said, against one of his officers, he turned one ear to the accuser and closed the other firmly with his hand, signifying that he who would form a just judgment must not give himself up altogether to the party who gets the first hearing, but reserve half of the audience, without preoccupation or prejudice, for the absent defendant." — *Ep.* 94.

The governor seems to have interposed no further opposition to the bold and vigorous bishop, and that the execution was at least equal to the project appears from the following passage in the funeral discourse of Gregory Nazianzen, where he speaks of this extensive suite of buildings as one of the monuments of the large philanthropy of his friend.

"Step forth beyond the walls of the city, and you will see a new city, that treasure of piety, that deposit of wealth, where not only the superfluities of the rich but the necessaries of the poor were, by his exhortations, accumulated; thus shaking off moths, disappointing thieves, escaping the decays of time; — where sickness is at once nursed and instructed, where sympathy is exercised, and misfortune itself becomes a blessing. What, now, in comparison with such a work, the seven-

gated Thebes, and all the glories of Egypt, and the Babylonian walls, and the Carian Mausoleum, and store of Corinthian bronzes, and temples once vast and magnificent, now deserted and ruinous, which conferred nothing but a short-lived celebrity on their builders."* — *Op. Greg. Naz.* Tom. I. pp. 316 *et seq.*

It appears, then, that he derived the means for the great outlay which such a scheme required from the free contributions of Christians. Gibbon's statement, that the "Emperor subscribed the donation of a valuable estate" towards the object, does not appear to be supported by any historical evidence. If imperial bounty had borne so large a share in the expense, Gregory, from his relations to Constantinople and the court, would doubtless have noticed the circumstance. It is inconsistent, too, with Basil's letter to Helias, in relation to this very matter, where he simply expresses the hope that "our great sovereign, observing the solicitudes that press upon us, will *leave us to administer the churches by ourselves*,"† but neither acknowledges nor asks any assistance from the royal treasury. The whole enterprise stands forth as a gratifying proof of the power of the "voluntary principle," even under the despotic system of the fourth century.

Such gigantic enterprises contrast strangely with his own personal poverty. He speaks of "this poverty wherein I abide with God." In a letter to some unknown friend he alludes to his foster brother, "who," he says, "is at much inconvenience for my support, inasmuch as I have, as you well know, no private property, but am supported by my friends and relatives." These letters are supposed to have been written before he entered on his episcopate. But some

* "This noble and charitable foundation," says Gibbon, alluding to the same work, "(almost a new city), surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon." — Dec. and Fall, Vol. IV. p. 269, n.

† ἐâσαι ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τὰς ἐκκλησίας οἰκονομεῖν. (Ep. 94.) We remember no instance in which Basil, either for himself or for the Church, asks any favors from the government. He was in spirit, and in practice as far as the age would permit, a "voluntary." His letter "to Demosthenes," Ep. 225 (cf. 238), shows a vivid sense of the degradation and weakness incurred by the Church in accepting the patronage, and of course the dictation, of the state. It began already to be apparent, to use the striking words of Bunsen, that "evangelical and apostolical freedom received its death-blow from the same police crutch which had been given it for support."

of those which were written afterward are in the same strain. To the collector of revenues he says: "No man knows my poverty so well as your excellency, who have sympathized with me and borne with my unavoidable delays, to the utmost possible extent, without allowing your kind heart to be turned from its purpose by the threats of those in power." His letters were retarded by the want of a scribe or copyist. He excuses himself for retaining a volume sent him by Diodorus on the same plea, adding, "I have not yet been able to obtain the services of a copyist, — to such a degree of poverty have the boasted riches of Cappadocia been reduced."

He here alludes to the disastrous effects of the division of Cappadocia. That extensive province, corresponding formerly to the ancient kingdom of Cappadocia, was divided by the Emperor Valens, about A. D. 372, into two parts, Cappadocia Prima and Secunda. Basil's opposition to the measure has been imputed to prelatical ambition, chagrined by the curtailment of his diocese and the diminution of his suffragans. His own correspondence in relation to it would lead us to form a more charitable opinion of his motives. His account of the effects of the division on the once opulent and splendid metropolis, Cæsarea,* his own native city and the scene of his labors, is as follows: —

"Those assemblies, lectures, and coteries of learned men about the forum, — all, in fact, that erewhile made our city famous, are no longer here. The barbaric rudeness of multitudes of Scythians and Massagetæ has taken their place. The voice of exactors and the cry of the oppressed under the strokes of the scourge are the sounds we now hear. The porticos everywhere re-echo the dismal sound. The Gymnasia are shut up, *the streets no longer illuminated.* A part of the Senators have forsaken the city, preferring a perpetual exile at Podandum to a residence at home." — *Ep.* 74.

The death of that loving and generous mother, whose society cheered and solaced him, while her thoughtful kindness mitigated the severities of his voluntary poverty, is thus alluded to in a letter to "the friend of his soul," Eusebius of Samosata: —

* "Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia, was supposed to contain four hundred thousand inhabitants." — Gibbon, Vol. IV. p. 439.

"If I should tell you of all the causes which to this time have hindered me from coming to see you, as I wished to do, it would be an endless story. One attack of sickness after another, a severe winter, continual occupations, — all these are well known to you, my excellent friend, and so I forbear to repeat them. But now I have a new sorrow. She who was the only consolation of my life, my mother, has, for my sins, been taken away from me. Do not now smile that a man of my age should bewail his orphanage. But pardon me rather for bearing with so little fortitude the loss of one whom the whole world that survives cannot replace to me. Again, therefore, sickness is upon me: again I am laid on my bed, and the little strength left in me so utterly shaken, that every hour that passes I am ready to look upon as the last. The churches are in a condition very much like that of my body, — no good hope appearing,* and things tending ever from bad to worse..... Wherefore, faint not in prayer, nor cease to importune God in behalf of the churches." — *Ep.* 30.

None of these letters, probably, are more illustrative of the man and of the times than those which were written in the ordinary fulfilment of the cure of souls, — a work which, physically disabled as he was, he must, to an unusual extent, have performed with the pen and in the shape of letters. Of this class is the following, "To Harmatius," — a Pagan highly esteemed for his social virtues, — whose son had been converted to Christianity. Basil thus deprecates the displeasure of the father, and pleads for the liberty of the son. The absolute power with which the Roman law invested the father will account for the earnestness of its tone.

"Do not consider me intrusive, if I intercede with you in behalf of your son. In all things else I admit that you justly claim his obedience; for he is in subjection to you as it respects the body, both by the law of nature and by these civil relations which bind us together. The soul, however, which is derived from a diviner source, we must regard as subject to another, and that it owes an obedience to God which has priority of all other obligations. Since, then, your son has chosen our God, the God of the Christian, the true God, in preference to the numerous divinities whom you worship through material symbols, be not offended with him; rather admire his moral courage, that he has thought it of greater importance to become one of the household of

* ὑποφαινομένης, often used of the first light of the dawn.

God through the knowledge of the truth and a holy life, than even to comply with the promptings of filial fear and reverence. Nature itself will plead with you, and that mildness and humanity which characterizes you on all occasions, not, for a moment even, to make him the object of your resentment. Do not reject also my intercession in his behalf, rather, I might say, the intercession through me of all your fellow-citizens, who, because they love you, and pray for all blessings upon you, really thought, when they heard of your son's conversion, that you had yourself become a Christian. Such a general joy did the sudden news of the event diffuse through the city." — *Ep.* 276.

Cæsarius, brother of Gregory Nazianzen, had an extraordinary escape from the great earthquake which overwhelmed Nice, A. D. 368. Though embedded in the masses of ruined buildings, he was uninjured. Basil addressed to him, on the occasion, the following letter: —

"Thanks to God who has shown forth his marvellous works in you, and from so great a death has preserved you to your country,* and to us who love you! It remains for us not to be unthankful or unworthy of such signal kindness, but to publish, as far as we can, the wonderful works of God, and to sing the praises of that goodness we have experienced; and not in words only to make grateful returns for it, but in act and life. You have already served God. Serve him, I entreat you, yet more earnestly; ever increasing in his fear, and going on to perfection, that we may be wise stewards of that life which he has given us to dispense. For if it is enjoined on all to present themselves to God as those who are alive from the dead, how much more on those who have been lifted up from the gates of death! And this, I think, will be best accomplished, if we resolve always to retain that state of mind which we had in the very moment of peril. For then I think the mind is deeply penetrated with the thought of the vanity of life, and that there is nothing stable or trustworthy in human things, which are liable to such quick vicissitudes. Then, too, repentance is awakened by the review of the past; and for the future, a purpose, if our life is preserved, of serving God and watching over ourselves with all diligence. Such, or something like them, were, I suppose, the thoughts which passed through your own mind, if the apprehension of impending death left you the power of reflection. We are, therefore, under a debt to God which a grateful life must pay. Full of gratitude that God has given you back to us, and deeply anxious too for the consequences of

* Cæsarius held an important post in Bithynia.

the event, I have ventured to make these suggestions to you. Receive them kindly and favorably, as you have always done what I have spoken to you in person." — *Ep.* 26.

A Christian lady desired an interview with him in some unexplained affliction or perplexity. He thus replies: —

"I hope to find a convenient day for the interview you request, after certain meetings which I am about to appoint in the hill country. No other opportunity of meeting you, except it be in the way of public ministration, appears, unless the Lord should order it, beyond my expectation. . . . . But since you have the teaching and consolation of the divine Scriptures, you will not need me nor any other to assist you to the perfect discovery of duty, having the all-sufficient counsel of the Holy Spirit, and his guidance to that which is best." — *Ep.* 283, *Ad Viduam.*

In this multifarious correspondence the Christian and the Christian minister seldom disappear. Even the shortest notes often contain a direct and fervid exhortation to piety. From secular or church business, and from the language of friendship or of compliment, he passes, without apologetic transition, to "this one thing," as if with a majestic assertion at once of his right and duty, to "warn every man and teach every man," "in season and out of season."

He had borrowed some mules from a noble lady. To the courteous acknowledgment with which he returns them, he adds some brief spiritual admonitions; among others, "continually to keep before her eyes her departure from this world, and to have her whole life in harmony with the defence which must then be made before a Judge who cannot be deceived, and who will reveal the secrets of all hearts in the day of his visitation. Present my salutations," he adds, "to your noble daughter. I entreat her continually to study the oracles of God, that her soul may be nourished in good doctrine, and that she may grow in mental even more rapidly than in bodily stature."

A note of some half a dozen lines, without epigraph, but apparently addressed to some friend who had risen to high political position, thus concludes: —

"I pray God to advance you more and more in honor and dignity,

and to make your virtue a blessing to us and to your whole country. And I exhort you, in all your life, to remember God who created you and has raised you to honor; that, as you have had a brilliant career in this life, you may also obtain the heavenly glory; for which we must do all things and shape our whole life to that blessed hope." — *Ep.* 326.

A letter bearing the inscription, "To Chilo, his Disciple,"* contains the following counsels: —

"By little and little withdraw from the world, abolishing gradually thy circle of habits and acquaintance, lest, making war upon all pleasures at once, thou bring upon thyself a host of temptations." — *Ep.* 42.

This breathes, though in a moderate form, the ascetic spirit. Perhaps it may be found, to a fully equal extent, in Leighton's "Rules and Directions for a Holy Life," which are quite as much out of tone with his sermons and commentaries, as the "Regulæ" of Basil, and some passages in his letters, with the general strain of his writings. He adds: —

"With manifold temptations is the believer tried; with worldly losses, calumnies, controversies, persecutions. Under all these be thou quiet, not forward in speech, not contentious, not disputatious, not desirous of vainglory, ... ever ready to learn rather than to teach."

His letters of consolation are among the finest in the collection; and certainly manifest a warmer sympathy with domestic losses and sorrows than could be expected from a thoroughgoing ascetic. Here are some of the consolations which he addresses "To Nectarius," on the death of an only son in infancy: —

"God only knows how he apportions to each one that which is best, and why he sets such unequal limits to our life. It is utterly inscrutable to men why it is that some are removed hence so soon, and others left to toil and suffer on for a long while, in this troublous life. We must therefore adore, in all things, the kindness and love of God towards man, and not think hardly of his allotments; calling to mind the noble sentiment uttered by that great combatant, Job, when he saw ten chil-

* In the Codex Regius 2895, this letter is ascribed to St. Nilus, who lived a century later; and it certainly presents ascetic ideas in a more developed form than the unquestioned writings of Basil.

dren crushed in a moment at the same table: 'The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; as it seemed good to the Lord, so hath it happened.' Let us make that admirable state of mind our own. . . . . We have not been bereaved of the child; we have but given him back to Him who lent him. His life has not been extinguished, it is only transfigured into a better. The earth has not hid our beloved one, heaven has received him. Let us wait a little, and we shall be with him whom we mourn and long for. The time of separation will not be long, since we are all on the way — this present life — which leads to the same resting-place. One has already arrived there, another is just entering, another presses on, — all will soon reach the same end. If he has finished the journey sooner, yet we are all accomplishing it, and the same abode awaits us all. May we, too, by purity and simplicity of heart, be prepared for the rest which is the portion of babes in Christ." — *Ep.* 5.

He thus consoles the mother of the same child: —

"To the Wife of Nectarius.

". . . . . Not without a Divine Providence are the things that befall us, since we have learned in the Gospel, that not even a sparrow falleth to the ground without our Father. So that whatever has happened has been by the will of Him who created us. And who hath resisted God? Let us rather accept what he allots. . . . . Great is your sorrow, I confess that. But . . . . . when you became a mother, and looked on your child, and gave thanks to God, you knew full well that, a mortal mother, you had given birth to a mortal son. What wonder is it, then, if a mortal has died? 'But,' you say, 'it was so untimely, that is what afflicts us.' We know not but it has happened in very good time. Since our knowledge is far too narrow to make us capable of choosing what is for the true interest of souls, and to mark out the limits of human life. Look around on the whole world in which you dwell, and consider that all things visible are mortal. Look up at the heavens, they shall pass away; at the sun, even that shall not remain. All the stars, all animated creatures on land and in water, all the beautiful things of earth, the earth itself, all are corruptible, all, after a little while, will be no more. Let the thought of these things mitigate your affliction. Do not look at your bereavement by itself. It will be insupportable. But when you compare it with the general human lot, you will find relief in the comparison. One consideration I add of great force, — spare your husband. Be a consolation to one another. Do not make his sorrow heavier by consuming yourself with grief. After

all, I well know that words have little power to comfort. Prayer is our only refuge in such a calamity. And I do therefore pray the Lord himself, by his unutterable power, to touch your heart, and to kindle up the light of good thoughts in your soul, so that from within you may have suggestions of consolation." — *Ep.* 6.

His comforting words "To Maximus," on the death of his wife, could hardly have come from a monk: —

"I have been intimate with your excellency from our first acquaintance, and also with that happy spirit which has departed. And verily I thought I saw that expression in the Book of Proverbs fulfilled in you, *the wife is fitted by God to the husband.** So were your qualities mutually adapted, that each, as it were in a mirror, presented an individual image of the other. . . . . But grieve not at your present loss; rather give thanks to Him who bestowed your former happiness. For to die is the lot of all who are partakers of this nature. But to live happily with a good wife is the lot of few, even of those who are deemed fortunate. In fact, the very tears with which you deplore your separation are no small proof of the goodness of God, if you look at the matter rightly. For I have known many people who have welcomed the dissolution of an ill-assorted marriage as the laying aside of a burden. We are parts of a perishing creation, and only receive what falls to us of the common lot. Marriage itself is a suggestion of death, since it was not given for continuance, but is the plan of the Creator to perpetuate life by the succession of the race. Nor let us mourn that she was so soon taken from us, nor envy her that she was not required to drink the whole cup of this life's sorrows, but, like a flower in full bloom, left us while we still loved and delighted in her. Above all, let the doctrine of the resurrection draw away your mind from brooding over its grief, for you are a Christian, and live in the hope of future blessings. Let reason shake off the burden of sorrow, and take thought how, for the time that is left to us, we may so live as to be well-pleasing to the Lord." — *Ep.* 301.

These letters abound in historical and antiquarian suggestions, as might be expected in letters not written for the mere sake of letter-writing, but to meet the claims arising from wide and actual relations with the living world.

It appears from Ep. 298 that Priessnitz must relinquish the honor of having originated the water-cure. There was an in-

* Sept. translation of Prov. xix. 14.

stitution, it would seem, with all the pretension of Gräfenberg, in the fourth century. Basil was evidently no convert to hydropathy.

"I am surprised that the delusion of this man has infected you, and that you have come to believe in the efficacy absurdly ascribed to water; and that, too, while there is no substantial testimony to confirm the report. There is not one of those who have been there who has received any of the bodily relief he hoped for, small or great; unless it be some little alleviation from accidental causes, such as men often find from sleep, and other processes, from the mere efficacy of the laws of life. But this man, renouncing charity, persuades silly people to ascribe effects which are quite accidental to the efficacy inherent in water. Experiment will show you, if you choose to make it, that my opinion is right."

The imperial patronage inaugurated by Constantine by no means, it would seem, secured Christian ministers from severe straits for the means of support. He speaks of an excellent and very able man, (whom he recommends as eminently suitable for a bishopric to which a friend had requested him to name a candidate,) who "had not wherewith to get his bread, but *wove out* a subsistence by the labor of his hands." This may have been a case of voluntary poverty. But he says elsewhere, that "the majority of the numerous body of the clergy" of Cæsarea, though they "did not embark in merchandise, labored in the sedentary arts, and thence obtained the means of daily subsistence."

The cheerful tone which everywhere pervades this correspondence is one of its most remarkable aspects. Earnest and strenuous as he was, suffering too from almost constant bodily pain and weakness, assailed by a tempest of calumny which never seemed to slacken till at his death it changed into an equally extravagant and indiscriminate adulation, feeling all the inconveniences of the poverty to which he had voluntarily subjected himself, and profoundly afflicted by the divisions and calamities of the Church, the hilarity of his spirit shines out through circumstances of the deepest gloom. A large element of his cheerfulness would seem to have been a humor which, as Gregory says, shed a fascinating charm over his conversation, and of which there are many traces in his correspond-

ence. "I put," he says, "the agreeables and disagreeables into the opposite sides of the scale, and when the latter seem to preponderate, I throw my *will* into the better side." He tells the Neo-Cæsareans, (who showed a singularly bitter and implacable spirit towards him,) that, full as they were of dissensions on all other subjects, they were *unanimous in hating him.* Vexed and afflicted as he was by the division of Cappadocia, he cannot suppress a joke on the subject, saying, that "the imperial project of dividing Cappadocia was like cutting in two a horse or an ox with the expectation of making two out of one." Cassian reports that a Senator named Syncletius proposed to adopt the life of a recluse, and to surrender his property; but, upon further reflection, concluded to retain a sufficient provision "for a rainy day." "Syncletius," said Basil, "you have spoiled a gentleman and not made a monk." To his physician, Meletius, he expresses his regret that he cannot "migrate with the cranes, and escape the discomforts of winter."

A better and more abiding source of cheerfulness he seems to have found in the anticipations of that "long and ageless life,"* the hope of which animated him in all labor and cheered him in all calamity.

As years advance, the indications of increasing suffering and failing energies multiply. He speaks of "long diseases urging on to the inevitable end," — of being "*used up* † by fever and complaint of the liver," — "oppressed by old age," though in years he scarcely reached the prime of life. He closes a short note by saying, "I have just enough of life to breathe." To Amphilochius, his "beloved son," he addresses this touching request: "I entreat you, pray first of all that the Lord would grant me release from this burdensome body, and that he would give peace to his own churches."

His laborious and suffering life came to an end, before he had completed his fiftieth year, A. D. 379. His last words, as

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* μακρὸν καὶ ἀγήρω αἰῶνα.

† δαπανηθείς. Ep. 138. Liver-complaint he calls his "old affliction," which, he says, "excluded me from food, drove sleep from my eyes, and held me on the confines of life and death, allowing me to live just so much as to be sensible of the pains it caused me." — *Ibid.*

reported by Gregory, were, "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit."

Upon the whole, Basil seems justly entitled to the fame of a Christian hero, — by no means free from the ascetic trammels of his time, nor untainted by those incipient tendencies to wrong which were afterwards developed into such enormous evils, but still a great teacher and a bold confessor of Christian truth, and a shining example of Christian virtue.

ART. V. — *Hours with the Evangelists.* By I. NICHOLS, D. D. In two volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 405.

THE history of this volume has a peculiar and touching interest. An aged clergyman, after a successful ministry extending through nearly half a century over one parish, being compelled by ill-health to resign his charge and seek a different place of residence, devotes the evening twilight of his life to the preparation of an elaborate work on the Gospels, which should be at once a record of his own faith and hope, and an affectionate message to the people whom he had so long served, designed to impart to them something of the joy and strength of his own religious convictions. It was not a task to be carelessly or hurriedly finished, but life and vigor were vouchsafed to him for its completion. The last page was written; every chapter had been revised and pondered over with the minute and loving care which fears an omission or an erratum like a sin; and then, before the work could be published, the prayer of Simeon was fulfilled. The old servant was called home to the presence of the Master whom he had faithfully served while on earth, and the parting message to his former congregation comes to them as a voice from beyond the grave.

The volume is modestly entitled "Hours with the Evangelists"; but it is the fruit of loving companionship with them for months and years; it is the ripened and winnowed product

of a lifetime. Its materials were evidently accumulated during the long course of his ministry. The opinions are those which he had preached and defended, the arguments and illustrations are those which he had thought out and expressed, in the long interval which elapsed between the beginning of his theological studies and his withdrawal from the pulpit. The task of his retirement and old age was only to select them and put them in order, to give the finishing touches to the husbanded labors of nearly sixty years. Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of the book which has such a history, — and we shall show that they are great, — the reader's highest interest in it must be personal. It is not merely a summary of one branch of the Christian Evidences; it is also personal testimony, founded on long experience, to the authenticity and value of the narratives of our Saviour's life. And the testimony is entitled to full credit; it has the truthfulness of the voice of a dying man. When it was uttered, there was no earthly consideration, no personal bias, to cause it to diverge one hair's breadth from the writer's heart-felt convictions. It was not trammelled by professional requirements or responsibilities; the author had left the pulpit never to enter it again. No compulsion of authorship was upon him; a kind Providence had made his circumstances easy, and his social position was one of entire independence. He might have died and made no sign. If his fifty years' study of the Gospels, accompanied with his large experience of the practical application of them to his own life and that of others, had created any misgivings in his mind, he might have kept them to himself, or even have published them to the world; and the world, respecting his spotless life and ingenuous character, would still have called him an honest man, probably an acute and able one. But he was not content to keep silence, and the only record which he could bear was to the truthfulness of the books that he had studied, and which had furnished all the guiding principles of his life. This elaborate work expresses both his earnest convictions, and the grounds upon which they rested.

We have said that this work treats of but one branch of what are technically called the Evidences of Christianity.

The first volume, which is all that is yet published, relates almost exclusively to the authenticity of the record and the credibility of the facts narrated by the Evangelists. The test applied consists in the internal marks of truthfulness, the argument being founded chiefly upon the undesigned coincidences of the different parts of the narrative with one another, and upon the harmony of the whole account with what might be expected from our previous knowledge of human nature, and from the course of this world's events as directed by an all-wise and all-merciful Providence. What may be called the external evidence, or the historical proof of the genuineness of the Gospels, is put aside as sufficiently discussed in other works, and as not coming within the scope of the writer's plan. Consequently his book may be regarded as a companion to the study of the Gospels in themselves, being founded altogether upon a consideration of their contents.

Now it is in relation to precisely this portion of the proofs of Christianity, that the considerations and arguments, the personal testimony and experience, recorded in this volume, are most needed and most acceptable. The Gospels contain both a system of doctrines and a record of facts. These, it is true, mutually depend upon and support each other. The facts obtain their full significance only in the light of the doctrines which accompany them, or are embodied in them; the doctrines, so far as they are the peculiar products of a revelation, — that is, so far as they were specially *revealed* to man because his unaided intellect could not, or did not, attain to them, — can be corroborated only by the facts, and have no authority or validity, often no meaning, without them. He who accepts the facts must accept the doctrines along with them, whether these doctrines are susceptible of any other proof or not; he who rejects the facts must renounce all revealed doctrine also, and Christianity can be to him only a meagre compend of vague and barren speculations, — a repetition of the endless doubts, the perpetually recurring affirmations and denials, of the human intellect when engaged upon a task that transcends its powers.

We insist upon this point, because the tendency of speculation at the present day, whether avowedly philosophical or pro-

fessedly theological in purport, is to give the name of Christianity to a series of abstract propositions respecting the duties of man and the nature of God, embracing those truths only which are self-evident, or shine by their own light, and studiously avoiding or rejecting those which rest upon the authority of revelation. We have come to be suspicious of that much-abused phrase, "the spirit of Christianity," which is so often applied in reprobation or defence of certain practices or opinions, without any express reference to the recorded declarations of the Saviour or his Apostles. Thus vaguely used, it means nothing more than the general opinion of him who utters it, that the doctrine or policy which he advocates either is, or ought to be, directly countenanced by the revealed word of God. Such an application of the phrase is both unfair and inconsistent on the part of him who makes it, as it is an attempt to claim the authority of Christianity when it happens to be in his favor, by one who would openly repudiate such authority if it were cited against him, or merely set up as a rule for his faith or conduct. The spirit of Christianity thus understood is indeed a bodiless spirit; it has no definite form or outline, it is recognized only when specially evoked to perform a service, and is rejected as an unreal phantom when it comes unasked with a message or a warning from on high. The best that can be said of such abuse of language is, that it is an indirect homage to the truth and value of the Christian revelation, made even by those who do not recognize its claims to obedience.

The great danger for the Christianity of most men proceeds from ignorance rather than unbelief. They have no idea of their religion, except as a system of doctrines more or less complete, which might have been proclaimed as truths of pure reason, even if they had never been embodied in life and conduct. Some may have studied the Scriptures, but they have done so with chief reference to theological disputes, to extract from them a creed or the refutation of a heresy. Their studies, at the best, can lead only to the formation of a scheme of spiritual philosophy, which would still be true even if it had not been taught by a teacher sent from heaven. It is one thing to say, that the whole body

of Christian doctrine is right and excellent; and it is practically a very different thing to say, that everything which we conceive at the moment to be right and excellent must, for that very reason, form a portion of the Christian doctrine. We have no right to construct our own theory of right conduct ostensibly upon Christian foundations, when we have not in fact given up our cherished opinions, convictions, or prejudices — call them what we may — on a single point, in obedience to the direct commands of the Gospel. In one sense, the teachings of our Saviour and his Apostles are not complete; they do not contain, and were evidently not intended to contain, a digested system of ethics, or an answer to every question which religious curiosity may raise, or a solution of every problem in casuistry. But they are almost invariably definite and precise. It is not easy to mistake the meaning of any injunction in the Sermon on the Mount, however difficult it may be to conform to it in our daily practice, or to carry it about with us as a monitor in every season of temptation.

After all, the difficulty, or the hardship, if we will call it so, lies in the requisition of submission and obedience. Poor human nature is stiff-necked and presumptuous; it would gladly find out the right way for itself; it wants no guide, no prompter, — above all, no master. It is easy to yield our assent to abstract truths, which are either intuitively discerned, or are supported by demonstrative evidence; or rather, since belief in such cases does not depend on our own will, we must assent, whether we will or no. But it is not so easy to accept a definite and precise rule of conduct, which offends our pride, rebukes our indolence, or even startles our reason, — to accept it, we repeat, merely on the authority of one who claims our obedience as a ruler, though he offers proof that he is divinely commissioned from heaven for that very purpose. So, too, some Christian virtues, according to our understanding of them, are not hard to practise. It is easy to indulge in glowing but vague aspirations, to revel in philanthropic dreams, to resist oppression, especially when it troubles us, and to rebuke iniquity in high places, when the rebuke gratifies our own censoriousness, or envy, or spite.

It is not difficult even to yield the cheek to the smiter, when there is a good opportunity to take credit with ourselves and with the world for showing a martyr's resolution and a martyr's fortitude. But it is difficult — it is even humiliating — to accept upon authority truths which are above our reason, or are too large for the intellect fully to apprehend. It is hard to practise this very form of humility, or to love our enemies, or not to judge others, or to be patient under suffering and bereavement, remembering that "Blessed are they that mourn," or to believe, though we have not seen it, that a man rose from the dead, and afterward ascended to heaven. No wonder that men strive to escape from the evidence that such practices and such beliefs are explicitly and authoritatively enjoined, and that the facts on record bear out the injunction so clearly and fully as to leave upon ourselves the whole guilt of refusing to hear and to obey.

The truth of Christianity, then, is a question of fact, and the whole of Christianity is a religion of facts. These facts answer a double purpose; they lend precision and definiteness to our faith, and they furnish the evidence of that faith. If they are true, our religion contains, not merely a series of abstract propositions, but a collection of definite and concrete truths, full of meaning and vital in importance. If they are true, Christianity is "an historical religion"; we fear not to use the phrase, though to many ears it is an unwelcome one. Christianity not only has a history, but it is a history. The order of nature was interrupted; the usual succession of cause and effect was suspended; there was a special and immediate interposition of Infinite power and wisdom in the course of human affairs, made for the very purpose of breaking, as with a thunderbolt, the sleep of the world in indolence and sin, and teaching men the way of salvation, because they could not find that way for themselves. The nativity of Christ was supernatural; his being was superhuman; he came to establish a kingdom, which was not, and is not, of this world; he announced his mission, not merely as a divine teacher, but as a divine ruler and judge. His works were supernatural; at his command, the deaf heard, the lame walked, the blind received their sight, the

winds and waves were hushed, and the dead rose. He was put to death, but death could not hold him. He rose from the dead on the third day, and before he ascended to heaven, he promised to his faithful disciples that he would be with them "always, even unto the end of the world."

Whatever may be thought of the credibility of these assertions, there is no mistaking their character and purport. They are embodied in the Gospel narrative, they constitute that narrative, and if they are not true, that narrative is a fable from beginning to end. They are facts, historical incidents, occurrences having a definite position in time and space; and the question respecting their authenticity is an historical question, — as much so as that which relates to the life and death of Julius Cæsar. As such, moreover, it must be decided *exclusively* by historical evidence, including under this designation, however, the internal marks of truth or falsity in the narrative itself. He who, on such a point as this, talks about intuitive conviction, the belief of the heart, or the natural and inborn assent of human reason to truths which are congenial with it, uses words without meaning, and thereby betrays either hopeless confusion of thought, or an intention to mystify his hearers.

But our religion contains also an aggregate rather than a system of doctrines, — of abstract truths and didactic precepts, which vitally affect the heart and life; and these, it is urged, are not historical, but must have their own peculiar evidence. Very true; but these doctrines become Christian doctrines to him only who accepts them on the authority of Christianity, — that is, on account of *the fact* that they were distinctly taught by our Saviour and his Apostles. If accepted on any other ground, they are no more Christian than Pagan; they are no more to be referred to Jesus Christ, than to Socrates or Plato. They are not, in fact, religious doctrines at all, but propositions in philosophy, — of a spiritual philosophy perhaps, yet one which is altogether human in its origin, its evidence, and its tendency. The derivation of the word *religion* shows its power to *religate* or to bind anew, through the additional authority which every doctrine obtains when it has been proclaimed from heaven, or announced as the teaching of the Infinite One.

Thus, prayer may be, as some have taught, an intuitive act, or one to which we are instinctively prompted by a sense of our own feebleness and dependence, even if we know not any Being to whom it should be addressed; but it does not become a Christian prayer, if it be not an act performed from a sense of obedience, or because Christ taught us to pray. "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God." Our whole faith depends on this fact, this miracle, the resurrection of Christ. If this fact be not true, Christianity is a mere human invention, and the sooner it is stripped of all claims to a Divine origin, and thereby of all pre-eminence and authority, the better.

We rejoice, therefore, that the argument in Dr. Nichols's book, together with the weight of personal testimony which it brings, is directed to uphold the truthfulness of the narrative of our Saviour's life, and thereby to confirm *the authority* of his religion. It is the evidence of one who submitted his own life to that authority, who studied reverently the dictates of the religion which he defends, and is therefore entitled to speak from experience of its practical effects. Those only who knew the late Dr. Nichols personally can fully understand why we urge this point so strongly, — that the substance of his book derives important confirmation from the character and life of its author. The sermon lies before us which was preached at his funeral by one who had known him long and well, both in his ministerial relations and in private society; and a brief extract from it may illustrate our meaning.

"His style has often reminded me of St. Paul's, in its union of cogent logic and fervent devotion, in its power of vitalizing argument by appeal to the heart and conscience, in its aiming with the same stroke at the intellect and the affections, and in those wonderful digressions in which the main subject is not departed from, but is opened out in new and unexpected bearings and relations, and from which the return is made with more than redoubled force of conviction to the leading head of discourse.

"All who knew him must have remarked in his preaching, and equally in his conversation, the union — in our times too seldom witnessed — of bold thought and lowly reverence; of free speculation and

childlike docility; of the independence which could call no man master, and implicit trust in the infallibility of the Teacher from heaven; of the commanding intellect which made all within its influence his pupils, and the simple open-hearted receptivity with which he loved to sit at the feet of Jesus. In his mind, and his treatment of truth in every department, all science and learning, like the wise men from the East, brought gifts and paid tribute to the child of Bethlehem; while revelation shed light from the throne of God on all else that could be known or reasoned upon, enunciated the comprehensive laws and underlying principles of science, struck the key-note of hopeful speculation, opened the path of successful research, and was the source and sum of all wisdom. It was thus that he saw and preached Christ in all, and all in Christ.

"The traits which I have named as belonging to his sermons were no less manifest in his social intercourse, in which he preached at least as eloquently and powerfully as from the pulpit. His sacred commission from his divine Master was never forgotten, or, I would rather say, never thought of, so naturally and with so modest grace sat the priestly robes upon him; but they were never laid aside. No man could have been less willing to assume aught on the score of his profession; but the characteristics of the Christian minister were ingrained, and constituted his personality: he could not but preach Christ. In the ordinary flow of his conversation, how often have we seen his countenance illumined with a light not of earth, eye and brow radiant with the glory of the great thoughts to which he gave utterance, while to us who listened it was as if an angel spake!

"Of his devotional services in public and private, we who have heard them can never lose the memory. The topics of these prayers had a wider scope than I have ever known beside, and in themselves might often have seemed more appropriate to a sermon than to a direct address to the Deity. But it was always evident, that, in his own heart, they were subjects of fervent supplication, thanksgiving, and adoration. There was no material, however wide of the ordinary themes of social prayer, which did not in his mind spontaneously assume the sanctity of an altar-gift."

The style of Dr. Nichols's work is eminently clear, terse, and strong; and these qualities of it seem to emanate from his character and habits of thought. He was too conscientious ever to give expression to any sentiment or opinion which he had not previously matured with the utmost care; and then the natural simplicity of his mind led him to utter it with frankness, in the fewest possible words, but with all the ear-

nestness of profound conviction. From the general Introduction to the book, which occupies the first seventy-five pages of it, and is devoted to a cursory view of the truths and evidences of Natural Religion, of the Jewish Scriptures, and of the preparation for Christianity, we extract two brief passages as specimens of his manner both of thought and utterance.

"The gospel is a religion of facts. It deals in declarations, promises, commands. It treats its blessings and its laws simply as facts, recommends them as facts, and leaves them as facts. It enters into no metaphysical proof of any one of them. It takes it for granted that its principles are deeply seated in the human breast, and that the eye that will not see its light needs not to be illumined, but to be couched. Nature presents itself to us in a similar light. In the relation in which we stand to Universal Providence, of the finite to the Infinite, we must look for realities rather than for reasons in the general arrangements of that Providence. To submit and conform to facts is the great law of our being.

"Now, of all facts, I know of none more certain than religious facts. Of some of these, I feel, without a shadow of misgiving, that they are true, and I ask no more assurance in regard to them than I already possess. I know that I am endowed with a moral nature. I am sure I have a sense of right and wrong. I am conscious of a religious sentiment. I cannot but regard the universe around me as manifesting the agency of an Intelligent First Cause. I am impressed, beyond any seeming possibility of doubt, by the general reality of the gospel history; and all the sceptical objections to particular parts, I ever meet with, never shake my conviction in this regard. And yet clouds of mystery invest all these facts. Still, no such obscurity rests on any one of them, as essentially to impair my conviction of its reality. What shall I say, then? I will let fact have its proper weight, and mystery its proper weight, each according to its own particular nature. Now, in each of these instances I have named, the fact requires *action* on our part, and the mystery does not. It is mysterious, that the inborn religious sentiment should be liable to so much perversion; but this mystery demands no *action;* it only remains a shadow upon the sentiment itself. It is a mystery, that the belief in one God, infinitely wise and good, is embarrassed by so much apparent evil in the universe; but this, again, requires no *action.* The miracle, which forms so large a part of the gospel history, has some inscrutable characteristics; still, it is an inscrutableness which calls for no *action.* But the religious sentiment, on the contrary, is essentially active in its demands. So is the manifestation

of a Supreme Intelligence, the Author and Ruler of all, as we behold it in the order and beauty of the material world. So are the divine authority and holy principles of Christianity.

"But is not this an anomalous and strange condition of things?

"It is the common condition of all things in me and about me. It is a fact that I must eat to live; — it is a mystery how food enables me to live. It is a fact that I have a mind prompting me to study, to labor, and to perform many other acts; — but what a mystery is mind! Let each, I repeat, have its appropriate influence: the uneradicable fact, that will keep its hold upon my mind, and master every scruple, let me do all I can to prevent it; and the mystery, that will cling to that fact, notwithstanding. Let tree and parasite grow together. Let facts, which demand action, produce action. Let mysteries, which hang their shadows about my mental vision, remain as shadows upon my mental vision. Let me take everything as it is, in this wonderful existence." — pp. 4 – 6.

The distinction which is here illustrated with so much simplicity and force, is one that is familiar to every accurate thinker, though perpetually lost sight of by sceptical minds on the one hand, and by rash theorists on the other. It may be enunciated as a general principle in practical logic, — We are never entitled to affirm that the thing *is not* so, merely because we cannot tell *how it is*. The wisest philosopher, the greatest naturalist, cannot tell *how* a blade of grass grows; but we are not, therefore, to jump to the conclusion that *it does not grow*. I may not be able to explain *how* the will is free; — that is, how the volition should be determinate, when there is no power in the motive, or in anything else, by which I am determined to will one thing rather than another. But it would be absurd, on account of this inability, to reject the direct and unmistakable testimony of consciousness, that the will *is* free, and the volition *is* determinate. Hamilton's philosophy of the unconditioned, which is now attracting so much attention on account of the learned and ingenious application of it by Dr. Mansel to the limits of religious thought, is but another application of the same principle. This philosophy maintains, that on all subjects of pure metaphysics, including of course some of the higher doctrines of theology, we *must* believe what is inconceivable, or impossible to thought; for on all such matters we are placed in a dilemma between two contradictory propositions,

one of which, because they are contradictory, *must* be true, while both are inconceivable. The inference is inevitable, that in such a case the inconceivableness of a proposition affords no presumption whatever that it is not true. If we thrust out of the field of belief everything which we cannot understand, we may as well fold our hands and sit down in hopeless ignorance; for we cannot take a step even in practical life, except by violating our own principles.

The next extract from the Introduction will illustrate the practical wisdom of the writer, as well as the characteristics of his style.

"But the Scripture as a Light is perhaps hardly so important as the Scripture as a Power, — or what it has done in teaching things before unknown, or with which men were but imperfectly acquainted, as what it is always doing in strengthening a sense of those fundamental principles of piety and virtue which are received by all. The subjects on which the most able interpreters of the sacred volume have displayed their ingenuity and learning are but shadows, for the most part, compared with those eternal verities which commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. Yet while these require no critical exposition, they do stand in need of some holy enthronement, some exterior consecration, to insure them their most effectual enforcement on the great mass of mankind, — in other words, a Bible.

"Few persons think absolutely for themselves, on any subject. A perfectly individual opinion is rare. To most people it is the great sayer that makes the great saying. Washington's *Farewell Address* is a noble body of political wisdom; but his name has done much to give it the estimation it enjoys. When the Jews were filled with admiration of the instructions of Christ, because he taught them, as they said, 'as one having authority, and not as the scribes,' they had been listening to one of his simplest and most practical discourses, — the Sermon on the Mount; but it was associated in their minds with his reputation, his miracles, as well as with the mysterious force of utterance it naturally derived from his own consciousness of his divine mission.

"Reverence, therefore, is a vast moral power. Enlighten it as much as possible; — this will be one of its best safeguards from perversion, and one of the most effectual means to secure for it a permanent place in the mind. Enlighten it, I say. For I could wish no child of mine to be the slave of a blind and passive reverence. The sublime sentiment of religious veneration I would have associated in his mind only with religious truth. I would have him prove all things, and hold fast

that which is good. Let him see every just distinction between the human and the Divine, — between what is of doubtful and what is of certain authority." — pp. 71 73.

The Introduction to the work is followed by two chapters on the General Coincidences and on the Characteristics of the Gospels. Under the former head, the author lays especial stress upon the point, that Christianity was communicated to the world in an historical form.

"We might have had a doctrinal New Testament, without any narrative at all. As it is, we have four different narratives, each distinguished by the characteristics of artless sincerity, and where the feeling of reality, excited by one incident after another, becomes insensibly associated with every part, and the faith of the reader is an accumulated impression, resulting from the successive signatures of truth, which leave their unconscious effect upon his mind as he goes along.

"The Gospels abound with incidents. The Zend-Avesta, the sacred book of the Persians, consists mainly of mystical speculations, prayers, and moral sentiments. The Vedas, the holy writings of the Hindoos, are made up of invocations, hymns, maxims, precepts, and explanations of mysteries. The Koran, the Bible of the Mohammedans, is a mass of rhapsodies. But then it had less occasion for incidents than the gospel documents. Incidents are important to miracles, by attaching to them those little harmonies of circumstance which render them more striking, and by which their reality is confirmed; but Mohammed did not pretend to work miracles. Incidents are indispensable in all biographies as indications of character. They are the theatres of example, its developmental field. A trait which no language can define, except in round and general terms, they exhibit in its most delicate lines, its nicest and most shadowy touches. But the Mussulman does not profess to hold up his lawgiver as the model of a faultless life. The gospel does so hold up Jesus. It identifies itself with him. It had no choice of modes, therefore, in which to come before the world. A real life must make facts its portrait, and rude historians must make facts their pencil." — pp. 81 – 83.

This is clearly and admirably stated, and the contrast is then finely illustrated, in point of practical effect, between an artless narrative of incidents, and a series of propositions respecting abstract truths. Because Christianity has been for centuries a theme for discussion by learned theorists and acute disputants, because systems of philosophy, systems of

ethics, systems of theology, all in their most abstract form, have been founded upon it, we are too apt to lose sight of the fact, that, in its origin and its most characteristic features, it was and is a religion for the multitude, a gospel for the poor and unlearned, a way of salvation for all mankind; and as such, it necessarily assumed a narrative shape, for in no other form could it have been understood and reduced to practice. For minds which have not been trained to habits of abstract thought, the broad generalizations of philosophy and science are as meaningless and inefficient as propositions in an unknown tongue. Our Saviour himself recognized this principle when he so frequently inculcated the great truths that he came to impart under the form of parables. Those of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the Talents, the Sower, the Laborers in the Vineyard, Dives and Lazarus, and many others, have brought Christian verities home to the consciences and lives of millions who would otherwise never have known what Christianity meant. And if this remark is true even of the apologue, wherein the narrative is a mere form, a vehicle of the indwelling truth, how much more evident is it of the actual incidents, the story of our Saviour's life. Even the miracles are hardly more important as evidences of the divinity of his mission, than as illustrations of his purposes and character. When called for as mere portents or marvels by a sceptical but wondering multitude, they were invariably refused. But the interference of Him whom even the winds and the waves obeyed, was never wanting when it was invoked to feed the hungry, to open the eyes of the blind mendicant, to console the widow for the loss of her only son, or to foster the timid faith of one who was already striving to believe.

The instinctive craving of the human mind for the definite and particular, even the tangible, is a fact which may mortify the pride of intellect; but it is one which the moralist and the preacher cannot afford to lose sight of, for on it the whole success of their efforts depends. The mind can no more live exclusively in the region of pure ideas, than the body can subsist in a vacuum. Rites, ordinances, institutions, symbols, more or less in amount, more or less definite

and tangible, have been a constituent part of every religion that has obtained anything like general acceptance in any country or age. Bishop Butler remarked long ago, that "the form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved amongst mankind without the form." Here in great part is the secret of the invincibility of Romanism, of the peculiar tenacity of its grasp upon uncultivated minds, and even of the large accessions which it has lately received from the English Church. Its rich symbolism, its numerous observances, its sensible representations of the great facts of Christianity, satisfy an imperative want of human nature, and buttress the faith to which they are attached. They may be purified and enlightened, but they cannot be taken away without risking the safety of the whole fabric. But it is urged as the peculiar glory of Christianity, that it is a spiritual religion, the essence of which is faith, and its practice love, — faith being "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." It is, indeed, spiritual in aim and tendency, and such it will become in the millennium. Meanwhile, for frail and erring man, it has established two positive ceremonial institutions, consecrated one day out of seven, raised up a visible Church, created a ministry or priesthood. Without these concessions to human weakness, if they must be so called, only the continuance of miraculous powers in the Church could have insured its final triumph over Paganism.

The next four chapters of Dr. Nichols's work treat respectively of the Mythical Theory of Strauss, the Harmony of Miracles with Nature, the Uses and the Credibility of Miracles. The treatment of these subjects does not assume to be exhaustive or complete, and it is not connected with any peculiar theory of the nature or purpose of these grand interruptions of the ordinary working of God's providence. The author dwells more willingly upon the religious than the philosophical aspect of the questions discussed, and the practical, didactic character of his remarks and speculations appears throughout. These chapters, though not deficient in unity, seem to be essays, or a series of practical reflections naturally suggested to a pious mind by the wide contrast between the

views of the sceptic and those of the believer. The Straussian theory is sufficiently confuted by a plain and common-sense view of the admitted facts in the case, without entering into any elaborate exposures of the monstrous hypotheses and assumptions upon which this extravagant speculation rests. The simplicity and ingenuousness of the Evangelists' style; the shortness of time between the death of the Saviour and the lowest date which can be assigned to the publication of the Gospels, leaving no sufficient interval for the slow growth of legendary stories; the striking contrast between the Hebrew anticipations of a Messianic triumph, and the actual ministry of a sorrowing and crucified Christ, affording no incidents on which an excited, thoroughly Jewish imagination could dwell with pleasure; — these and many other discrepancies between the requisitions of the German hypothesis and the proved realities of history place the former beyond the range or the need of serious confutation. A bald summary of it sufficiently exposes its extravagance and absurdity.

The author treads upon more familiar and more pleasing ground when he comes to speak of the harmony of miracles with Nature. Without entering into any philosophical discussion of the nature of causation, which would trace both the natural and the supernatural to the same source, the immediate action of the Deity, working in each for the same end, the instruction and government of man, Dr. Nichols contents himself with pointing out the lower analogies and harmonies between the ordinary laws of nature and the extraordinary manifestations of infinite power and goodness combined. Ordinary action, he remarks, is not violated when it is crossed by a new power intervening for a new purpose. A man does not suspend the law of gravitation when he lifts a weight. In fact, all human action, considered as originating in free will, — and no other view of it is consistent with the direct testimony of consciousness, — is strictly *supernatural;* that is, it is self-caused, without any regular antecedent, so that it refuses to be classified, or reduced to any of the laws which describe the ordinary events of nature. This view has been expounded at length, and with great felicity and eloquence, by Dr. Bushnell, in his work on "Nature and

the Supernatural"; and the coincidence of opinion and argument made it proper for Dr. Nichols to state, in a note, that this chapter of his book, having been for several years in manuscript, was already in the hands of the printer when Dr. Bushnell's work was first published.

The chapter on the uses of miracles exhibits forcibly, and with much weight and beauty of illustration, their office, not merely as evidences or means of conviction, but as aids to practical religion. They are addressed not only to the intellect, but to the heart. They bring the Deity near to man, evince the immediacy and paternal character of His government, and eliminate the frigid Epicurean conception of a Creator of the universe whose work was finished at the creation, and who has ever since stood aside, unconcerned and self-sufficient in His beatitude, heedless of the petty concerns and feeble cries of an insignificant race: —

> "Proh sancta Deûm tranquilla pectora pace,
> Quæ placidum degunt ævum vitamque serenam!"

The only idea of a Divinity who can be the object of a religion is that of an overruling Providence; and this is but another name for a worker of miracles. Under any other doctrine, prayer has no purpose, and worship no meaning.

"How far God's interposing hand is introduced in human affairs, is beyond our knowledge. Its secret modes of interposition may be constant and innumerable. Of those which have been manifest to human observation, the Gospel is the chief. The Paternal Mind here comes conspicuously forth, communicating with our minds in the exercise of mind's appropriate sovereignty over the organic and the material.

"Something of the same kind, only upon a smaller scale, and not divine, man always needs and always enjoys. He needs constant intercourse with the minds around him; and here are spiritual sympathies prepared for him, as unfettered, if not as glorious, as those of a special revelation from heaven. As I said, he needs this intercourse. A solitary intellect, surrounded by an unchanging regularity of Mechanical Nature, would see nothing to reflect and awaken itself. Mind must be the life of mind." — p. 154.

Order has its uses, its instructive and even monitory effects upon the intellect and conscience. But an absolutely unbroken order through an endless series of years, a cycle of

events forever repeating itself, unalterable both from an inherent necessity and an imperative law of belief which rejects the possibility of change, is one of the most repulsive and appalling doctrines that philosophy ever framed. Who would willingly take up an existence that should be a monotonous and never-ending routine? God does not so deal with his creatures. Infinite variety, no less than perfect order, is the law of the universe. Among the countless organisms of the animal and vegetable kingdom, no one individual ever exactly repeats another, though the two may have sprung from the same immediate parent. Each is individualized by differences that are patent even to the naked eye. It would be as great a marvel to find two human faces precisely alike, as to find one with a single eye in the middle of his forehead, or, like Argus, with eyes on every side of his head. And, as has been acutely remarked, the differences multiply just as the phenomena come nearer to human life and action. Science can predict with unerring precision all the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites for a century hence; but it cannot tell which way the wind will blow to-morrow morning, how rich will be the next harvest, or what will be the origin, progress, or issue of a single attack of disease. Human life, taken individually and not in the gross, offers the most capricious and uncertain of all phenomena. Absolute uniformity, then, is not the law of the higher part of creation, and is what we should least expect in the dealings of Providence with man. The conditions of health and disease, of failure or success in life, of the development of character and genius in this or that direction, however we may attempt in the aggregate to reduce them to law through the rude method of averages, in each individual case escape all rule and defy prediction. The human mind craves the variety with which it finds itself surrounded, is in love with its own idiosyncrasy, and in its own freedom sees mirrored the free and varied action of the author and governor of the moral universe. It looks for miracles, prays for them, and, whatever may be its philosophy in hours of indifference and repose, when under the excitement of a great sorrow or a great hope, believes in them. Every individual birth or death is a miracle, a great break in the continuity of events, to those who are

most nearly concerned with it; and to them it often preaches louder than any sermon: —

"But there are always those who are reluctant to believe in anything which is greatly out of the line of every-day experience. So many centuries ago! In Judæa! By Jesus and his Apostles! However susceptible of proof these Gospel miracles, they observe, it cannot be denied that they stand alone, — that they are passing strange. And is strangeness so very foreign to reality? There are strange events besides miracles. All along in the pathway of history there are chasms deep and startling. It requires a long bridge to reach the isolated greatness of David, Homer, Shakespeare, Washington. Some minds are more infrequent than the prodigies of Scripture." — p. 184.

We might dwell much longer upon a work which is so rich in suggestive remarks and illustrations as the volume before us. But as what remains depends chiefly on a minute examination of the narratives of the Evangelists, and consists in great part of an enumeration of particulars, to which justice could not be done without many and long citations, we must stop here. Apart from the personal interest that is reflected upon it by the character of its author, the book itself invites and will reward diligent perusal. Equally suited to the learned and the unlearned, its contents are as attractive as its exterior; and this is saying much, for in point of mechanical execution, in sumptuousness of type, paper, and presswork, hardly any American publication can be mentioned which is its superior. We cordially commend it, not merely to professed students of the subject, but as a household book, a family companion to the study of the Gospels, and a noble monument to the character and labors of its author.

ART. VI. — *An Act to amend the Law relating to Divorce and Matrimonial Causes.* 20 and 21 Victoria, Chapter 85.

THERE are few persons who are not, or have not been, or hope not or fear not to be married. How vast the numbers who at this moment, to use a simile borrowed from a Roman form of marriage, wear the yoke; who have, as Cœlebs, a cynic fellow, would say, been caught in the trap; married and settled in the country, as Lord Chesterfield wished the dog were that bit him; married, yet unsettled in their desires and affections, and by night and by day toiling to trace the thread that has so mystically tied them, and so perchance untie it; married by the priest, and unmarried by the magistrate; married, and secured, by the safe defence of that institution, in the possession of all that life can yield to rational expectation, — the chaste and tranquil pleasures of the fireside, and children in whose persons those pleasures are multiplied!

That the marriage contract should not be dissoluble at the will of one, or even both, of the parties to it; that no marriage contract should be recognized by law or tolerated in practice, except that which purports in terms to unite the parties for life; that the contract, so manifestly important to the parties themselves and to those afterward to come into existence, should be entered upon in the presence of witnesses, and placed upon a permanent public record; that the wedding pair should, upon making the contract, invoke the sanction of Heaven, and seek the benediction of the ministers of religion and the influence of holy associations, the sight of the altar and the shadow of consecrated walls, — society has decided to be fit, and its usages in these particulars do not require to be vindicated, nor can they be, nor ought they to be disturbed. We think, too, that the opinion is widely established, that the marriage contract is so far a mutual and dependent contract, that the violation of it by one of the parties, habitual, gross, and wilful to such a degree as to destroy the peace, or to endanger the life, health, or reason of the other, and thus or otherwise to defeat the beneficent ends for which they were united, justifies the suffering party in claiming the interposition of the

magistrate with a view to its dissolution, and that it ought to be dissolved, or at least loosened so far as to enable the sufferer to escape from the miseries which it occasions. The marriage contract, the instant it is made, creates and fixes the marital relation. But a contract or engagement to become husband and wife at a future time, whether certain or uncertain, is ineffectual to bind the parties to perform it specifically; and without something further, each is as free by law to marry any other person, as if no such mutual engagement had been made. Except the right to mourn the broken vow, and except the imperfect right to pecuniary damages, hereafter to be adverted to, the repudiated party is without relief. A space for repentance is accorded, as well by law as by the conventions of society, between the vows and their performance, as a safeguard to youth against the impulses of that season of life.

Such are substantially the modern opinions and usages which regulate the contract of marriage. But their formation has been gradual, its history somewhat curious; and a glance at its more important phases seems to promise at least some amusement, and is rather necessary in order to bring into their most impressive view the aim and effect of the recent acts of the British Parliament on the subjects of divorce and of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"Marriage in its origin," Lord Stowell declares, "is a contract of natural law; it may exist between two individuals of different sexes, although no third person existed in the world." "In civil society it becomes a civil contract, regulated and prescribed by law and endowed with civil consequences." Selden declares that it is nothing but a civil contract, and no more an ordinance of God than any other, for "God commands me to keep it when I have made it." And it is so regarded by the law of nations. It requires, by the practice of nations, no religious rite to confirm it, and, like any other contract, may be established by the testimony of those who were present when it was made; it may be proved by the written or unwritten words of the parties, or inferred from their cohabitancy. It is not necessarily a perpetual contract. The patriarchs bought their wives, and from the ceremonies of coemption and of remancipation it may reasonably be suspected that the early

Romans both bought and sold theirs. A tradition of the Jews permitted them to put away their wives without cause, and Jesus did not forbid them to do it for the cause of adultery. The three ceremonious marriages of the Romans, *Confarreation*, *Coemption*, and *Use*, though dissoluble at the will of either party by the performance of a ceremony only, were deemed too strict for the notions and habits of that people under the Empire; and had given place to a connection, in terms, at the will of either party, and dissoluble without premonition or ceremony.

These loose marital connections continued in practice after the Empire became Christian; but prior to that epoch a different idea of marriage had taken origin within the limits of that Empire, and had become established in the usage of a considerable portion of its subjects. It was derived, as to its most prominent characteristics, from the teachings of Jesus, and was regulated by the jurisdiction of the Church.

Jesus exhorted his disciples on the subject of such differences as might arise among them, after trying without effect the mild expedients becoming the relation of brethren, to appeal to the church, as a final measure; and if the offending brother should neglect to hear the church, then to "let him be as an heathen man and a publican."

The Apostle Paul, long afterward, more pointedly addressed the Christians at Corinth: "Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? And if the world shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smaller matters? ..... If ye have judgment of things pertaining to this life, do ye set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church? I speak to your shame, Is it so that there is not a wise man among you, — not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren? but brother goeth to law with brother, and that before unbelievers?"

Whatever inference is justly to be derived from this text, as to the progress then actually made in organizing the court Christian for the adjustment of all matters secular arising among the members of the Christian Church, it is certain that before the conversion of Constantine such a jurisdiction was

firmly established by the convention of the faithful, and that the bishops, personally or through their chancellors, habitually administered justice in their consistories. Spelman declares that these courts were open every day, not excepting the Sunday itself, for the twofold reason of contempt for the superstition of the Pagans, who could not transact such business upon *dies nefasti*, and of depriving the Christian suitor of the pretence that the closing of the bishop's court, even upon one day in the seven, compelled him to resort to the heathen forum, or, in the language of the Apostle Paul, "to go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints." These courts, of course, adopted the civil law, being the law of their common country, as the most perfect justice in the adjudication of rights arising under it, and as furnishing the forms of procedure most familiar and convenient. Thus the civil law became the most bountiful nurse of the canons, which, gradually expanding with that element, and with the decrees of councils and episcopal constitutions, became a highly refined and artificial system.

The canon law, the law of the general Church of Christ, propounded an idea of the marriage tie wholly different from that which supported the various nuptial forms that have been described as used and practised by the Roman people without the Church. It asserted marriage to be a religious contract ratified by the Holy Ghost; — a sacrament, by which the two were mystically and indissolubly united in one, so that no earthly power could sever them, and even death itself could not annul the union so far as to allow the survivor to contract marriage with another. To this extreme idea of religious sanctity and indissolubleness, which derives countenance, as was supposed, from the sacred Scriptures and usages, were added many refinements borrowed from various sources. From the civilians the ecclesiastics took their highly artificial definition, "Consortium omnis vitæ, humani et divini juris communicatio," and upon it established the dogma, that marriage could not subsist between a Christian and a Heathen, in analogy with the Roman doctrine, which precluded that relation between a citizen and an alien not admitted to their sacred rites.

Like the civil and the Jewish laws, the canons distinguished

two degrees, — marriage proper, or that which was contracted *per verba de presenti*, and which established the relation of husband and wife from the instant the contract was made, and espousals, or an agreement to be married at a future day. Both of these contracts were recognized as sacred ordinances, though the latter was dissoluble by the agreement of both parties to it. But if not so dissolved, it could be enforced against the recusant by the decrees and censures of the court, — was effectual, so far as to invalidate an actual marriage contracted in derogation of it, and was perfected by cohabitation.

Marriage itself was, as has been said, indissoluble. The ecclesiastical court, however, assumed upon sufficient ground to decree a separation of the parties without the power to contract other relations. They also assumed to inquire whether a marriage, contracted in form and consummated by actual cohabitation, was in fact unlawful by reason of any impediments that existed at the time; and if so, to decree accordingly for the good of the souls of the parties. But a marriage of this description was valid until such decree, and could not after the death of the parties be so disturbed as to make the issue illegitimate. It was therefore only voidable, and not, as the second marriage in a case of bigamy, entirely void.

Upon the conversion of Constantine, the Empire became Christian; its tribunals ceased to be obnoxious to the faithful, and the Christian courts were no longer required for most of the uses for which they had been kept open. Still, however, they were retained, and a matter so peculiarly Christian in its origin and character as canonical marriage continued to be subject to their cognizance. They asserted jurisdiction in certain other matters. But these were matters of inferior importance, or else, as in the case of administration and probate of wills, their claim of jurisdiction was disallowed by the laws of the Empire.

Two centuries and a half of imperial protection and of secular honor had done somewhat to extend and consolidate the body of the Church, and the successors of the "fishers of men" spread their net for kings and kingdoms. Augustine and his associates, as ambassadors of the pontifical court, negotiated

with the Saxon kings of England their conversion to the Church and accession to the system of Europe. With the faith, they brought the learning, institutions, and jurisprudence of the Continent, to animate and adorn the bald and frigid organization of the Saxons. Those who carried thither the new order of things remained there to nurse it. The bishops, therefore, had seats assigned them in the Witenagemote, and assisted the earls to hold courts in the counties. Among the things thus introduced into Britain were tithes, and the observance of Sunday and the other solemn days of the Church. Wills and testaments, which, according to Tacitus, were unknown to the ancient Germans, and which, at the earliest day when we know them to have been in use in England, resembled those of the civil law, and were wholly free from the restraints of the feudal laws, were also probably introduced at this time; while to the already decorous nuptial regulations and practices derived from the Germans of Tacitus, were added the refinements which the canons had already established, and which have been adverted to.

William the Conqueror made numerous changes, and although the bishops retained their place in the House of Lords, they were severed from the county courts and restricted in their jurisdiction to special matters. Wills and testaments and the distribution of the goods of intestates were assigned to their jurisdiction, perhaps because the custom of testamentary bequest was brought by them into the realm, and this and cognate matters were governed consequently by the canonical rules derived from the civil law. For like reasons, they acquired cognizance of cases relating to sacred persons and things, and offences of a spiritual nature, or such as were supposed to affect the soul, to violate in a special manner or degree the conscience of the offender, and to outrage the Church. Persons embraced in the jurisdiction of the courts Christian, and therefore exempted from that of the king's court, were monks, nuns, and all the secular clergy; singers, or such as chanted the sacred ritual on solemn days; readers; door-keepers of the churches, exorcists, whose office it was, by solemn imprecations and the use of holy water, to drive away malignant spirits; acolytes, whose humble duty was

merely to furnish wax-lights for the altars; and grave-diggers. Against these, the process of the king's courts was ineffectual; for, upon claim made by the ordinary, they were always surrendered to him to be dealt with according to the laws of the Church. These courts had also exclusive jurisdiction over churches and cathedrals, monasteries and other religious houses, hospitals, chuchyards, and even fields distinguished by the crosses of knights templars. Into these sacred places the king's courts could not obtrude their process nor their officers, and the fugitive from secular justice was there safe. Marriage and its accessories, legitimacy, divorce, money due on marriage contracts, and espousals, were also included in the category of sacred things, and finally, all promises being binding upon the conscience, the offence of *lesio fidei* was dealt with for the good of the offender's soul. Tithes, first-fruits, and oblations belonged also to their jurisdiction. They took cognizance, too, of a large list of offences, such as blasphemy, idolatry, heresy, disturbance of divine worship, simony, perjury and subornation of perjury in an ecclesiastical court, dilapidations, and retaining money promised in commutation of corporal penance.

For the enforcement of their decrees, and for the punishment of offences, these courts had no power but by means of spiritual censure, excommunication, and the like, which indeed were ordinarily sufficient. But in the failure of these, there remained the writ of *significavit* issuing out of the king's court, on receiving which the sheriff took the hardy offender into custody, and held him till the Church was satisfied by his submission and penance.

The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts and the immunity of things sacred, having attained their greatest extent in England about the time of Henry III., began to be gradually curtailed as the common law arose from its jejune and rudimental condition. The sanctuary which protected the fugitive from the harsh proceedings of the secular courts was unnecessary when these courts became competent themselves to throw around the accused the protection of the laws. Learning, that might have prejudiced its possessor before an unlettered forum, ceased to be pleadable to the jurisdiction, as the

judges became learned; and, in short, the refinements which the king's courts borrowed by degrees from the civil and canon laws enabled them, by like degrees, to assume and to discharge the functions which the ministers of those far more recondite and thorough systems of law were for a long period alone competent to discharge.

Two important subjects of jurisdiction, besides some of secondary consequence, were retained by the ecclesiastical tribunals, until the passage of the statutes that have been referred to, namely, marriage and its incidents, and the probate of wills and administration of estates; and it remains for us to resume the synopsis of the history of opinion and practice connected with the first-named of these subjects.

Originally, and until the time of Innocent III., near the close of the twelfth century, the Church appears to have prescribed no form or ceremony for contracting marriage. Its courts assumed to inquire whether the contract had been made, and if it had, they held the parties to the just and legal consequences of it. In England, it is said that "the man came to the house where the woman inhabited, and carried her with him to his house, and this was all the ceremony."* But a council in the pontificate of that Pope required that all marriages should be celebrated *in facie Ecclesiæ*, that is, in the presence of a person of the Church in holy orders. Marriages not so celebrated, however, were never for that cause held to be void by the English courts Christian, but were simply deemed irregular, and the parties were compelled by ecclesiastical censures to renew the contract before the priest. An irregular marriage, moreover, could never be admitted in proof as the foundation of a claim in those courts.

A question was much debated, whether an irregular marriage, not followed by cohabitation, should prevail as against a subsequent one contracted with a different party in presence of the Church, and consummated. A statute of Henry VIII. was passed for the purpose of giving effect to the latter; but this was repealed in the reign of his successor, in conformity with the doctrine of the ecclesiastical courts, and with the

* Viner's Abridgment: *Marriage*.

opinion of the best jurists. But the law of Henry VIII. prevailed until a recent day in Ireland, upholding the second marriage if followed by cohabitation, against the first, celebrated even *in facie Ecclesiæ.*

But the Council of Trent was never recognized by the king's courts in England, where the matter has always been considered independently of the decrees, and, with the exception of certain forms prescribed in a series of statutory provisions beginning with the act of 1752, remains as it was in ancient times. Consent constitutes the marriage, and may be proved like other facts. Thus dower and courtesy, with the other ordinary civil consequences, attached as well to the marriage of dissenters as to the regular ecclesiastical contract. The same is the case in Scotland, which country never adopted the decrees of the Council of Trent, and whose laws required no ceremony to confirm the contract of marriage.

In several of the States of the Union in which no statutes had been enacted to regulate the matter, the law has at different times been judicially declared in conformity with that of Scotland. The subject was lucidly discussed in an opinion pronounced by the late Judge Woodbury in the Superior Court of New Hampshire, in which it was held, that no intervention of priest or magistrate was required to render a marriage contract valid, and to endow the contract with its civil consequences. New Jersey, Connecticut, and probably other States, recognized the same general law. In Massachusetts, the several statutes which had been made from a very early period on the subject, and which will presently be referred to, were held to be not merely directory, and a marriage was decided to be invalid, though the *consensus et concubitus* were proved, there having been no magistrate or minister present and taking official cognizance of the contract.

During the period of the Commonwealth and the disorganization of the national Church, justices of the peace performed the marriage ceremony, and an act of Parliament after the Restoration confirmed the contracts so made. The Puritans in New England naturally adopted the radical principles that prevailed in England, and an ordinance was passed in 1646 which limited to magistrates, and to persons elected in

the towns for that purpose, the power of solemnizing marriages. This remained in force about fifty years, when another ordinance was enacted, extending that power to ministers of the Gospel. These ordinances were in substance re-enacted by the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1787.

Soon after this, the Quakers, who for nearly a century and a half had celebrated their marriages with the forms prescribed by their own faith, although not authorized, but actually forbidden by law, became alarmed by a question that arose as to their legal effect and validity. The possibility of their having been wholly void, which certainly derives countenance from a decision of the Supreme Court subsequently pronounced, and to which we have already adverted, was too serious, and an act of the Legislature was procured for their confirmation.

Espousals, as we have said, were a promise to marry at a future day, and never required any ceremony. They might be ratified, say the canons, by an oath, a pledge, a writing, or a kiss. The binding force of the engagement was recognized in an imperfect degree by the Jews and by the Romans, from whichsoever source the canons may have derived it. Joseph "had a mind to put away privily" Mary, to whom he was espoused; and the Roman gallant had only to send his sweetheart the short message, *Conditione tuâ non utor*, "I do not insist on your engagement," and it was at an end. But the Church, as has been said, held these engagements sacred, and would compel the parties, by the usual means, to keep them specifically. This power, as well as that of requiring the parties to celebrate or renew an actual marriage *in facie Ecclesiæ*, was taken away by the marriage act of 1752.

But the binding force of a mutual promise of marriage was recognized at an early day in the secular courts, and there is a case reported as early as the reign of Henry VII. "A woman in London had given to the plaintiff flattering words *equipollentia* to a promise of marriage; and by that means he had delivered to her money and other things; and she had caused the plaintiff to retain counsel for her, and to travel about her suits in chancery; and afterwards the woman refused to marry him, but married another." Suits of this kind seem, however, not to have been of familiar occurrence; for in 1698 a ques-

tion arose whether they could be maintained, since the parties had their remedy in the ecclesiastical courts. It is superfluous to say, that they have since been common both in England and in this country, and that juries are directed to take into view the fortune of the delinquent party in awarding damages.

The dogma of the canons which assigned to the marriage tie its character of indissolubleness for causes supervening after its formation, was extended in early times to the prohibition of second nuptials. But this was gradually relaxed or limited to special cases, though it had not so wholly disappeared in the reign of Edward VI. but that, in the scheme for the reformation of the canons proposed at that time, provision was expressly made for the allowance of second marriages. The same dogma rendered impossible the dissolution of the bond of matrimony for the criminal conduct of either party. But for unchaste or cruel behavior, rendering the cohabitation of the parties insufferable, the canons allowed only a qualified separation, called a divorce from bed and board, sending back the severed pair upon society in the anomalous condition of "a wife without a husband and a husband without a wife." Such was the nearly unvarying practice from the earliest times till the act of the present sovereign, during all which period no divorces were granted but by acts of Parliament for the cause of adultery, nor by Parliament even for the adultery of the husband.

It is remarkable that in the earliest legislation and practice in this country, and even in laws still in force in many cases, one or both of the divorced parties are precluded from marrying again; so thoroughly engrafted upon the minds of the Puritans and their descendants were these opinions.

In Scotland the law has long been otherwise; in the plan for the reformation sketched by Cranmer as the head of a commission created for that purpose in the reign of Edward VI., and which has already been referred to, it was provided that the crime that has been mentioned should constitute a cause of divorce *a vinculis;* and such is believed to be the law in all the States of the Union in which legislative provisions have been made.

During the first five hundred years of the Roman Commonwealth, it is said that there were no divorces, though the laws made provision for them. It is easy to infer from this tradition, that such occurrences were rare. It is certain that they became afterward extremely frequent. The tendency in the modern states of Europe has been, to relax the strictness of the canons in this particular, and in some this has been carried to an extent that has called forth very severe animadversions, as imperilling domestic security and faith, and indeed the entire social fabric. But in some of the United States, legislation has advanced almost as far in the same direction; and the principle seems to have prevailed, that a state of facts which affords ground to conclude that a marriage has ceased to yield to the parties and to society the benefits for which marriage is designed, constitutes a sufficient cause for dissolving it, and for permitting the parties to form new and more propitious connections if possible. It is not perhaps extravagant to say, that, in premising the various states of facts under this category, the lawgivers of our country have emulated the astuteness with which the canons sought, in the articles of affinity, spiritual cognation, precontract, and like prevenient causes, the means to annul connections which parties had felt to be intolerable, but which the theory of the law pronounced indissoluble.

Against this tendency here and abroad to mitigate the strict and ancient quality of the marriage bonds, sages have protested, as being the consequence of a relaxed morality, and as leading to further degeneracy. On the question thus raised, it would be unphilosophical at this day to form or to enforce opinions by reasoning *a priori*. From the facts to which we have adverted, it would seem that in the progress of civilization, whether Roman or modern, divorces have become by degrees of more and more frequent occurrence, and laws have, in both cases, yielded to the force of opinion, and have been so modified as to afford increased facilities for procuring them.

We think there may be room for doubting whether this sign or concomitant of refinement in manners should necessarily be set down to the account of degeneracy in morals.

The materials for the history of domestic manners, which are of course more scanty as we recede into the less refined epochs, will hardly authorize us to decide whether the grievances and scandals then submitted to by parties indissolubly joined were greater or less than those which, in later periods, have demanded a relaxation of the marriage tie; and whether a state of things for which, in the advanced phase of civilization, society has demanded and obtained a remedy, in the earlier, being deemed remediless, produced the ordinary evils of despair.

We are too much accustomed in this country to regard laws as the fruits of opinion and of the public morals, — to attach very great consequence to them as affecting either the one or the other.

> "The real hardened wicked
> Wha hae na check but human law,
> Are to the few restrictet";

and in a like proportion are those who are actually affected by the laws in question, or indeed by any laws formed for the enforcement of personal morality or the protection of public decorum. Upon the enactment of a new law, adapted to the relief of a class of conjugal infelicities, a fresh crop of divorce cases appears in our courts; but we think that no attempt has been made, with even partial success, to show that these laws, even when carried to the utmost extreme of latitude yet attained, have perceptibly affected the aspect of society. Divorces are still rare, even where least infrequent.

A series of acts of Parliament of the 20th and 21st of the present Queen had for one object the taking away from the ecclesiastical courts all their jurisdiction in cases matrimonial, testamentary, and concerning the administration of the effects of intestates, and to vest that jurisdiction in lay tribunals constituted by law for that purpose. Thus the Church parted with the much diminished remnant of an office strictly secular in its nature, which it had held since the Saxon conversion. But this was practically of no further importance, than to transfer from the Church to the Crown the appointment of the judges clothed with the jurisdiction;

for the bishops themselves had little to do with the business of their courts, which has been for many years transacted by their officials or delegates, — using each of these terms with a meaning somewhat broader than the technical one.

A more important object was to empower certain of the newly created tribunals to decree a judicial separation at the instance either of the husband or the wife. This decree may be obtained for the cause of adultery, cruelty, or two years' desertion. It restores the wife, in general, to the civil capacities and rights of a single woman, but does not allow either party to contract another marriage. The act provides also for the dissolution of the bonds of matrimony at the instance of the husband, upon proof of simple adultery; or upon the wife's petition, on the proof of adultery accompanied with such cruelty as would of itself furnish ground for a judicial separation, or accompanied with bigamy or incest. In case of the husband's petition, the adulterer may be made a party; and the action of *crim. con.* is abolished; for this party may be required by the proceeding to pay costs and damages. For a dissolution of the marriage, setting the parties wholly free, application must be made to a court comprising some of the principal law dignitaries of the kingdom; but a judge of assize may hear and determine an application for a judicial separation. The act contains also a provision, by which a wife who has been deserted by her husband may obtain the control of property subsequently accruing to her by her own industry or otherwise, so that neither the husband nor his creditors can appropriate it.

In conformity with the established usage of Parliament to grant divorces only upon the application of the husband, this act, it will be seen, distinguishes the adultery of the wife, which is made a sufficient cause for a dissolution of the marriage, from that of the husband, which furnishes ground for a judicial separation only, unless accompanied with facts that give peculiar aggravation to the offence. Opinions have been expressed by many writers, and by Dr. Johnson in conversations detailed by his biographer, which give countenance to this distinction. It is one, however, not generally recognized or regarded in the legislation of these States, which, we

believe, uniformly attaches the same consequences to the offence, whether committed by the husband or the wife.

These acts were passed in the midst of a good deal of discussion both in and out of Parliament, upon the various subjects embraced in their purview. In particular, the provision which they make for the protection of the acquisitions of married women was framed with reference to exigencies of a distressing character then brought prominently into notice, and which were supposed to demand a much greater relaxation of the rule of the common law merging in the husband the civil being of the wife, with all her chattels and the usufruct of her lands. The statute has, however, stopped far short of disturbing that rule, which some of the admirers of the common law point out as one of the safeguards of domestic purity, harmony, and order, and which they boast has preserved English society at an elevation very far above that of the Continent, where the principles of the civil law prevail, keeping the property of the husband and of the wife distinct, admitting possible conflict of interests between parties who should have but one interest, and affording her who has devoted herself to obedience facilities unknown to the severe usages of England for escaping from her state of subordination, and indeed for dictating terms. The statute has in this respect stopped far in the rear of points attained, in the course of reform, by some of the legislatures of these States, where more constant and violent fluctuations in property and business than prevail in the old countries have been supposed to create the need of further legal protection to the fortunes of married women than formerly existed.

ART. VII. — *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, communicating, in Answer to a Resolution of the Senate, a Report showing the Amount expended and the Progress made in the Coast Survey.* Senate, 35th Congress, 2d Session. Executive Document, No. 6.

WE have, on two previous occasions, introduced the subject of the Coast Survey of the United States to our readers: first, with a view to make it generally known, and afterward to aid in securing it from a change of plan, or of administration, which, if accomplished, would have lessened, if not destroyed, its usefulness.

On the first of the occasions referred to, we gave the early history of the undertaking, and described the difficulties, dangers, and delays with which it was attended; we explained its merit and utility; and, without enlarging upon the purely scientific and technical parts of geodesy, we aimed to show that the geodetic is the only method by which the survey of an extended region of country can be safely conducted, and thus that it was entitled to the cordial support of the government and the country. The second notice of the Coast Survey to which we here refer was written for the purpose of protecting it against attacks which threatened its character, rather than its existence; and then, also, it was necessary to say something concerning trigonometrical surveying, in order to prove that there are no cheap and rapid expedients by which to produce those results that are the rewards only of profound learning and patient labor.

Eighteen years have elapsed since the last of these papers was written, and now we resume the subject, not to support the Coast Survey, but to record its achievements; not to defend science, but to show how fully science can vindicate itself, when it is allowed full scope for its development.

Previously to 1844, owing to circumstances long since buried in the past, the Coast Survey, though it was in active operation from the year 1832, had not been free from embarrassment, having had to struggle not only with the difficulties naturally attending the setting on foot so great an enterprise, of

which the advantages were not immediately apparent, but also with difficulties pertaining to its internal organization, which affected its atmosphere somewhat like a "continual dropping in a very rainy day." But sixteen years of unremitting successful labor have wholly altered the aspect of its affairs. The grateful task is before us of placing under the observation of our readers some of the results which justify Sir Roderick Impey Murchison in saying, in his address before the Royal Geographical Society, that "the very efficient manner in which the Coast Survey of the United States is conducted by Professor Bache could not fail to make it one of the most *perfect exemplifications of applied science of modern times*," and in speaking of the Annual Reports of the Superintendent as "encyclopædias of great value." This task we shall perform briefly.

The actual progress of this enterprise is in a great measure told only by statistics. The number of sheets in its geographical register, both of topographical and hydrographical drawings; the extent of its triangulations in square miles; the number of its various astronomical, magnetic, tidal, and other observations; its calculations and reductions, its written records in all its manifold departments; its engraved plates, and printed and published maps; — all these, brought into comparison with the amount of money expended, and the number of persons employed, furnish the means of testing its working capacity, and of forming an estimate of the fidelity and industry of its agents. But views based upon statistics merely, and presented in arithmetical and tabular forms, though precise and determinate, are not very attractive to the general reader. We propose, therefore, to take a more popular method of exhibiting the gradual expansion of the Coast Survey to meet the rapidly increasing demands upon its labors; and subsequently to point out some of the most striking instances of the unforced co-operation, resulting from the execution of its strict duties, that has grown up between this institution and other branches of science, as also of art, — which last Mr. Worcester in his great Dictionary has justly defined to be "applied science," and not something "opposed to science," as it is defined by other lexicographers.

The death of the former Superintendent of the Coast Survey, Mr. Hassler, occurred in 1843; and during the same year, by direction of Congress, a plan for the conduct of the Survey, and for its organization, was prepared by a board of officers appointed for the purpose, in which plan the scientific methods employed by Mr. Hassler were fully recognized as the proper basis of the work, while the details of its execution were carefully systematized and improved by the experience of the preceding ten years. The death of the gentleman who alone had controlled the operations of the Survey up to this time, the reorganization, the accession of a new Superintendent, and the rapid extension of our territorial limits, ensuing almost immediately after Professor Bache's appointment, all combined, gave rise to an entirely new state of things, and created an epoch from which are dated the changes that have given to the Coast Survey its present reputation of being one of the most remarkable examples of modern applied science. It was most fortunate for the country that a man of Mr. Hassler's learning, ability, and suitable preparatory education, was present to give a right direction to the views of the government when the Coast Survey was founded; and no notice of the work to which he remained faithful through thirty-five years of varied fortunes ought to omit a passing tribute of respect to his memory and services. It was equally an advantage to the Survey that it found in his successor one not only fully qualified for the post by previous pursuits and by natural endowments, but one who was imbued with that spirit of active, vigorous enterprise which was requisite to meet the demands of Congress and the country.

The earliest step towards a more comprehensive scheme of operations was to divide the whole of the Eastern sea-board, including the Gulf of Mexico, into nine sections, comprising a nearly equal extent of shore-line, with the intention of prosecuting the work separately and simultaneously in as many of these sections as the appropriations would permit.

Previously, the work, proceeding eastward and southward from a single base, measured on the south side of Long Island, had been confined to a few of the Central and Eastern States, and had embraced no other inland waters than Long Island

Sound and its harbors, the waters connected with the city of New York, and Delaware Bay and River. It would seem to have been the original purpose to continue the same lines, measuring occasional verification-bases, and thus to proceed by regular and unbroken connections along the whole extent of the coast. We say this without censure: it was the method adopted in the great European trigonometrical surveys. The ordnance survey of England was begun sixty-nine years ago; the trigonometrical survey of Scotland has already occupied more than fifty years; and it required twenty-two years to complete the survey, even within the narrow limits of Ireland. On the Continent, the application of this *lente ac paulatim* principle is quite as conspicuous. The surveys of France have been in progress nearly a century; those of Russia, more than thirty years; those of Prussia, Austria, and other states, from thirty to seventy years; and they are all still incomplete, and in some cases suspended. These facts must be borne in mind, in order to make a right estimate of the effect of a change of plan, by which the operations of the Survey could be carried on just as many times as fast as the increased number of sections; that is, *nine* times as fast before the acquisition of Texas and California, and *eleven* times as fast subsequently to their accession. Nor does this statement comprise the whole of the new views contained in the first report of the present Superintendent. By the division into sections, not only were the fields of work multiplied, but the different processes of the Survey, so far as not incompatible with one another, were to be carried on simultaneously; and further, the preference was to be given to those processes which circumstances might render the most desirable.

Each section being made the scene of operations which for a time were to be independent, the preliminary step was to measure new bases. As the triangulations extended, these bases became bases of verification for the adjoining sections. Thus the greatest latitude was allowed for the selection of sites for bases, and for the most favorable disposition of the triangles; and at this present time the combination of many sections has united most parts of the Eastern coast of the United States into one comprehensive scheme of triangulation.

The adaptation of this mode of enlarging the work to the Southern coast formed one of its chief recommendations. The inaptitude of that level region for triangles with large sides was apparent without the trouble of a reconnoissance, and it was a question, started early in the history of the Survey, how this obstacle was to be overcome. The most obvious expedient was that employed in the northern section of the great meridional arc of India, where it crosses the flat territory of the Doab. Costly edifices of masonry, with walls five feet thick at the base, and two at the summit, are erected at each of the principal stations, and their height, about fifty feet, is sufficient to command a view above the vegetation. Such expedients were in accordance with the former progress of the Survey, which, advancing in two directions from a central base, was necessarily slow. The value of permanent and conspicuous structures of masonry to designate points of primary triangulation is not underrated; but as a substitute for these, the Coast Survey avails itself of light-houses, churches, and other prominent and durable constructions. Fortifications have been very serviceable, not only for this purpose, but for planes of reference. These objects are not necessarily occupied as stations, but are observed upon, from surrounding positions, so as to be embraced in the network of triangulation, and compose a part of it. In general, temporary means of elevation have been employed, such as the high tripods, with independent stands for the instruments, first used in Delaware Bay by the distinguished surveyor and hydrographer, Mr. Edmund Blunt, the senior assistant of the Survey for the last fifteen years.

The plan of carrying on the operations simultaneously in numerous distinct sections (making so many separate concurrent surveys) involved the necessity for the greatest attainable accuracy, without which the ultimate junction of the sections would have led the assistants to whom were assigned the subordinate triangulations, on coming to the end of their work, to exclaim, "What profit hath he that hath labored for the wind?"

The measurement of the *base line*, which is the starting line or first side of the network of great triangles composing the

fundamental basis of the Survey, is a labor requiring as much as any other a philosophical regard to minute details, and long previous preparation. Upon its correctness depends the value of all that follows. This measurement is obtained from the frequent repetition of small measures: the problem, therefore, is, as far as possible, to remove all errors from the small standards, and to ascertain and allow for those errors which are unavoidable.

The principal source of error is change of temperature. The lines measured by the same bar in winter and in summer might differ very materially in nominal length. The difference in the original base of the Coast Survey, thus measured, might be about twenty feet, and, by a rough estimate, an error of twenty feet in this place would amount in one of the largest triangles to about one tenth of a mile. Next to accuracy, expedition was to be regarded, simply because the number of measurements was so much increased.

Leaving out of the account the two preliminary bases measured by Mr. Hassler in 1817, there have been nine principal base-lines measured since 1832, one of them by Mr. Hassler himself, and three by Mr. Hassler's apparatus, consisting of an assemblage of four iron bars, each two metres in length. The successive contacts of these bars in the process of measurement were optical, and made under a powerful microscope; while thermometers laid along the bar, and touching it, furnished the arguments for corrections for temperature according to experiments previously conducted and tabulated. Excellent results were obtained by this means; but the process was inexpressibly tedious, and the corrections for the expansion and contraction of the iron bars would now be regarded as approximations only. To secure despatch, and to reduce the multitudinous errors arising from variations in the state of the atmosphere in respect to heat, the present Superintendent applied the principle of compensation to an apparatus constructed in the office of the Coast Survey, under his direction.

Measuring bars upon the compensating system were first used by Colonel Colby in Great Britain, and afterward by Mr. Borden in the Trigonometrical Survey of this State. On

the present occasion, however, a principle not before applied was introduced in reference to the dimensions of the bars. It may be thus stated. Bars of brass and iron of the same dimensions will not, owing to their different degrees of conducting power and specific heat, heat equally in equal times; and therefore, while changes of temperature are in actual progress, the system ceases to be compensating, although it finally becomes so when the changes cease, and the temperature is uniform throughout the system. This Mr. Bache corrected by giving to the bars a coating that made them absorb equally, and by proportioning the sections to each other, so that both would have the same temperature during variable temperatures of the atmosphere. To do this satisfactorily, it was necessary to make direct experiments upon the materials of the bars themselves, after having first arranged them approximately by means of the numbers from the books.

The bars (tied in *sets*) are covered with a double conical case of tin to keep the fluctuations of the temperature within moderate limits, and the supports on which they rest are covered with several thicknesses of imperfectly conducting material, for the same purpose.

The length of each apparatus (or *set*) is compared before and after final measurement with a standard iron bar that had been tested in the Coast Survey office by means of Mr. Saxton's reflecting pyrometer. By this instrument, a change of the hundred-thousandth part of an inch in the length of the standard bar is perceptible. Finally, the contact between two sets of bars is made by a blunt knife-edge and a plane of agate, and a lever of contact at the ends of the bars is corrected by a level so delicate that several of its divisions compose a quantity wholly insignificant.

To the preceding description it should be added, that the bars (regulated in size by the relative specific heat of the two metals) were heated above the highest temperature to which they could be exposed in actual use, in order to give them a *set*, — a precaution at first overlooked in the compensation base-apparatus of the British Ordnance Survey, but afterward resorted to from necessity. It will be readily perceived, that this application of the lever of contact and level (first used by

Bessel in the adjustment of standards of measure) has not only increased the delicacy and simplicity of the base apparatus, and diminished the work of manipulation, but also removed several sources of error. By the dependence upon *optical* contact, and the employment of a microscopic apparatus, to determine the distance between the compensation points, two different terms, each having its peculiar standard, are introduced into the measures. Such was the case in the British and Indian Surveys, and Colonel Everest complained of the consequent liability to error, and the burdensome accumulation of petty corrections.

To sum up the foregoing details, we will now inquire, first, into the accuracy of the new base-measuring apparatus, and secondly, into its convenience for handling, and its general adaptability.

The remeasurement of a base of seven and a half miles in India differed 2.4 inches from the first measurement. In a base of seven miles, Dr. Bache found that this difference might be about half an inch, if all the errors were supposed to fall on the same side, which is highly improbable. The probable error in the actual remeasurement of one hundred and twelve yards was less than five thousandths of an inch, and the positive error in remeasuring one third of a mile was nothing.

Secondly, the mechanical arrangements by which the apparatus is placed in position, raised and lowered, moved to the right and left, and produced in line to bring it into effectual contact with its follower and predecessor, are so complete, and such is the convenience of handling for transportation, that a mile has often been measured in a single day without fatigue; and, as an evidence of its adaptability, it is sufficient to say, that it passes over ground varying three degrees in slope, both ways, without the necessity for any addition to its ordinary means of adjustment.

Seeing the Coast Survey thus provided with a plan of operations by which its work can be increased tenfold, or, in other words, by which the time required for its completion can be diminished in the same ratio, — and also with a base-measuring apparatus by means of which this plan can be carried into im-

mediate and safe execution, — we will trace, in the most rapid manner, the progress of the Survey from a period a little subsequent to the date of our last paper, that is, during the incumbency of the present Superintendent. In doing this, however, it is to be remembered that there is one element of work extraneous to the work itself; we mean, of course, money. The appropriations of Congress have been very liberal, though more might have been usefully expended than has been supplied. The purely financial statement will be included in the consideration of the economical management of its affairs.

The operations of the Coast Survey may be classified under the general divisions of field-work and office-work; and these two divisions are subdivided again into geodetics, topography, and hydrography, under the head of field-work; and into computation, drawing, engraving, map-printing, compilation of records and results, clerical labor, and scientific investigations, under the head of office-work. It is unnecessary to say, that each of these subdivisions receives a further partition in the assignment of duties to assistants of different grades, and to the scientific gentlemen, artists, and artisans attached to the Survey.

We have named the out-of-door work in the regular and prescribed order of its execution; — first, the primary triangulation, which, in a hilly country, leaps over the intervening plains with great strides; beneath, perceiving with its delicate levels and plumb-lines the very nature of the geological strata over which it is standing, and above, holding commerce with the skies in the determination of its geographical positions, and of the varying directions of its azimuth; and followed or accompanied by the reticulations of the secondary and primary triangulations, which descend to the lower surfaces, and fill up the large intervals which the master workman leaves behind in his visual journeys through the higher regions. Next comes the topography, which furnishes a descriptive map of all places, and by means of its hachures (*hatchings*), and its accurately defined symbols, contains every minute detail, concerning the nature of the soil, the elevations and depressions, with their contours, the flora and productions, whether uncultivated or

cultivated, and the plots of towns and cities, with their public institutions and open spaces. Resting upon the preceding follows the hydrography, which, sometimes leaving the land at a distance (as in the case of the Nantucket Shoals), depends solely upon conspicuous points of the primary triangulation, and is often compelled to continue that triangulation out of sight of land by using floating objects, such as small vessels and light boats; and again in harbors and rivers derives indispensable aid from the smallest objects, and the faintest features of topographical outline.

But this prescribed order has not been strictly followed. To have adhered to it closely would have trammelled the work, and retarded its usefulness. In July, 1848, instructions were issued for commencing in the tenth section (the coast of Oregon); and in 1850 the eleventh section (the coast of California) was embraced in the Superintendent's scheme of active work. Now, to have proceeded by regular stages in these almost unknown regions would have been utterly to neglect the urgent demands of commerce, and to expose human life to unnecessary risk. Accordingly, the land parties sent to Oregon and California were complete within themselves for all the operations of the Survey; and the water parties were directed to visit in rapid succession those parts of this hitherto little frequented coast which most needed attention, and to furnish with despatch coast-line sketches, independent geographical determinations, soundings, sailing directions, and, where requisite, harbor and river surveys. To meet these and similar wants, on both sides of the continent, as many as forty-three preliminary bases have been measured; and all the information collected in the course of the ordinary, or occasional and extraordinary pursuits of the Survey, is communicated as soon as received, through the newspapers, by preliminary sketches, and by pamphlets, supplied to the chart-sellers, to the Boards of Trade, and Chambers of Commerce, for gratuitous distribution throughout the country. The mention of this flexible accommodation of the Survey to such necessities should never be forgotten, not only because it is a means of increased usefulness precisely suited to our political condition, but because the apparent disproportion in the different parts

of the work on the Western, as compared with the Eastern coast, might otherwise require explanation.

In 1844, there were two centres of work, one including the coast of Long Island and Buzzard's Bay, the other the entrance of Delaware Bay and the upper part of the Chesapeake. In 1845 this work was extended eastward and southward, — a new centre in Albemarle Sound having been added, — eight general and harbor charts were published, and the survey of the Gulf Stream was begun.

To avoid a tedious multiplicity of details, we pass next to the state of the work in 1849 and 1850. In 1849 the operations in the first section had reached the State of Maine; in the second section, from Point Judith to Cape Henlopen, the field-work was nearly completed, and the work of verification and publication was in progress; in the third section, the Chesapeake was completed, and the outside, or coast-line work, was begun; in the fourth section, a base was measured on Bodie's Island, and the Albemarle centre joined to it, and the outer coast on this parallel was begun; the Charleston harbor centre was established in the fifth section, and the Key West harbor centre in the sixth section; the work in Mississippi Sound was continued in the eighth section, and that in Galveston Bay in the ninth section. In 1850, there was added to the preceding the preparation of parties and materials for the work in the seventh section, — the coast of Florida, and keys and reefs in part; and the work in the tenth and eleventh sections, on the Western coast, was satisfactorily inaugurated by a general hydrographic reconnoissance from Columbia River to Monterey harbor.

During the years 1855 and 1856 every section was the scene of active labor. In 1856 the work had reached Mount Desert in Maine, and Matagorda, at the mouth of the Colorado, in Texas; and had covered considerable portions of the coast of California, and of Oregon and Washington Territories, from San Diego to Puget's Sound and Hood's Canal.

A summary of the different steps of progress up to the year 1857, and including that year, shows that the work is certainly more than half done on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, and the appropriations of every succeeding year secure

a much more considerable rate of advance than the average of the past. A comparison of the relative progress in the earlier stages of the enterprise has proved that it is more economical to conduct it on a large than on a small scale, principally on account of the division of labor, and the facilities for working on different parts of the coast during different seasons of the year. It is obvious, that the sooner the entire results of the Survey can be presented to the growing commerce and navigation of the country, the better. The extent of the coast being determined, economy and utility demand that all the means should be furnished, which, in the hands of its well-trained, active, and intelligent officers, can hasten the time of its completion. A few years more will bring it to a close on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, if a steady progress at the present rate is secured by the appropriations. We say this, however, without anxiety. Congress has manifested a uniform disposition to sustain the Survey, and to extend its advantages to the remote and border States. What the Survey has actually accomplished, and its reputation at home and abroad, have gained for it unlimited confidence and respect.

Throughout the period we have had under consideration, the publication of the charts has kept pace with the field-work; preliminary charts being published for each year's work, in advance of the elaborate and finished maps. As we have already said, local surveys of dangerous regions have been made, and sketches published in anticipation of the connected work; as, for example, of the Nantucket and Monomoy Shoals, Hatteras Shoals, the Frying-Pan and Cape Fear Shoals, Cape Roman Shoals, Canaveral Shoals, and others. The same course has been pursued in places affording special conveniences for commerce and navigation, and nearly half the harbors and most important inlets of the Atlantic coast have been surveyed, and made known in published charts. Every season, as the hydrographic work comes in, a preliminary chart is drawn and engraved, and the engraved plate receives new additions every year by the electrotype process, — of which more hereafter. Charts of two hundred and thirty-five harbors, inlets, shoals, sounds, bays, and portions of the coast

and of rivers, have been drawn, engraved, and published. The number of maps, charts, and sketches drawn within the year 1857 (our final date), or now in progress, is ninety-five, and the number engraved, or yet in hand, is eighty-four. Of these, twenty-nine are first-class maps, twenty-six are preliminary charts, and twenty-nine are sketches and diagrams. The list of publications of the Coast Survey shows that one hundred and forty-eight sheets of this description may be obtained from the General Disbursing Agent, and the local agents in the principal marts of commerce. The number of copies distributed in one year, under the Act of Congress and regulation of the Treasury Department, has been nineteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

A few facts touching the cost of the Coast Survey, comparing it with itself at different periods, and with other similar works, may be not uninteresting. We have before observed, that, setting aside the desirableness of extending the Survey at once to all parts of the coast, a great saving both in time and money has been effected by the gradual increase of expenditure; and it may be added, that greater accuracy has been at the same time attained. To show the saving in money, we may compare the first twelve years of active operations, from 1832 to 1844, with the twelve years immediately succeeding. During the first of these periods, the amount appropriated and expended was seven hundred and sixty-six thousand one hundred and thirty-four dollars; and during the second, three million nine hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and thirty-one dollars; that is, the expenditure for the last twelve years amounted to about four times that for the preceding twelve. Now, if we leave out of the calculation the improved observations on the tides, the Gulf Stream explorations, the magnetic and the meteorological observations, (to which there is nothing to correspond in the first of the periods under consideration,) and the additional office-work, arising from the reduction and investigation of all these observations, we shall find that the field-work during the last period was more than seven times as great, and the office-work more than ten times as great, as in the preceding period. Or it may be put thus: from 1832

to 1844, expenditures, 1; field-work, 1; office-work, 1; — from 1844 to 1856 – 57, expenditures, 4; field-work, 7.3; office-work, 10. Supposing the increase for an interval of twelve years to be gradual, both in expenditures and results, the annual increase in the former would be thirty-three per cent, and the annual increase in the latter sixty per cent, showing again an economy of twenty-seven per cent. Thus it appears that the generous desire of Congress to confer the benefits of the Survey upon all parts of the Atlantic and Pacific borders, as soon as possible, has effected a vast gain in time and money. And it is also perfectly apparent, from the above comparison, that the limit of annual expenditures, beyond which it would be neither safe nor economical to go, has by no means been exceeded, and has not even been reached.

For a comparison with former surveys, we may turn to the costly enterprises of Great Britain, France, Austria, and Russia, and may thus not only qualify ourselves to form a just estimate of the method and economy with which our appropriations have been used, but may also see what a largess the liberality of kings and emperors bestows upon geodesy.

The whole amount expended upon the Coast Survey of the United States, up to 1857, was three million seven hundred thousand dollars, including land work and hydrography. At this date the land work and hydrography of Great Britain had cost twenty millions of dollars, and both were incomplete; the land and hydrographic survey of France had cost nearly ten millions of dollars; while during the preceding seventeen years the trigonometric survey of Austria had cost eight millions and a half. The measurement of the great arc from the mouth of the Danube to the northern boundary of Sweden, accomplished under the direction of the illustrious Struve, the completion of which was announced to the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg in 1852, occupied thirty-six years; but we have no means of ascertaining its real cost.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in an official letter, dated February 7th, 1849, states the comparative cost of our own and other geodetic work in the following language: —

"I have taken some pains to inform myself in regard to the relative

cost of this and foreign works of a similar kind. Of these, two of the most important works are those of France and Great Britain.

"The tertiary triangulation and topography of France cost on an average one hundred dollars per square mile, or fifteen cents and six mills per acre. This is exclusive of the cost of the great geodetic work by Delambre, Mechain, Biot, Arago, and others.

"The estimates in 1847 for the secondary triangulation and topography of the trigonometrical survey of Great Britain, commenced in 1791 by the Ordnance Corps, are at the rate of one hundred and three dollars and eighty-one cents per square mile, or sixteen cents and two mills per acre. This is exclusive of the army pay of the ordnance officers, but inclusive of the pay of three companies of sappers, numbering three hundred and fifteen, employed upon the work. The near approximation of these sums to each other indicates that they are standards of comparison. They average fifteen cents and nine mills per acre, which is between twice and three times the cost of an acre of secondary triangulation and of topography taken together in the Coast Survey, as shown by the expenditures of 1847 and 1848.

"The surveys of Würtemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt cost respectively twenty-five and twenty cents per acre.

"Similar data for the cost of the hydrography in foreign countries are not before me; but I may mention that the appropriations for hydrography alone, made annually by Great Britain as a contribution to the navigation and commerce of the world, have amounted in ten years — from 1837 to 1847 — to more than four times the appropriation for the survey of the Coast of the United States, land work and hydrography both inclusive; and this is besides the appropriation for the trigonometrical survey."

We have spoken of our Coast Survey with the praise it merits, not without the glow of satisfaction which the contemplation of this noble work is suited to inspire; and, we may add, not without a sentiment of peculiar pleasure in seeing the philosophical spirit of Franklin reproduced in his great-grandson. We have already cited the approving judgment of Sir R. I. Murchison, to which we might add the authority of the equally distinguished President of the Royal Geographical Society, Admiral William Henry Smyth, who said in his annual address of 1850: "The Coast Survey of the United States is a truly national undertaking, and has been most creditably conducted through all its various departments of

science. I have studied the question closely, and do not hesitate to pronounce the conviction, that, though the Americans were last in the field, they have (*per saltum*) leaped into the very front rank." We might, if necessary, furnish similar attestations from Arago, Schumacher, and Humboldt, who have given their unqualified approval to the conduct of the work. At home also the learned societies, — as the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the Franklin Institute of Pennsylvania, the Faculties of St. John's College, Maryland, and of the University of Virginia, — as well as the Boards of Trade and of Underwriters, the Chambers of Commerce, and other bodies interested, have been forward in proffering the most flattering testimonials.

But were we to stop here, we should leave our readers very imperfectly acquainted with the nature and whole extent of the valuable services performed by the Coast Survey, some of which are the direct, others the indirect, results of its regular operations. Among the direct results, the most prominent perhaps are the hydrographic discoveries and corrections which have signalized the progress of the work; and it is a noticeable fact, to which we call special attention, that these discoveries have been made, not in places remote and little known, as might have been expected, but in the very central seats and thronged highways of our commerce. A new channel (Gedney's), straighter and deeper than the channels before known, over the outer bars of New York harbor, is the boon conferred upon our commercial emporium. In the beaten path of navigation to Europe from the Middle States, and upon the border of our own coast, a hidden, unsuspected danger has been discovered and marked out, "a very dangerous flat, and fatal, where the carcasses of many a tall ship lie buried," Davis's New South Shoal. Massachusetts Bay, Buzzard's Bay, Long Island Sound, Delaware Bay, Chesapeake Bay, and, not to continue a dry list of names, almost all the harbors, rivers, and inlets upon the Atlantic coast, have been improved in their navigation, and that chiefly by the actual discovery of useful channels or of previously unknown perils. The list of the discoveries of this kind amounts to between one hundred and forty and one hundred and fifty. These benefits,

however, constitute the proper and expected fruits of the work; but it is not a little remarkable, that they should most abound in the places supposed to be best known, such as Ammen's Rock on Cashe's Ledge, Stellwagen's Bank in Massachusetts Bay, Blake's Channel in Delaware Bay, and Maffitt's Channel in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina.

The exploration of the Gulf Stream comes under this head. It affords the earliest indication of approach to our coast, along which it runs at such a convenient distance as to mark the line of transition from the waters of the ocean to those of the coast, and to warn the seaman to have his sounding apparatus in readiness, and prepare his anchors. And to so good an account has this invaluable warning been turned, taken in connection with the peculiarities in the form of the bottom on different parts of the coast, that we are justified in saying that, of the frightful wrecks which have frequently occurred on the coasts of Long Island and New Jersey, few would have happened if the sailing directions of the Coast Survey for the port of New York and its approaches had been earlier in hand and strictly followed. These directions have been printed in a separate pamphlet for gratuitous distribution by the Life-Saving Benevolent Association of New York.

The objects in view in the exploration of the Gulf Stream are not solely nautical, and for immediate utility; they are also scientific, and of general interest. The observations of Lieutenant George M. Bache — "whose life fell a sacrifice to his zeal in the discharge of his duty, and whose loss science was called upon to mourn, just as he was commencing, with his accustomed ardor, the investigation of one of the most interesting phenomena of our globe" — have been published elsewhere, and are regarded as of the highest value.

The Coast Survey has met all other claims upon its service; such as questions as to harbor improvement, and lights, buoys, and beacons throughout the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts; local surveys; data for every project for the advancement of commerce and navigation; and questions of naval and military defence. Upon this last subject, the eminent soldier at the head of the Engineer Corps employs the following language: —

"For many years the Engineer Department has had no other re-

source than the Coast Survey, for the general information necessary for the determination of the sites of new fortifications. It has often been without other resources as to local topography and hydrography. It has been enabled, by this aid, greatly to expedite the construction of defensive works of the highest necessity; and I must not omit to add, that the operations of the Coast Survey have, on some occasions, by the kind consideration of the Superintendent, been specially arranged in the order of time, and in the manner calculated soonest to supply our necessities. . . . .

"In relation to the improvement and preservation of harbors, it may be said, generally, that, great as the function of exhibiting the coast in its present state may be, a not the less important one is the detection of its disturbances; for only on the exact knowledge of these, (already found by the labors of the Survey to be great, various, and often threatening,) can any judicious precautions and remedies be founded."

A commission, of which Professor Bache is a member, has recently been appointed by the general government for the scientific examination of Boston harbor, and it will be indebted almost exclusively to the Coast Survey for the information on which its conclusions and recommendations will rest. Commissions, or councils, connected in a similar manner with this work, have been appointed for most of the important harbors and rivers, from Portland, Maine, to the St. John's and Apalachicola, inclusive.

We speak of the foregoing as the expected results, as the returns due to the public; and we may observe, that the usefulness of the exact measurements of the Coast Survey in relation to the frequent changes of our alluvial sea borders was pointedly referred to, and anticipated by us, in the last of the papers mentioned in the beginning of this article.*

Perhaps we ought also to place in the same class of expected results the contributions of the Coast Survey to those branches of applied science which are intimately connected with, or included in, the science of geodesy. We have already noticed the new base apparatus, with which the first step is taken. In the second step — the measurement of the angles of the primary triangulation — a change in the mode of observing

* No. CXV. pp. 452, 453.

has been introduced and steadily practised, which consists in keeping up the observations in all states of the atmosphere, when the signals are visible, instead of confining them, as before, to days when the signals present a well-defined and steady image. The aim is, to ascertain by trial (involving a discussion of the observations in connection with the changes in the appearance of the signals) the number of observations of this last kind, so as to reduce the probable error to what may be deemed the unavoidable errors of instrument and observer. By applying this mathematical test of the least probable error to observations made under such conditions as are not unfavorable and of frequent occurrence, the rapidity of the work has been increased, and its value enhanced rather than diminished.

Owing to the irregularly elliptical form of the earth, it is necessary to multiply independent determinations of the latitude of the points of main triangulation. For this purpose, the method of measuring astronomically differences of latitude by the zenith telescope, invented by Captain Talcott, late of the Engineers, has been employed for the first time for geodetical purposes. A description of this method, with examples from the Coast Survey, has been published in a handsome form (by order of the Topographical Bureau of the War Department), by Captain T. J. Lee, whose valuable labors while attached to the Survey were chiefly devoted to astronomical and magnetic observations. It appears from this publication, that the latitude is given by a single night of observation to a fraction of a second; and that in four or five nights it can be determined with the minutest accuracy of which astronomical measurement is susceptible. At the twelfth meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Science, Professor Bache made the remarkable statement, that, in the observation of the same stars, the same observers with different instruments, and different observers with the same instruments, brought out the same results. A comparison of latitudes deduced geodetically from a central point with the nice determinations of the zenith telescope, has led to the discovery of certain changes in the level, which could be attributed only to variations in the form and density of the materials composing the earth's crust.

These variations are *similar* to those caused by the proximity of mountains, but had hitherto escaped notice. A similar discovery was afterward made by Major-General Colby, and appears to have been anticipated by La Place in the opinion given by him in the Chamber of Peers, in 1817, upon the topographical map of France: "If the latitudes of the extreme points (of certain lines) are observed, and the length of the seconds pendulum corresponding to these points measured, a great deal of light will be thrown upon the figure of the earth, and upon the irregularity of its degrees, and of gravity." To what extent this astronomical *divining-rod* may be used by geologists in deducing from differences of density or the want of homogeneousness of structure the nature of the underlying strata, is an inquiry which at present admits of only a speculative answer.

As in the latitude, so in the longitude, the Coast Survey has enriched what it touched; with this difference, however, that in the former it improved methods already known, while in the latter it has invented a new method, which now takes precedence of all others, where it can be employed. To have ascertained the availableness of the electro-magnetic telegraph for the exact determination of differences of meridian, to have prescribed from experience the details of the process now known in Europe as the *American Method*, and to have invented the register for recording the observations, constitute a merit and a distinction which history will assign to the Coast Survey. The observations and the mathematical investigations belonging to this important undertaking were made, under the direction of the Superintendent, by the late distinguished astronomer, Mr. Sears C. Walker. It has been shown that, under favorable circumstances, and with due care in the use of the transit instrument, the astronomical difference of longitude between any two stations of a trigonometrical survey may be determined by telegraphic signals, with a degree of precision of the same order as that with which the difference of latitude is determined,—the inaccuracy depending upon the same causes that govern the deviation of the plumb-line. The French are engaged in the redetermination of the longitudes of their great trigonometrical survey by this American method of the electric telegraph.

We purposely avoid detailed descriptions of instruments and methods, in both cases, because we are dealing only with general results; but since the accurate determination of latitude and longitude lies at the foundation of all geography, and since most of the States through which the Coast Survey passes will undoubtedly avail themselves of the bases it is able to supply, to form correct maps of their own territories, under circumstances very favorable to economy and accuracy, it seems hardly possible to overestimate the value of these additions to the common stock of astronomical knowledge.

Leaving now the route we have thus far followed, we will turn aside from the regular work of the Survey, to consider for a moment its indirect and collateral relations with general science, and with applied science, or art. We shall find here some new and surprising proofs of the mutual connection of the physical sciences. We will present a curious instance of this connection, which recently occurred in the Coast Survey, and, after being communicated to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, was published by the Superintendent in the *American Journal of Science and Arts*. In February, 1855, Professor W. P. Trowbridge (known by his contributions to the meteorology of the Western coast), observed that singular curves had been traced by the self-registering tide-gauge at San Diego, on the 23d and 25th of December; and having satisfied himself by an inspection of the meteorological records, and from the length of the curves, that the irregularities could not be produced by disturbances from storms, he decided that "there was every reason to presume that the effect was caused by a submarine earthquake." When the record sheet of the self-registering tide-guage at San Francisco was examined, similar irregularities in the curves for the same days were found upon it. About the 20th of June, accounts were received from Japan of a violent earthquake that occurred on the 23d of December, in which the Russian frigate Diana was much injured. There were several shocks; the sea rose five or six times in a wave thirty feet above its ordinary height, overflowing the town of Simoda in the island of Niphon, and carrying houses and temples before it in its retreat. Yeddo was injured; the fine

city of Osaka was entirely destroyed; and the whole coast of Japan suffered more or less damage. Having taken every precaution to obtain the most exact dates and incidents within reach, Professor Bache determined, first, from a comparison of the times, the rate of motion of the earthquake wave to be from 6 to 6.2 miles per minute, or between three hundred and sixty three and three hundred and seventy miles per hour; secondly, by combining this rate of motion with the periods of oscillation, he determined the length of the wave on the San Francisco path to be between two hundred and ten and two hundred and seventeen miles; and thirdly, by applying a rule laid down by Airy in his *Tides and Waves*, he determined the mean average depth of the sea on the San Francisco path to be two thousand three hundred and sixty-five fathoms, or 2.68 miles, and the corresponding depth on the San Diego path two thousand one hundred fathoms, or 2.38 miles. Mr. Mallett, in the appendix to the fourth and last of his learned and able reports *On the Facts and Theory of Earthquake Phenomena*, to the British Association, copies largely from Dr. Bache's paper, and says: "It is, up to the present time, almost the only record, of scientific pretensions, of the phenomena of earthquake great sea-waves, and is a model for those engaged in tidal observations upon British or European coasts, of what is needed to make their results connect usefully with the requirements of those occupied in seismical inquiry." These investigations have converted the self-registering tide-gauge into a new and valuable seismometer. The connection between the Coast Survey of the United States and the researches of Mr. Mallett of Delville and M. Perrey of Dijon into the theory and facts of earthquake phenomena, is so little apparent at the first glance, that it might seem incredible. The approximate determination of the average depth of a portion of the great North Pacific Ocean, seconding and co-operating with the long-continued efforts of the most eminent hydrographers to solve the same and similar problems, is another instance of the intimate and helpful relations established between the labors of persons employed in distinct fields of physical science.

The connection of which we speak is presented in a still more interesting and important light, when we view the depths

of the great oceans in their cosmical relation to the astronomical problem of the tides. In the tides, the oscillation of the second kind, as it is called, upon which depends the difference of two consecutive tides in one day, is much less than it should be, according to the theory of Newton; and La Place has shown that, if the depth of the sea were the same throughout, the difference between two consecutive tides would be reduced to that caused by local circumstances. From the want of harmony between theory and observation it is inferred that the variations from a mean depth in the sea are not great. "The mean depth of the Pacific Ocean is supposed to be about four or five miles, that of the Atlantic only three or four, which, however, is mere conjecture." "The density of the sea being but one fiftieth, nearly, of the mean density of the earth, that fluid must have little influence upon the variations of the degrees, and of gravity, and upon the two lunar inequalities of which I have just spoken. Its influence is still further diminished by the *smallness of its mean depth*." After proving that the surface of the terrestrial spheroid would be nearly in equilibrium if it became fluid, La Place adds: —

"From this, and from the fact that the sea leaves bare vast continents, we conclude that it cannot be very deep, and that its mean depth is of the same order as the mean height of the continents and islands above its level, a height which does not exceed a thousand metres (0.62 mile). This depth, then, is but a small fraction of the excess of the radius of the equator over that of the pole, an excess which exceeds twenty thousand metres. But in the same manner as lofty mountains cover some parts of the continents, so there may be great cavities in the basin of the sea. Yet it is natural to suppose that their depth is less than the elevation of high mountains; because the deposits of rivers, and the exuviæ of marine animals, carried along by the currents, must in time fill these cavities."

La Place proceeds to speak of the importance of this result to natural history and geology, and remarks: —

"The sinking of one part of the basin of the sea exposes another part of it, of an extent so much the greater as the sea is the less deep. Thus vast continents may have emerged from the ocean, without great changes in the *figure of the terrestrial spheroid*."

This question of the probable mean depth of the sea, which we have seen to be so important in its bearings, is partially and to that extent satisfactorily answered; and the Coast Survey, in the performance of one of its most simple practical duties, has lent confirmation to the results of the great Frenchman's inquiry into "the invariability of the axis of rotation of the earth at the surface of the terrestrial spheroid, and the uniformity of this rotation, upon which all astronomy reposes."

The floor of the great seas supplies us with another occasion for exhibiting the mutual dependence of physical studies, and their applications to the wants of daily life. By the inspection of a nautical chart, it will be perceived that the two principal objects of the soundings marked upon it are to give the depth of water, and the distinctive character of the bottom, — whether hard or soft, sand or mud or shells, or a mixture of two, together with the color of the materials. For a long time, no further use was made of these materials brought up by the lead from the long shelving banks of quartzose sand that front upon our Atlantic border. But having been placed under the microscope, they disclosed matters of interest to the geologist and naturalist.

The microscopic examination of the specimens of soundings was begun by the late Professor J. W. Bailey of West Point, the result of whose labors was published in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, in the Coast Survey Reports, and in Silliman's Journal. Several new species of *Foraminiferæ* — a family which constitutes the greater part of the submarine fauna in the profounder depths — and of *Diatomaceæ* were described by him, and their relative abundance at different depths pointed out. One of the most interesting results of his researches was the discovery of the fossilization of the *Foraminiferæ* in certain localities, and of the fact that the substance called green sand by geologists, which has given its name to an important formation in the cretaceous series, is composed of these fossilized mollusks, and that the process is going on now at the bottom of the ocean, in some places near our coast.

A large number of specimens were also examined by Mr. Pourtales. He first pointed out the fact that the number

of specimens of *Foraminiferæ* found in the soundings increased very much with the depth, so that on our Atlantic and Gulf coast, at least, after reaching a depth beyond one hundred fathoms, the sounding-lead brings up *Foraminiferæ* almost entirely without admixture of other materials. The soundings taken on the line of the Atlantic telegraph have since confirmed this fact, and extended the range in depth of these minute organisms to nearly two thousand five hundred fathoms. By designating with colors on a map the positions in which the various species of *Foraminiferæ* were found more or less abundantly, their distribution according to depth is rendered very evident. Thus the hundred-fathoms line appears to form nearly the limit towards the shore for the *Globigerinæ*, which form the greater bulk of those abundant deposits mentioned above. Other characteristic species are seen to inhabit the shallower parts, some being confined to the region between ten and fifty fathoms, while some, beginning at twenty-five fathoms, extend to sixty or seventy. The region in which the formation of green-sand is going on appears to be a band, nearly on the hundred-fathoms line, off the coast of Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. The *Foraminiferæ* are rather rare near the shore on our Atlantic coast, but are extremely abundant in the calcareous sands of the Florida Keys. In a zoölogical point of view, these investigations have been of much interest. About one hundred and sixty different species of *Foraminiferæ* have been found on our coasts, a great many of which are probably new to science.

We have already spoken of the exploration of the Gulf Stream; and we might enlarge upon the importance of an investigation which has led to the knowledge of the "distribution of temperature at different depths," of the "distribution of temperature at the same depth on different sections," of the "connection of the figure of the bottom of the sea with the distribution of temperature," and "of the lateral limits of the Stream."

The researches of the Coast Survey into the tides and cotidal lines of both our Eastern and Western coasts demand separate treatment, on account of their value to navigation, and their theoretical deductions.

The geological examination of Florida Reef, by Agassiz, made under the auspices of the Survey, has resulted, we have the highest authority for saying, in one "of the most important contributions by which American geology has ever been enriched," that is, the discovery that the peninsula of Florida is of recent origin; that it has been formed by the growth of successive coral reefs, from north to south; and that this growth is still slowly proceeding.

Our knowledge of terrestrial magnetism, — its periodical changes depending upon the hour of the day, the season of the year, and the regular interval of years, — and of magnetic storms, with their diurnal, annual, and decennial periods, as established by Major-General Sabine, has not failed to receive its share of elucidation from the labors of the Coast Survey.

But we dismiss these topics, that we may adduce one or two examples of the practical application, by the Coast Survey, of the most valuable results of experimental science. Here we would first speak of the electrotype, which has been developed into a high state of efficiency, and has conduced to the economy of time, labor, and money. It is used principally to perpetuate the publication of the charts and maps of the Coast Survey. All electro-metallurgical methods are founded upon the observed fact, that if a body is immersed in the solution of a metal, and kept negatively excited, it receives a gradual accretion of the metal in solution. This principle admits of two forms of application, or leads to two distinct methods or processes of electrotyping; — one called the *single-cell process*, in which the object that receives the deposit is made part of the electrical generator; the other, called the *battery process*, in which the electrical generator is distinct from the objects receiving the deposit and the vessels containing them. The latter is the method used in the Coast Survey.

We omit all description of the electrical generator, or battery, its preparation for use, and the mode of attaching the galvanometer, because they embrace details uninteresting, probably, to the general reader. Assuming the battery to be in order, when an engraved plate is to be electrotyped, the two chief desiderata are to put the silver plates in the most complete negative condition, and to keep all the plates in perfect

metallic connection with the main conductors. For the first of these purposes, it was the European practice to film over the silver plate with a spongy deposit of platinum; but the efficacy of this method is of short duration. It has been discovered in the Coast Survey office, that by occasionally immersing the silver plates in the perchloride of iron — which has the property of dissolving all the metal positive with regard to silver, and leaving the silver untouched — they are maintained in their primitive energy of action. Another peculiarity of the Coast Survey method is the manner of suspending the zinc and silver plates. The latter are suspended by lead, to avoid the disturbance of the electrical relation of the plates consequent upon the use of a metal soluble in sulphuric acid, or of a metal subject — as iron is — to rapid dissolution from the electrical effect of the silver. But the zinc plates are suspended by iron, because, unlike the lead (which is liable to disintegration by mercury), iron refuses to unite with the mercury covering the zinc, is rendered negative by the zinc, and is thus protected from destruction. A third peculiarity of the Coast Survey method consists in the manner in which the deposited copper is prevented from cohering with the engraved plate, and forming an inseparable mass. After the plate has been cleansed by alkalies, acids, and mechanical appliances, till it is *chemically clean*, it is washed in a solution of cyanide of silver, from which it takes a pearly hue, then in water, and then in alcohol. While it is still wet with alcohol, a solution of iodine in diluted alcohol is poured over it, and about a minute afterward the iodine solution is washed off with alcohol. Enough of iodine is still left, however, to give the plate when dry a slightly iridescent appearance. This method of iodizing the matrix, to prevent cohesion, has removed all risk of injury to the engraving, though before its discovery some disastrous consequences resulted from the early trials. The application of heat to vaporize the iodine, the regulation of the current of electricity so as to prevent the granular deposit of the copper, and the length of time for which the engraved plate is allowed to remain in the vat, have been all decided by actual experiment.

The first electrotype copy produced is an *alto*, which, being

subjected to the same processes as the engraved plate, furnishes a perfect fac-simile of the latter; and the copy only is used for printing the charts, the original engraved copper-plate being kept in the fire-proof building belonging to the Coast Survey.

The cost of the electrotype copy is about three times that of the blank copper on which the original engraving is made. It will afford a just idea of the value of these improvements and discoveries in the electro-metallurgic processes, to mention, that it took forty days at the beginning to finish a plate which can now be made in two days. In several instances the electrotypes have been in the hands of the printer in less than twenty-four hours after the requisition for them was signed.

The same views of economy and expedition have led to some special experiments in photography, the aim of which is to employ this art in furnishing the reduced drawings that are placed in the hands of the engraver. The suggestion was a natural one. It was met at the outset with this difficulty, — that the faithful natural copyist, without the power of selection, portrayed the distortions which the field-sheets of the Survey rarely fail to suffer from exposure to the atmosphere; it was requisite, therefore, to discover some method of making selections, and correcting errors.

The recent improvements in photography have been chiefly in the optical arrangements. To have a clear conception of these, it must be understood that there are two kinds of cameras employed in photography. One of them is constructed solely with reference to rapidity in producing the picture; and this is the sort used in taking likenesses, and pictures of moving objects, which are obtained in a fraction of a second. The other form is favorable to correct delineation, but proves to be very slow in its operation. Early in the introduction of the photographic art, the celebrated mathematician, Professor Petzval of Austria, applied himself to the calculation of such forms for the optical part of the portrait camera as would produce the most rapid action, and clearness of delineation combined. The making of these "portrait combinations" was intrusted to the optician, M. Voigtlander, and the cameras have received his name. The Voigtlander lenses are admi-

rable instruments for photographic portraiture; but the image they make is not a strictly true copy, only the central parts being minutely delineated. The want of sharpness in the image, except in the centre of the field, arises from the object's having a spherical form, while the picture is necessarily flat; and it is only when the plane is normal to the surface of the sphere that the best effect is produced. This defect has been remedied by Professor Petzval's orthoscopic (*line-viewing*) lens, between which and the portrait lens the difference is, that in the latter the aim is to concentrate the greatest amount of light upon the image, while in the former the end in view is the refraction of the incident rays at the same relative angles at which they fall upon the lens. By this means, in the orthoscopic pictures, several objects preserve their relative sizes and lateral distances. Hence the fitness of this method for producing reduced copies of drawings. The orthoscopic lens in use in the Coast Survey will make a picture fifteen inches in diameter, free from sensible error.

It is employed to furnish a reduced chart in the following manner. The primary charts, being supposed to be distorted by shrinking, must first be corrected. For this purpose, a sheet of transparent cloth called *tracing vellum* has the latitude and longitude lines of the chart correctly laid down on it, which divide the vellum and the chart into corresponding squares. The vellum is then laid on the chart, and such parts of the latter as are required in the reduced copy are traced over, square by square, the vellum being shifted so as to distribute the errors of each square, and thus to make the whole error inappreciable. In tracing the work the exact contour cannot be followed: many details must be omitted, especially those which lose their significance in the reduced size. The tracing on the vellum is presented to the camera reversed, in order that the collodion positive may not be reversed, as it appears in ordinary daguerreotypes and ambrotypes.

The ambrotype thus obtained from the tracing furnishes the elementary lines for the engraved chart. The ambrotype or collodion positive having been obtained, the tracing is presented obversely, or with its face outward, and another ambrotype is obtained as before; but this picture is reversed. It is

carried through the chemical process, which leaves the parts that were white in the tracing, black, and the parts corresponding to the black lines, transparent glass.

From this negative a print on paper is made, by preparing the paper with nitrate of silver, covering it with the negative, and exposing it to the sun. The light, passing through the transparent lines of the negative, blackens the nitrate of silver beneath. The portion of nitrate of silver not blackened being removed by chemical process, the print exhibits a fine reduced drawing of the tracing. The photographer puts in the filling between the portions of the contours given on the positive, and it is then ready for the engraver.

In the economy both of time and money, the photograph promises to confer advantages similar to those derived from the electrotype. A numerical comparison with the time and cost of reducing by hand cannot yet be fully made, because it would require that several charts should be reduced by both methods. In one instance, however, where the comparison was made, the time was as days to weeks; and the expense was in like proportion.

The President of the British Association, Richard Owen, in the last published *address*, gives an account of the "advances achieved in this most subtle application and combination of discoveries in photicity, electricity, chemistry, and magnetism"; yet he makes no mention of its being used in the way just described. As far as we know, this application of heliography is original with the Coast Survey.

A special appropriation has been made by Congress for the publication of the records and results of the Coast Survey; and the work of the year 1849 has been selected to form the contents of the first volume of Geodesy, as embracing details of every class, and therefore suited to give a full view of all the operations.

It will contain detailed accounts of the measurement of a principal base line, and of some preliminary bases; of observations of angles for primary, secondary, and tertiary triangulations; of observations of latitude with the zenith sector and with the zenith telescope; and of observations of azimuth and of time. The description of instruments, and of methods of

observation and reduction, will form a necessary and valuable portion of the first volume. Another volume has been prepared, giving an account of the Coast Survey *Chronometric Expeditions for ascertaining the Longitude between Cambridge and Liverpool*, by Mr. George P. Bond, Director of the Cambridge Observatory. A volume containing the *Explorations of the Gulf Stream* has been prepared by the Superintendent, with the assistance of Professor A. G. Pendleton of the Navy. A volume containing the results for telegraphic longitude since 1852 is under the charge of Dr. B. A. Gould. There is also ready for publication a volume of *Sailing Directions* for the Coast of the United States, enbodying all the hydrographic information brought out in the progress of the Coast Survey, in reference to harbors, dangers, ports of refuge, and sailing marks and lines; in which last are included light-houses and beacons, currents and tides, and the variation of the compass.

We early took a deep interest in the prosperity of the Coast Survey, and having prophesied its usefulness, and vindicated its character when assailed, we have allowed ourselves to enjoy its success. If we shall appear to have reviewed it with too much partiality, it will be remembered that we have furnished a warrant for our favor by citing the opinions of those "whose judgments, in such matters, cry in the top of ours."

We have reserved for the last and most decisive proof of the justice of our criticism, the emphatic tribute paid to the Survey by the Royal Geographical Society of London, in adjudging to Dr. Bache the Victoria Gold Medal for the year 1858, in consideration of "his successful labors in carrying out the great Coast Survey of the United States of America."

"It would be impossible," said the President, in his address on the presentation, "to do justice to an extensive work of this sort, on an occasion like the present; but as the previous Reports of the celebrated Coast Survey, from 1844 to 1855 inclusive, are in our library, those of our associates, and of the public generally, who wish to form an estimate of their value, can do so at their leisure, and they will see how vastly our medallist has pushed on this great work. They will assuredly then rise from the examination with the thorough conviction that, whether we regard the science, skill, and zeal of the operators,

the perfection of their instruments, the able manner in which the Superintendent has enlisted all modern improvements into his service, the care taken to have the observations properly registered, his modest and unpretending demeanor, or the noble liberality of the government, tempered with prudent economy, all unprejudiced persons must agree that the Trigonometrical Survey of the United States of America stands without a superior."

ART. VIII. — *The Life of John Collins Warren, M. D. Compiled chiefly from his Autobiography and Journals.* By EDWARD WARREN, M. D. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 420, 382.

As we have been recently reminded by Dr. Warren's successor, "the Professor at the Breakfast-Table," who can write about both as an expert, talent is of immeasurably higher value and larger availableness than genius. Pegasus, prancing in mid-air, is a spectacle to be gazed at and admired; but for the actual uses of this earthly life feet are worth more than wings, and the power of apprehending the things that are gives a working position and force, which may be supplemented, but cannot be compensated for, by the richest endowments of a creative fancy or a discursive imagination. In the subject of the memoir before us we discern talent of a rare and high order, without genius, or the show or pretence of it; and we are inclined to think that Dr. Warren's deficiencies contributed equally with his eminent gifts to constitute his merit and his fame. Among his many titles to reputation we suppose the foremost to have been that of a pre-eminently skilful and successful surgeon. The foundation for this transcending ability was, of course, the most thorough and accurate scientific knowledge of the anatomy of the human frame, not in theory alone, but in all the details of normal, abnormal, and morbid fact. In this department of knowledge there was equal need of the power of close inductive reasoning and of an inaptitude for rapid and hypothetical generalization. It was essential that theory should never exceed the

contents of observed facts, and that every inference should be the legitimate consequence of well-established premises. There was need, too, of the commensurate and equal development of the physical and physico-intellectual powers with those of pure intellect, — of the keen eye, the discriminating ear, the discerning touch, the steady hand, with judgment, invention, and prescience. All these requisites were combined, evenly balanced, and directed with unparalleled self-discipline, self-restraint, and industry through the entire life of the distinguished man, whose fragmentary records of his own experience are brought into unity in the volumes before us by the careful editorship and the graceful, impartial, and appreciating narrative of his brother.

John Collins Warren was the nephew of General Joseph Warren, the patriot physician, and the son of Dr. John Warren, who is believed to have had but one equal, and no superior, among the American surgeons of his day. He received the rudiments of his classical education at the Boston Latin School, in which for seven years he was, except for a very short interval, at the head of his class. In college he maintained a high character for scholarship and for moral excellence, and was graduated in 1797, with the Latin Valedictory, — a post of honor then assigned by vote of the class, but none the less an index of proficiency in classical learning. His father, unwilling to expose him to the cares, anxieties, and harassments of his own profession, destined him for mercantile life; but it was hardly possible that the son should not have had his ambition kindled by the father's fame. Nor ought we to omit here, though it is left in modest silence in the memoir, the eloquence and enthusiasm of the elder Warren as a Lecturer in the University. We heard in our youth, from old men who had listened to him in college, of the wonderful fascination which he imparted to themes not in themselves attractive, and especially of the thrilling tones, and often tear-choked utterance, in which he loved to exhibit the miracles of the Divine handwork in the human frame. It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise, that the younger Warren, after a year devoted to the French language under the tuition of the late Mr. Sales, embraced the medical profession, and commenced its study as his father's pupil.

The opportunities for medical study in Boston were at that time restricted. The town was healthy, the population comparatively small, and the amount and variety of surgical practice by no means extensive; and there was neither public hospital nor medical school. It was therefore determined that young Warren, after the first year, should prosecute his studies in Europe. Accordingly, in the summer of 1799, he embarked for London, where he entered at Guy's Hospital, as a "dresser" under William Cooper, the surgeon, who was shortly afterward succeeded by his nephew, the eminent Sir Astley Cooper. Here he was "immediately put in charge of about forty patients, comprising as interesting a collection of surgical accidents and diseases as could be desired." We cannot refrain from quoting his announcement, in a letter, of his introduction to active professional duty; for it indicates the strong development of the ruling passion of his life, and at the same time is the only instance in these volumes in which his language departs from the calm and even flow of a mind not easily elated or thrown from its perfect poise.

"I am the luckiest dog in life! I was called away at the end of the last period (i. e. while visiting Netley Abbey with some ladies, and preparing to explore a subterranean passage) to a dislocated shoulder, which I have reduced in very handsome style. Within the three first days of my week I have had one fracture, and one injury of the cranium; one fractured leg, and another that we thought was fractured at first; one fracture of the ribs, and this dislocation; besides two or three trifling accidents. I have been exceedingly fortunate every way; and I verily begin to think I shall be famous." — Vol. I. p. 35.

After a year in London, diligently spent in hospital service and attendance on lectures, our student went to Edinburgh, where he lived in the most retired and frugal style, and passed the morning in hearing lectures, the afternoon and evening in writing out his notes and remembrances of them. In the summer of 1801 he left Edinburgh for Paris, where he became domesticated with Dubois, then sole surgeon of the Hospice de l'Ecole de Médecine. Here he had the distinguished privilege of listening to the lectures of Cuvier on comparative anatomy and paleontology, while he devoted his chief attention to chemistry and to the anatomy of the human

body. He thus in the space of nearly three years and a half availed himself of the highest privileges and the best opportunities of the three great centres of professional science and skill, and he seems to have resorted to each of the three with a distinct conception of the part of a thorough education which it was adapted to furnish, and with a prearranged plan of life closely consonant with his purposes. No American physician had then enjoyed such ample means of professional culture; and none can ever have been more faithful or judicious in their use. At the same time, if his character was ever immature, — which there is some reason to doubt, — it became thoroughly matured by these years of self-reliance and incessant labor, and he returned to his native town prepared to receive and merit public confidence in his professional ability and discretion, to a degree seldom attained without a protracted and weary novitiate.

At this time the elder Dr. Warren had sustained an attack of paralysis, from which he never entirely recovered; and the son's first care was to afford his father all the aid and relief possible in his very extended practice. As soon as was consistent with his filial duty, he commenced practice on his own account, and in 1806, in addition to the care of a large and increasing list of patients, he assumed the office of Adjunct Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the University, and continued to share the labors of that chair till he succeeded his father in it in 1815. Thenceforward it is difficult to write a consecutive story of his life; for it had few outward vicissitudes, and may best be described, not as a routine-life, but as regular and measured movement in an orbit which grew wider with every year, and on which he became ever a more conspicuous object of regard, trust, and reverence. We, therefore, in what remains of our sketch, shall follow the leading of his biographer, and present his relations to the public and his claims upon their gratitude rather than the succession of events and incidents.

The period of his establishment in Boston was a time of previously unprecedented intellectual activity. A private society had recently been formed for the study of natural philosophy, and of this he early became an active member and lecturer. Here he was associated with Drs. Jackson and Howard of his

own profession, with Messrs. Kirkland, Popkin, and Channing among the clergy, and John (afterward Judge) Davis, Josiah Quincy, and John Lowell among the members of the bar. Before this society Dr. Warren took for one of his subjects the analysis of the well-water of Boston, and was instrumental in first drawing the attention of intelligent men to its impurities, and to the need of introducing a competent and healthful supply of water from some adequate source. This great public interest he kept constantly in view; wrote often on the subject; appeared before a committee of the Legislature; and had the satisfaction, after the labors of nearly half a century, of witnessing the consummation of his plans and hopes in the completion of the Cochituate aqueduct.

In 1803, he became a member of the Anthology Club, under whose auspices was issued the first literary periodical of high merit and commanding reputation which appeared north of Philadelphia. The Monthly Anthology was conducted with marked ability for six years, and the literary activity which it embodied and aroused led, shortly after its suspension, to the establishment of our own journal, with very much the same circle of contributors, with kindred aims, and, we trust, with similar benefit to the awakened intellect of New England. The reading-room and library of this club grew by slow stages into the Boston Athenæum, which in process of time absorbed also the Boston Medical Library, founded mainly by the exertions of Drs. Warren and Jackson.

In 1803, Dr. Warren also became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and, in connection with Dr. Jackson, he succeeded in infusing a new life into its organization, "stimulating the members to write, and undertaking the labor of publication." In 1805, these gentlemen were appointed a committee to prepare a pharmacopœia for the use of the Society. The result of their labors was the introduction of a systematic nomenclature, the simplifying of medical prescriptions, and the diffusion of knowledge as to various remedies which had been restricted to individual practitioners or localities. We again find these same gentlemen on a committee of the Society to inquire into the efficacy of the

then recent practice of vaccination, and to report measures "for establishing the practice on a safe foundation." The report contains "all that is now known on the subject, and the proper rules of action, from which subsequent experience has shown no reason to deviate."

Prior to 1810, the Cambridge Medical School had hardly an existence as a distinct department of the University. The lectures were delivered at Cambridge, and were open to the undergraduates. After the removal of the School to Boston, it was obliged for several years to submit to straitened accommodations, and it was mainly through the untiring efforts of Drs. Warren and Jackson that a substantial building was erected and opened for its use in 1815. Dr. Warren, senior, who had also exerted himself largely for the same end, died on the eve of its accomplishment.

Another object which engaged the attention and enlisted the earnest efforts of the inseparable associates and friends we have so often named, was the establishment of a public hospital. An appeal to a few of the liberal citizens of Boston procured a subscription of a hundred thousand dollars, to which a grant of the State added fifty thousand. During the lapse of a few years this endowment was largely increased by legacies, several of which were obtained through the personal influence of Dr. Warren. He induced Mr. Abraham Truro, a Jewish gentleman of wealth and generosity, to bequeath ten thousand dollars for this use. He was also instrumental in procuring the legacy of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars by Mr. John McLean, whose name is perpetuated in the Asylum for the Insane at Somerville, — an institution which has its existence and administration as a branch of the Massachusetts General Hospital. He himself subscribed liberally toward the general fund of the hospital, and at a subsequent period gave a thousand dollars, the interest of which was to be appropriated for the purchase of moral and religious tracts for the use of the patients.

Dr. Warren first proposed the issue of a periodical for the advancement of medical science. The result was the establishment of the New England Medical Journal. This was commenced in 1812, and was continued till 1828, when it

was merged in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal. The editorship was in other hands, but the successive volumes contained frequent and valuable contributions from Dr. Warren.

Among the great social interests to which Dr. Warren devoted much of his energy was the cause of Temperance. He joined the Massachusetts Temperance Society in 1827, and from that period his efforts in this behalf were unintermitted, and were not confined even to his own country. In 1837, he acted as chairman of a temperance meeting in London, and in the same year he held a conference on the method and history of the temperance reform with several members of the administration of Louis Philippe. He attempted to supersede the use of alcohol in many medicinal preparations, successfully substituting for it "a wine produced by the fermentation of a vegetable infusion with sugar." He published an article in which he earnestly recommended this change of practice to his brother physicians; but the conservatism of the profession was too strong to admit so radical an innovation. One of his latest labors was the preparation of an historical sketch of the temperance movements for the last half-century, and in a legacy of two thousand dollars, the income of which was to be devoted to the distribution of temperance publications, he left a valuable and enduring memorial of his zeal in the cause. It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of such a man in this department of effort. Social reforms, in order to be thorough and permanent, must have the sanction and co-operation of those who hold a confessedly high place in society. The paucity of such names among the advocates of temperance has been the greatest hinderance to their success. The reason why so many men of high principle and undoubted philanthropy withhold the full force of their example and influence from this cause is perfectly obvious. They themselves and their associates are in comparatively little danger from the use of pure and costly wines as but one among the many luxuries at their command, and with them wine-drinking is often little more than a conventional formalism associated from time immemorial with the rites of hospitality. They are seldom brought

into conversance with the coarser forms of convivial entertainment, and are hardly aware of the intense peril resulting from the use of fiery manufactured wines, and maddening alcoholic liquors, where they are the only *quasi* luxury within the means of the entertainer. But so long as the more innocuous and expensive beverage is indispensable to the tables of the rich, the tyranny of fashion will enforce the use of corresponding beverages in every degree of cheapness and vileness through the entire social scale, — a scale down which reforms will run, while they cannot even creep up.

Dr. Warren's father was a worshipper at the church in Brattle Square. The son, on his return from Europe, attended the First Church, of which Rev. William Emerson was pastor, and afterward the Brattle Square Church, under the ministries of Messrs. Buckminster and Everett. In 1820 he connected himself with St. Paul's Church, at which he was a constant worshipper and communicant for the residue of his life. His religious convictions were the result of prolonged study and deliberate reflection, and, from the time that they became clear and strong, exerted their vivifying influence over his whole life and character. His biographer has preserved much of his religious correspondence, which exhibits profound humility, tender conscientiousness, undoubting faith in the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, and a hope of immortality which grew constantly brighter and happier as with the lapse of years it approached its consummation. We quote the following paragraph from one of his letters, as conveying in brief what a lengthened homily might fail to say as well, on faith.

"You ask me, my dear friend, what Mr. E. means by faith. How can I answer this question to a mind more acute and better instructed on this subject than my own? I have no doubt you comprehend the object he had in view better than myself; but perhaps we may view his opinions in a different light. Like all who have dwelt much on one subject, he sees it in many relations which would not present themselves to others; and it is by the attempt to convey all their relations we are confused, and get no impression from that which is principal and pre-eminent. What does he wish us to believe but this, — that faith is not a new nor an abstract principle; that, of itself, it is nothing but a

barren speculation; that, to make it fruitful, we must cultivate, not only the understanding, but the heart, and bring into its service, not the reasoning power alone, but the affections? We must *feel* as well as *believe*. We must feel the mighty power and goodness of our Creator, and we must realize his infinite love for us miserable beings in sending us a revelation of his character and his will by his blessed Son, and his accepting that Son as an offering for our frailties and transgressions, and listening to him as a Mediator for our prostrated and penitent souls. When the love of our infinitely beneficent Parent is brought into our view, we are not to satisfy our consciences with bowing our heads in respect and adoration, but we must bring our whole souls to realize his transcendent benevolence. With such a temper of mind cultivated into a permanent habit, all our thoughts would partake of love for that Creator who has done so much for us; and this love would banish all meaner thoughts, all the trifles of time and space, to their proper region. This blessed spirit of love would influence all our social actions, and, beginning in the narrow sphere which encircles ourselves, would extend to all men, and all the animated works of our common Father, and at length return and rise again to Him, the source of love and happiness."— Vol. I. pp. 177, 178.

Dr. Warren adds his emphatic testimony to that of very many of the busiest and wisest men, as regards the utility of the weekly Sabbath in preserving the powers of mind and the capacity of labor, — a ground on which the law of the Sabbath appears a law of nature no less than of revelation, inscribed on the human constitution no less than on the stone tablets of Mount Sinai. He writes: —

"So far as my observation has extended, those persons who are in the habit of avoiding worldly cares upon the Sabbath are those most remarkable for the perfect performance of their duties during the week. The influence of a change of thought on the Sabbath, upon the minds of such persons, resembles that of a change of food upon the body. It seems to give a fresh spring to the mental operations, as the latter does to the physical. I have a firm belief, that such persons are able to do more work, and do it better, in six days, than if they worked the whole seven.

"The breathing the pure and sublime atmosphere of a religious Sabbath refreshes and invigorates the mind, and forms the best preparation for the labors of the following week." — Vol. I. pp. 204, 205.

For thirty-five years Dr. Warren devoted himself to profes-

sional duty almost without intermission. The first period of relaxation he allowed himself was in 1837, when he revisited England, and travelled very extensively on the continent of Europe. Even this seems to have been hardly a vacation; for his diary is full of medical and surgical notes. Interesting cases of fracture, tumor, or epilepsy, the methods of distinguished surgeons, and the arrangements of hospitals, were the chief objects of his regard, to which scenery and art are secondary and incidental. By this we would by no means convey the idea that he was inaccessible to the attractions presented by nature and by human genius. Some of his letters display an intense susceptibility to the influence of the outward universe, and he had almost a poet's tenderness for some favored spots in his own native neighborhood, especially for Wachusett and its surroundings. At the same time, he was a lover and a liberal patron of the imitative arts, and manifested an eminently pure and refined taste in all that related to domestic architecture and horticulture. But this European tour, made in the midst of an arduous and successful practice, and fraught with opportunities for observation such as his well-earned celebrity alone could have procured for him, seemed like a special mission for professional purposes, and it is no wonder that his sympathies as a surgeon gave the chief direction to his curiosity, and held the foremost place in his record of travel. When in 1851, at a period of less engrossment in the great pursuit of his life, he again visited Europe, we find traces of a less exclusive devotion to his favorite science, and more extended comments on the objects that usually attract the attention of tourists.

As years advanced, and with them, with more than even pace, the infirmities of old age, he resigned one by one his more laborious posts of service; yet, till within eight days of his death, he continued to visit his patients as often as his declining health permitted. His fatal illness was brief; he contended almost to the closing hour with disease and debility, manifesting, while resigned to die, a strong hold on life; insisted on the last day on being placed upon his feet; and met the final change in a sitting posture. His decease was on the 4th of May, 1856.

Dr. Warren's self-consecration to science was displayed in no way more emphatically than in the directions left by him in writing for the disposal of his own body after death. The following is an extract from a letter of instructions to his son: —

"*To be opened after my Death, and before the Funeral.*

. . . . .

"The final and principal object of writing this letter is this, which regards the disposition of my mortal remains after the spirit has quitted them. The arrangement I wish is the following, subject to any peculiar circumstances of season, &c.: —

"1. Let the body be injected with arsenic after death, *soon*.

"2. The funeral solemnities to take place in St. Paul's Church, in the full and proper form of the church service.

"3. The body afterwards to be removed to the Medical College; examined or dissected, according to circumstances. Any morbid parts to be carefully preserved; and particular attention is to be paid to the heart, spleen, and prostate gland.

"4. The bones to be carefully preserved, whitened, articulated, and placed in the lecture-room of the Medical College, near my bust; affording, as I hope, a lesson useful, at the same time, to morality and science.

"I earnestly request that you and my family will lay aside any natural feeling of opposition to this my last request, considering that it is for the interest of humanity, and for mine and their honor.

"Finally, I take leave of you in the hope of our meeting again, and enjoying the society of our blessed friends who have gone before.

"Affectionately,

"JOHN C. WARREN.

"Boston, July 14, 1842." — Vol. II. p. 359.

There is absolute heroism in these directions, when viewed in connection, on the one hand, with Dr. Warren's well-known character, and on the other, with his professional experience. When a cold-blooded sceptic, whose heart has never thrilled with a tender sentiment, and who has looked upon himself as a mere earth-clod stimulated into brief activity and to be resolved into thin air and lifeless dust, leaves orders to cheat the grave of its due, we feel disgust, yet no surprise. But Christian faith and the undying hope to which it gives birth attach a sacredness to the body which has been the tenement of an immortal soul, and none are so heedful of the rites of sepul-

ture and the inviolableness of the tomb, as those whose belief in Christian verities is the most intimate and vital. This feeling is enhanced by the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which, no doubt with some latitude of construction, is an essential article of the creed of the Church to which Dr. Warren gave his allegiance. It can have been only by stern self-conflict, and under an imperative conviction of duty, that he was brought to provide a cenotaph for his memorial in the cemetery. But he had been made painfully aware of the need, for the benefit of the living, of a surgeon's unrestricted access to the members and the healthy and morbid organism of the human frame. He had been foremost among his brethren in efforts for overcoming the popular scruples to the dissecting-room, and procuring through legal methods a supply of subjects for the knife. He had claimed for science the bodies of the friendless, who died in public institutions, as well as of those who met their fate under sentence of the law. The question with him was one of sincerity and self-consistency. Should he, who had demanded that the natural sentiment for the dead should yield to the still more cogent exigencies of the suffering and imperilled, succumb to the feeling which he had spent his life in combating? We cannot but regard this bequest to his favorite science as a noble act of self-sacrifice; and while our intuitive sympathies are all arrayed on the other side, we feel constrained, by their instinctive recoil and shudder, to hold his memory only in the profounder respect and honor.

We have said but little of Dr. Warren in his own peculiar department, because his transcending merits as an anatomist and surgeon demand the hand of an expert to do them justice. We close our notice with some few details that may interest the general reader, referring those who may seek a fuller knowledge of his services to the volumes before us.

He was among the foremost of his time in cultivating the science of comparative anatomy, and was especially among the pioneers in our own country in the study of paleontology. His great work on the *Mastodon Giganteus* is an enduring monument of his patient industry and his extended knowledge in this recondite department of research. He obtained at his own expense a tolerably complete skeleton of a mastodon discovered

on Hudson River, and various other similar relics, on which he lectured repeatedly in Cambridge and Boston. He took also a deep interest in the craniological researches of Gall and Spurzheim, and made a large collection of brains, both of human subjects and of various classes of animals. It does not appear to what extent he accorded with the phrenological theory of Spurzheim; and it was probably with him rather an hypothesis for the collation of facts and the induction of general laws, than a representation of ultimate truth. By his agency, the valuable collection of the Boston Phrenological Society, containing more than five hundred and fifty articles, became the property of the University, and was deposited in the Massachusetts Medical College.

Very early in his medical practice, Dr. Warren had partly anticipated a great discovery of our own day, in the employment of sulphuric ether to alleviate the pain of dying, particularly in pulmonic disease. In 1846 he performed the first surgical operation in which ether was used as an anæsthetic agent, and became at once fully convinced of its vast importance in surgery. In the course of the first year's practice after this initial experiment he employed ether in more than two hundred cases, the results of which he communicated in a work entitled "Etherization, with Surgical Remarks." He strenuously opposed the use of chloroform, as at once dangerous even in skilful hands, and proffering strong temptation as a medium of inebriation. Chloric ether he preferred on trial to sulphuric ether, as more agreeable and less irritating to the lungs.

Among his important services to the public was the introduction to general use of "cracked wheat" as a preventive and remedy for constipation. He had previously used and recommended bread prepared from grain in which the bran was retained; and to his precept and example, and his admirable treatise on "The Preservation of Health," we are largely indebted for the dietetic reform in this respect which has taken place in domestic habits.

The catalogue of Dr. Warren's writings contains nineteen titles of separate works, with a very long list of medical, surgical, and scientific articles communicated to various periodicals and associations. The list of larger surgical operations,

performed by him at the Massachusetts General Hospital, exceeds five hundred in number, to which must be added those performed in the preceding twenty years, and afterward in his private practice.

These volumes contain medical and surgical papers and notes on a very wide diversity of subjects, and indicate an amount of industry with mind and pen rarely equalled, perhaps never exceeded, by one whose calls to active duty were so incessant and urgent. The entire record impresses us with admiration for his ability, skill, discretion, and various learning, and vindicates his title to a high order of intellectual merit, and a place among the most illustrious names in a profession second to no other in the eminent endowments of those who have been its ornament and honor. At the same time, we discern through his whole life uncorrupt integrity and good faith, transparent sincerity, and scrupulous conscientiousness. We suppose his to have been a somewhat hard and rigid nature, in great need of the intenerating influence imparted by the gentle faith and the loving spirit of Christianity; but this renovating power was manifestly infused into his whole being, — was not a force *ab extra*, but a new and modifying element of spiritual life, making him true to its divine ideal, and consecrating his powers and endowments to the service of God and man.

The memoir is compiled with eminent skill and felicity. The author has incorporated with it large portions of the diary and correspondence of its subject, which it was deemed desirable to preserve in a permanent form; and it was thus necessary often to duplicate the narrative, in order to connect fragments of manuscript which would otherwise have left the life-story imperfect. Dr. Edward Warren's style is chaste, perspicuous, and strong. The work could not have fallen into better hands, or have been executed more faithfully or more lovingly. It appears in the best style of the publishers, and with several well-executed engravings. It presents, of course, the strongest claims upon the interest of the medical profession; but the general reader will prize it, both as giving him a lifelike portraiture of a worthily eminent man, and as conveying, with the fewest technicalities possible, a large amount of valuable knowledge on a wide range of subjects seldom presented in a form so simple, intelligible, and attractive.

ART. IX. — *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life.* By CHARLES DARWIN, M. A., Fellow of the Royal, Geological, Linnæan, etc. Societies; Author of "Journal of Researches during H. M. S. Beagle's Voyage round the World." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 432.

THE author of this book endeavors to establish, though by a different theory and a somewhat different process of reasoning, the same conclusion which was arrived at by the French naturalist, Lamarck, and by the English author of the "Vestiges of Creation"; — namely, that all the species, genera, orders, and classes of animal and vegetable life are essentially of one blood and lineage, having been developed out of one another, without the intervention anywhere of any act of creative power; — developed by the slow but progressive accumulation, through what is practically an infinite lapse of ages, of differences and variations which were at first, and for a long period of time, so slight as to be wholly imperceptible. Mr. Darwin flatly denies, and labors to disprove, what has hitherto been received almost as an axiom in zoölogical and botanical science, — the doctrine of Permanence of Type. If his theory is correct, we may not, indeed, say of man, that he is literally "a brother to the insensate clod"; for he does not accept the hypothesis of "spontaneous generation," and even speaks in one place with unconcealed contempt of those who "believe that at innumerable periods in the earth's history certain elemental atoms have been commanded suddenly to flash into living tissues." But this is the whole extent of Mr. Darwin's concession. We may say of him what Pascal said of Descartes, — "It was his ambition, in his system of philosophy, to be able to do without God altogether; but he was obliged to suppose the Deity gave the world a fillip in order to set it in motion; after which there was nothing more for him to do." In like manner, on this theory, we must call in voluntary creative power to account for the primordial beginning of life in the lowest monad or germ of animal or vegetable being; every-

thing after this is produced by the orderly and necessary operation of secondary causes. Mr. Darwin boldly traces out the genealogy of man, and affirms that the monkey is his brother, and the horse his cousin, and the oyster his remote ancestor. The human body, in his view, is only a slowly developed zoöphyte, out of which it has grown by a process as natural and uniform as that by which a calf becomes a cow; and, by a parallel advancement, the human mind has become what it is out of a developed instinct.

Even this is not all. Mr. Darwin openly and almost scornfully repudiates the whole doctrine of Final Causes. He finds no indication of design or purpose anywhere in the animate or organic world. Like Geoffroy St. Hilaire, he takes good care "not to attribute any intention to the Almighty." The nicest and most complex adaptations do not to him prove design. The eye was not made to see with, or the ear to hear. The fact that these organs respectively do see and hear is accounted for, on this theory, by supposing that, through an accidental and purposeless variation, some one zoöphyte or other animal very low down in the scale happened to be born with a faint glimmering of vision,—with the poor rudiment of an eye, —"an optic nerve merely coated with pigment, and without any other mechanism"; that this "slight accidental variation" passed down by inheritance, giving to the possessors of it a great advantage over their fellows,—even so great that the former were preserved, while the latter died out; that in the lapse of years, another and yet another "slight accidental variation" successively supervened, and, if an improvement, was retained, while those not having it, and those variations which were not improvements, perished. "Let this process go on for millions on millions of years; and during each year, on millions of individuals of many kinds; and may we not believe that a living optical instrument might thus be formed, as superior to one of glass as the works of the Creator are to those of man?"

Still further: the order and symmetry which prevail throughout animated nature; the correspondence of the organic with the inorganic world; the prevalence of a few general forms of structure amid a countless number of beings, like everywhere

answering to like, and an exact balance of co-operating agents being always preserved, — all the facts which have appeared to most minds so significant of unity of plan, and thereby declarative of the unity of the Creator, — all these seem to Mr. Darwin to be merely the inevitable and unforeseen results of the blind working of nature's laws. "On my theory, unity of type is explained by unity of descent." Amid an infinite number of variations made at random, those only have been preserved which happened to be best fitted to one another, and to harmonize best with surrounding conditions of life, such fitness and harmony being the sole cause of their preservation.

> "Nam certe neque consilio primordia rerum
> Ordine se quæque atque sagaci mente locarunt,
> Nec, quos quæque darent motus, pepigere profecto."

We do not bring together these results merely as our own inferences from the new theory of the origin of species, for the purpose of making up an argument *ad invidiam* against it. We admit all that has been claimed for the proper independence of true physical science, — that its conclusions are to be tested by their own evidence, and not by their agreement or want of agreement with the teachings of Scripture, with received doctrines in theology or philosophy, or with any foreign standard whatsoever. We are ready to call out with the loudest of the anti-Mosaic geologists, *Fiat scientia, ruat cælum.* But these doctrines are expressly accepted, expounded, and defended by Mr. Darwin himself, who is both a candid and intrepid reasoner, — accepted, not so much as inferences from his theory, but as part and parcel of the theory itself. The case, therefore, is not one of intrusion by theologians, moralists, or philosophers upon the proper domain of physical science. The intrusion, if any, comes from the other side. It is now the naturalist, the pure physicist, who, quitting his own territory, but, as he professes, still relying exclusively on physical evidence, seeks to build up metaphysical conclusions. We have a right, then, not merely as naturalists, but as students of the moral sciences, to examine the connection between his premises and his conclusions, to test his modes of reasoning, and to see whether he has made a legitimate application of the principles of inductive science to matters of fact, or has been only indulging in speculative and metaphysical dreams.

This theory, moreover, is entitled to all the advantage which it can derive from the high scientific reputation of its author. Mr. Darwin is one of the most eminent naturalists in England. The researches which he made in South America and the South Pacific, when he accompanied the Beagle in her surveying expedition round the world, and his speculations respecting the formation of coral reefs and *atolls*, somewhat daring and fanciful, but extremely ingenious and well-compacted, are large contributions to science, the merit of which is universally acknowledged. To the reputation which he has thus justly earned, as well as to the novel and startling character of the doctrines which he now promulgates, must be attributed the general curiosity and interest with which the work now before us was first received. The first edition of it is said to have been exhausted in London on the very day of its publication. It was republished as soon as it could be printed in New York; and it promises to occupy a large share of the attention of the scientific world for some time.

An outline of the theory may be given in a few words. It is matter of the commonest observation, that individual plants and animals are often found to vary by slight peculiarities from the general type of the race or breed to which they belong. Nature seldom, perhaps never, exactly repeats herself. While seeming to observe with much nicety the dividing lines which separate large groups or races from each other, she often appears inclined to a little sport with an individual member of one of those groups, even without going far enough to make a monster of it. The offspring is made a little bigger or a little smaller than its parent; or some organ or limb is abnormally repeated or deficient, or wrongly placed, or unusually developed, whether by excess or defect. Sometimes these peculiarities of structure pass down by inheritance, sometimes not. Mr. Darwin's theory is founded exclusively upon those which are inherited; "any variation," he says, "which is not inherited, is unimportant for us."

The success of the breeders of domestic animals is said to depend in a great degree upon their skill in noting these peculiarities, however slight, selecting those which are best suited for their purposes, multiplying them by allowing only the

selected animals to breed, and fostering them by careful attention to the external conditions upon which their points of excellence seem to depend. By a diligent and skilful use of such means, Mr. Bakewell, about a century ago, reformed the British breeds of sheep, cattle, and swine. By corresponding processes, though to a much greater extent, horticulturists have filled our gardens with so vast a number of cultivated varieties of flowers and plants, success being facilitated in this case by the greater quickness of reproduction, and by the mechanical facility with which all sorts of experiments in crossing the varieties can be conducted.

Whatever may be the means employed in the process of artificial breeding, or however this process may be explained, it is a fact that man possesses many varieties of some kinds of domesticated animals. There are very many distinct breeds of dogs, horses, cattle, pigeons, and domestic fowls; on the other hand, there are but few of the cat, the donkey, or the goose. These breeds are called "varieties," because generally, if permitted, they interbreed freely with each other, and produce fertile offspring; while animals known to belong to distinct "species" can but seldom be crossed, and the progeny of such crossing is almost invariably sterile. How many of these varieties have originated under domestication, and as a consequence of it, is uncertain; there is little or no historical evidence on the point, and a balance of probabilities is no ground for a scientific conclusion. Many of them may be traced back to a very high antiquity. Mr. Darwin "believes" that our dogs have descended from several wild species, and he is "doubtfully inclined to believe" that all the horses have come from one wild stock. With respect to sheep and goats, he can "form no opinion." But he is "fully convinced" that of the breeds of pigeons, which are very numerous and very dissimilar structurally as well as in external appearance, "all have descended from the rock pigeon (*Columba livia*), including under this name several geographical races or sub-species, which differ from each other in the most trifling respects." Pigeons have been domesticated for thousands of years, and have been favored pets with their owners in all parts of the globe. The old Romans, we learn, were

distinguished "pigeon-fanciers," reckoning up with care the pedigrees of their favorites, and paying enormous prices for rare specimens.

Mr. Darwin assumes that many varieties have originated under domestication, solely through the care of the owners in *selecting* the peculiarities or variations which it was desirable to perpetuate, allowing only the individuals having these distinctive marks to propagate their kind, and so finally obtaining a breed invariably thus marked. By continuing this process, another and another variation is successively superinduced upon the one first obtained, and thus, *after a sufficient lapse of time*, a variety is produced which is found to have diverged very widely from the original stock. This process being a cumulative one, there being no natural limit to the number of variations which may in this way be successively superinduced upon one another, man might continue the work, *if he had time enough*, till he had produced, not merely varieties, but any number of distinct species, genera, or orders, — in short, till he had made the difference between the primitive stock and the cultivated race as wide as the interval which now exists between a zoöphyte and man himself. This mode of creating species would be by Voluntary or Methodical Selection.

Unluckily, man has not time enough; for the process is confessedly very slow. Mr. Darwin thinks the Egyptians began to "breed" pigeons about 3000 B. C.; nearly five thousand years, then, of Voluntary Selection have produced only some "varieties" of pigeons, which still freely propagate with one another. We want evidence, therefore, of some sort of "Natural Selection," which has been going on of its own accord, through mere natural laws, ever since the beginning of life upon this planet; and then, if *this* interval is long enough, — and geologists seem to think they have proved it to be virtually infinite, — the origin of all species, from a monad up to man, is fully accounted for.

According to Mr. Darwin's theory, Natural Selection is the means which Nature has provided whereby only her favored races are preserved in the struggle for life. His first step is the application of the Malthusian doctrine of population

to the whole animal and vegetable kingdom. This doctrine is, that the power of increase of any race of animals or plants, the human species included, is indefinite, or incapable of exhaustion; if it were exercised to the utmost, without any check from external circumstances, the earth would not be large enough for the beings of any one race which would claim a place upon it. This is undeniable, as any one may convince himself by trying the power of increase *by a geometrical progression* up only for a very limited number of terms. Then a struggle for life must constantly be going on, the stronger species — the one better adapted to the external and ever-varying conditions of life — always pushing out the weaker or the less adapted species, and usurping its place. By perpetually producing new variations, and then causing these to be preserved and multiplied by inheritance, till each additional quality or mark becomes the characteristic of a new variety or a new species, Nature is forever furnishing fresh combatants for this never-ending strife. The success, however insured, of any new-comer over its immediate competitor, is often attended with a train of consequences fatal to the continuance of a whole set of pre-existent species, and favorable to the ultimate introduction of new ones in their place. In the infinitely complex relations of every species to other organic beings and to external nature, any advantage, however slight, inherited by one variety, may give it the victory over the immediately allied varieties, and thus cause it to be preserved, while they perish. Each adaptation of an organ to a function must thus be perpetually improving; then why need we wonder that the present adaptations, after an almost infinite lapse of time, should have become so perfect? What marvel, to recur to an instance already quoted, that so complex and exquisite a machine as the human eye should have been developed out of the but-end of any nerve a little sharpened! since "several facts," argues Mr. Darwin, "make me suspect that *any* sensitive nerve may be rendered sensitive to light."

Some curious illustrations are given of the general fact, that "the structure of every organic being is related, in the most essential, yet often hidden manner, to that of all other organic beings, with which it comes into competition for food

or residence, or from which it has to escape, or on which it preys." Thus, who would have suspected, that the frequent occurrence, in any region or district, of two such plants as the heart's-ease and the common red-clover depended on the number of cats which the good housewives in that neighborhood should see fit to keep? Yet nothing is more certain; for the connection may readily be traced through the following *Sorites* in natural history. Clover and heart's-ease depend on humble-bees; humble-bees depend on rats and mice; rats and mice depend on cats; and we think Mr. Darwin might have added, cats depend on terriers and bull-dogs. The two flowers can be fertilized only by the visits of insects, and they are frequented by humble-bees alone, as the peculiar shape of their corollas prevents any other bee from reaching their nectar. But field-mice destroy the combs and nests of these bees, and thus keep down their numbers; while every one knows the state of the relations between mice, cats, and dogs.

"When we look at the plants and bushes clothing an entangled bank, we are tempted to attribute their proportional numbers and kinds to what we call chance. But how false a view is this! Every one has heard that when an American forest is cut down, a very different vegetation springs up; but it has been observed that the trees now growing on the ancient Indian mounds, in the Southern United States, display the same beautiful diversity and proportion of kinds as in the surrounding virgin forests. What a struggle between the several kinds of trees must here have gone on during long centuries, each annually scattering its seeds by the thousand; what war between insect and insect, — between insects, snails, and other animals, with birds and beasts of prey, — all striving to increase, and all feeding on each other or on the trees or their seeds and seedlings, or on the plants which first clothed the ground and thus checked the growth of the trees! Throw up a handful of feathers, and all must fall to the ground according to definite laws; but how simple is this problem compared to the action and reaction of the innumerable plants and animals which have determined, in the course of centuries, the proportional numbers and kinds of trees now growing on the old Indian ruins!" — pp. 72, 73.

The process whereby Nature develops any number of divergent varieties, species, and genera out of a very few primitive stocks is illustrated by a diagram closely resembling in shape

an open fan, though most of the sticks are broken off at different lengths. At many points on each stick, little secondary fans branch out, and from these, again, a third set radiate, and so on indefinitely. Millions of developing stocks are thus constantly aiming to push out their divergent lines of offspring over the same ground, and wherever they cross each other, a battle for life ensues, in which the stronger, the better armed, or the more prolific combatant, or the one better adapted to the locality, necessarily triumphs, and its rival perishes. In this way, sooner or later, each of the radiating arms of the primitive fan is broken off, and the species of a secondary, tertiary, or still lower formation occupy the whole of the now greatly widened field. From her exhaustless lap Nature constantly showers forth "varieties," most of which perish almost as soon as formed; others survive long enough to push out their always divergent lines till they become distinct "species"; others, more favored still, take rank as "genera," "orders," or "classes," because from their vigorous loins have sprung a wholly new set of varieties and species. However isolated the species at the tip ends of widely divergent lines may now seem to be, and however broadly separated from one another, could we trace back the genealogy of each, we should find the lines approximating by imperceptible gradations, and at one point or another the whole broad interval between them would be spanned by an endless number of intermediate forms, varying from each other by differences almost too slight to be recognized. A break is nowhere possible; *Natura non facit saltum.*

The theory is certainly ingenious and captivating; and the great store of curious facts, from the whole range of natural history, with which it is illustrated and seemingly buttressed, renders the whole exposition of it very delightful. It seems almost ungrateful, in return for the entertainment which the work has afforded, to proceed doggedly to weigh the evidence, and to ascertain if the foundation is firm enough to support the broad and lofty superstructure. But fascinating as the system is, — and every scheme of cosmogony must be of that sweeping and imaginative character which tickles the fancy and partially blinds the judgment, — the obstinate question will at last recur, *Is it true?*

The first difficulty that we encounter is the vast lapse of time requisite, according to the theory, for the development of the numerous and widely divergent species and genera that now people the earth, out of the poor and solitary germ of life that was first flung into its bosom. But this consideration, which till very recently seemed to oppose a fatal obstacle to the airy hypotheses of the cosmogonists, has now become their strong-hold and chief defence against all the assaults of their opponents. The speculations of Sir Charles Lyell and other "uniformitarian" geologists upon the long roll of ages, "the millions on millions of years," needed for the explanation of geological phenomena according to their mode of reading them, have so excited the imaginations and stupefied the intellects of ordinary thinkers, that it is now rather a recommendation of a theory that the operations contemplated in it could be fully carried out only in an eternity. Mr. Darwin quotes a few of the more striking facts and conclusions of this class of geologists; and having thus accustomed the mind to reflection upon such stupendous periods of time, it seems a trifling matter for him to ask us to admit, that ages of equal or even greater length may have elapsed of which we have no record in the rocks; — that, besides the eternity of which we have some sort of geologic evidence, we should acknowledge the probable lapse of another eternity that has left no legible traces behind it, but which happens to be necessary for the purposes of his theory.

For instance: taking the rate at which the sea now eats into and wears away cliffs five hundred feet high, Mr. Darwin calculates that more than three hundred millions of years were required for the denudation of the great dome of rocks which must once have covered up the district in England now called the Weald. But this estimate goes upon the supposition that the action of the sea was incessant; whereas it is thought that the area during this period must have undergone many oscillations of level, — must have been alternately elevated and depressed, — and therefore, during long ages, must have been raised above or sunk below the action of the coast-waves; so that this period of three hundred millions of years can have been only a fraction of the time that must have elapsed since

the denudation of those rocks began, — that is, since the latter part of the Secondary period. But if we go back to a vastly earlier period than this, to the primary fossiliferous rocks, we come to the Silurian formations, abounding in remains of nearly all classes of animal life, and so enormous in thickness, that, when compared with the length of the epoch required for the deposition of them, the period needed for the denudation of the Weald shrinks into insignificance.

Thus far we have proceeded on what is thought to be good geological evidence; and our readers may think that we have attained a period which ought to be long enough for the requisitions of any cosmogonic theory, — that we have got even a fair instalment of eternity, so that the addition of a few thousand millions of years would be a matter of no importance. Mr. Darwin evidently thinks so, for he finds that even this *quasi* eternity is not enough for his wants; that he must double it, or nearly double it, though there is no paleontological evidence whatever in favor of such addition. There is only the stubborn fact, that his theory needs it, so that the addition must be made. He finds the lowest Silurian strata, as we have just said, abounding in animal remains of the most diversified character, and some of them of a very advanced type. Of course, according to his theory, all these Silurian animals must have been developed with almost inconceivable slowness, through very slight gradations, out of lower and lower types, the improved offspring slowly supplanting and exterminating their predecessors, who "died and left no sign." "Consequently," he says, "if my theory be true, it is indisputable that, before the lowest Silurian stratum was deposited, long periods elapsed, as long as, or probably far longer than, the whole interval from the Silurian age to the present day; and that during these vast, yet quite unknown, periods of time, the world swarmed with living creatures."

It is to the credit of Mr. Darwin's candor that he confesses himself staggered by this difficulty, and even seems for a moment to admit that it is insuperable. "To the question why we do not find records of these vast primordial periods, I can give no satisfactory answer." But he soon plucks up heart, and suggests a possible solution of the problem. The geologi-

cal record is imperfect. Metamorphic rocks abound in many regions where they are visible, and vastly greater quantities of them are probably buried under the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. In these rocks, though called azoic, because yielding no fossils, it is thought that phosphatic nodules and bituminous matter have been discovered; that is, though presenting no remains of fishes, they may be said to exhale "a very ancient and fish-like smell." For instance, there are immense areas of bare metamorphic rock in South America; and in these "we *may perhaps believe* that we see" the only remains of the immense number of animal forms which peopled the earth during an ante-Silurian eternity.

We have dwelt at some length on these geological speculations respecting the time, or rather the eternity, of the earth's history. They play a prominent part in Mr. Darwin's theory, as indeed they have done in every other recent scheme of cosmogony. The author of the "Vestiges" made as much use of them as his far abler and more scientific successor. These supposed immeasurable periods afford scope for the scientific imagination to expand, and broad hypotheses to spring up, and evidence to be multiplied, and all difficulties to be explained away. Grant to the speculatist an eternity, or a *quasi* eternity, for the action and development of his hypothesis, and he can prove anything; that is, he can show how anything *is possible;* and this is all that is expected of any cosmogonist. Neither Mr. Darwin, nor any one else, hopes to prove directly that species *actually were developed* out of each other; he only aims to show *how it is possible that they may have been so developed.* And this he cannot fail to do with the advantage in question. Give him infinity, or a number that is virtually infinite, for a multiplier, and he cares not how small the multiplicand may be; he can make the product large enough to answer the requisitions of any hypothesis, — large enough to bridge over the interval between an oyster and a man. If he has but a shadow of evidence, — a mere *suspicion* that the thing is so, because he is *unable to prove that it is not so*, — still, if he is allowed to multiply this shadow, this suspicion, by an eternity of years, the result will be imposing enough to stagger the convictions of all careless thinkers.

Mr. Darwin does not pretend to have any *direct evidence* that a species, or even a variety, ever *did* originate by the process of Natural Selection, — that is, by successive accidental variations passing down by inheritance, and thus creating an advantage in the struggle for life. He only *believes* that certain "varieties" have originated under a very different though analogous process, — Voluntary Selection, or the care of man; and he has *imagined*, — for that is the word rather than *discovered*, — he has imagined a corresponding though dissimilar method, through which "varieties" *might be* established by natural means alone. Then he borrows an eternity from the geologists for the carrying out of his process, and finds it will thus suffice, not merely for the establishment of new varieties, but for developing anything out of anything, — a man out of a zoöphyte. All the evidence collected in his book goes to prove only this minor point; — that the phenomena of zoölogy and geology, so far as they are known, are not inconsistent with such a carrying out of his imaginary process. Even assuming his geological eternity, he has only shown that *the thing may be so for all that we know to the contrary.* As a logical thinker, he ought to know that this is no proof at all.

There is nothing new in this conception of a cosmogony worked out by speculating upon what is possible in an infinite lapse of years. It is at least as old as Democritus and Epicurus, and has never been presented with more poetic beauty than by Lucretius. According to their scheme, a chaos of atoms or primary molecules of matter, moving fortuitously from eternity in infinite space, crossing and jostling one another, and forming themselves successively into every imaginable compound and aggregation, happened at last to settle into the present system of earth, sun, moon, and stars, — of plants, animals, and men. For the chance of order and mutual fitness is at least one out of an infinite number of chances of disorder and confusion; and in an infinite series of years, this solitary chance must sooner or later be realized.

> "Sed quia multa modis multis primordia rerum
> Ex infinito jam tempore percita plagis,
> Ponderibusque suis consuerunt concita ferri,
> Omni modisque coire, atque omnia pertentare,

Quæcunque inter se possent congressa creare;
Proptera fit, uti magnum volgata per ævum,
Omnigenos cœtus et motus experiundo,
Tandem ea conveniant, quæ ut convenere, repente
Magnarum rerum fiant exordia sæpe,
Terrai, maris, et cœli, generisque animantum."

Every one must acknowledge that of such a theory no direct confutation is possible; for being essentially and completely metaphysical in character, resting altogether upon that idea of "the infinite" which the human mind can neither put aside nor comprehend, it can be met only by metaphysical arguments drawn from this same bewildering conception, — arguments which can again be opposed by others of the same character and equal weight, leaving to the intellect no possible escape from an endless conflict, and no mode of arriving at any conclusion. Kant and Hamilton have proved, *ex abundanti*, that the conception either of the infinite or the absolute "can have no objective reality, that it conveys no knowledge, and that it involves the most insoluble contradictions." But the difficulty, whatever it may be, is wholly metaphysical; till recently, no one ever dreamed of beholding it transported to the province of physical science.

But Mr. Darwin will object, that, however vast may be the lapse of years which is needed, according to his system, for the natural evolution of a universe of animate beings out of a monad, — and he admits it "to be utterly inappreciable by the human intellect," — still he has not avowed that it must be strictly *infinite*. We answer, that he is obliged to claim an *indefinite* succession of ages, so vast that the mind can neither comprehend it in itself, nor in its relations with any period of time which it is accustomed to measure; and the difference between such a conception and that of the strictly *infinite*, if any, is not appreciable. If it were appreciable, the difference would be fatal to his theory, which needs a period so vast as to be out of relation to any finite time which we can comprehend.

This can be easily shown. He must admit that the individual variations on which his whole theory is based, "slight" and "accidental" in character because produced by no intel-

ligent cause, can take place in any one out of all possible directions. The one useful variation is no more likely to appear early, or to become inheritable, than an indefinite number of useless or injurious departures from the primitive type; the very function of his principle of Natural Selection is to eliminate the many unprofitable varieties, — and it is only after trial of them that their unprofitableness can become so far manifest as to cause their elimination, — and to preserve for a limited time the single advantageous deviation. It is only

"Omnigenos cœtus et motus experiundo"

that Nature is able to select a favored race through a manifest reason for such preference. A half-formed eye, for instance, varying at random, must beget an indefinite number of varieties inferior to itself, before it happens to hit on the one new form which is really an improvement; and this indefinite interval must be followed by another of equal length, before the race with vision very slightly improved can kill out, in the struggle for life, the vast number of those previously existing, who cannot see quite so well. Improvements which proceed by almost imperceptible gradations must be slow to manifest their superiority. If we add that, according to the Darwinian theory, this process, thus consisting of two steps, must have been repeated an indefinite number of times, in order to bridge over by very fine degrees the immense interval which now separates the highest from the lowest order of being, it must be confessed that the period needed for the evolution of this system lacks no characteristic of eternity except its name.

Here it may be remarked, that, formidable as Mr. Darwin admits the objection to his theory to be, that geological research has discovered so very few of "the interminable number of *intermediate* forms which must have existed" as "*connecting links* between the living and extinct inhabitants of the world," still he does not half appreciate its magnitude. The objection is really insuperable; for it is not merely the "intermediate forms," the "connecting links" between the living and the dead, which should have been discovered, but an infinite number of other varieties not intermediate, — gross, rude, and purposeless, — the unmeaning creations of an un-

conscious cause, — wholly out of line with such as succeeded in founding a permanent family.

But the large drafts which this theory makes upon our credulity may be more clearly shown by looking at its application to a special case, that of instinct. Mr. Darwin maintains that the most complex and wonderful instincts, such as that of the hive-bee in constructing its cells, and that of certain ants in becoming slaveholders, and thus having all their wants supplied by borrowed labor, have originated in the gradual accumulation of slight but profitable variations of instinct, through the Natural Selection of these out of a vastly larger number of unmeaning, useless, or injurious variations which have accidentally arisen during an unlimited lapse of years. Herein it is assumed that instincts do vary, that the variations are inherited, and that there is no check upon the indefinite accumulation of them; so that we may believe human reason itself to have been thus gradually built up out of the faintest manifestations of instinct which we now witness in the lowest forms of animal life. Each of these points, we believe, admits of the gravest doubt, and is here asserted on wholly insufficient evidence.

If there is any one quality of instinct which, more than any other, has attracted the attention of observers as its characteristic, it is its absolute invariableness, its incapacity of improvement or deterioration. The very little evidence which Mr. Darwin here adduces to the contrary leads us to suspect that he has confounded the *variability* with what may be called the *pliability* of instinct, though the latter quality is one that is not at all available for the purposes of his theory. Every one knows that the instincts of many animals, perhaps of all, are slightly *pliable;* that is, they may be bent so as to accomplish their purpose in any one out of several slightly different ways, choosing one or another according as circumstances may render necessary. Though walking in a narrow path, the animal can still turn aside a little to the right or left, so as to avoid an obstruction in the way. Honey-bees can alter their work just enough to answer the *ordinary* exigencies, to avoid the common casualities or difficulties, of their occupation; when extraordinary difficulties arise, they

pull down the whole structure, and begin anew. But this limited pliability of the instinct, being possessed in an equal degree by all, parents as well as offspring, affords no ground of any possible change or improvement in the habits of the race. The same power reappears in any number of successive generations, manifesting just the same degree of pliability as at first. The instinct, we may fairly say, is *invariably* pliable to the same, and that a very limited, extent.

A true *variation*, such as the Darwinian theory requires, would be the manifestation by an individual in the wild state, or undomesticated, of some feat, quality, or degree of instinct, however slight, totally unlike anything that had been manifested by any of its progenitors or its fellows. Of such variation, as it seems to us, Mr. Darwin has failed to adduce a single instance. That the same species of birds should build slightly different nests in different localities, accommodating the structure somewhat to the climate or the nature of the ground; that migratory birds should not always remove to the same distance or in the same direction, or, in the face of new and extraordinary difficulties, such as may be interposed by man, should not migrate at all; that upland geese should still survive, though they seldom have a chance to swim; or that woodpeckers might stray out upon the Pampas and find a livelihood there, though there are no trees for them to climb; — all such cases, as it seems to us, evince only the *pliability* of instinct, or the possibility that the animal may still live, though circumstances have rendered exercise of some one of its instincts for a time impossible.

Mr. Darwin, having given us no direct proof of the *variability* of instinct in the wild state, has of course failed to show that variations are ever inherited, so as to become the characteristic of a breed or race, instead of being only the peculiarity of an individual. And of cases under domestication, though he alludes to "authentic instances" of inherited habits or tricks, he publishes but one, and that the very familiar, though disputed one, of a young pointer dog beginning to "point" before any pains had been bestowed on his education. "I have myself seen," he says, "a striking instance." So far, so good; but we are not informed whether the animal pointed

perfectly and invariably, or whether he had been so sequestered that he could have taken nothing from older and well-trained dogs by unconscious imitation. But without descending to such particulars, why did it not occur to Mr. Darwin to observe if the habit was inherited for more than one generation? Why not seek to know if the puppies of this young dog would also "point" without any training? Failing of evidence on this point, he ought to see that an isolated instance avails but little for the interests of his theory. English country gentlemen have been breeding and training these dogs with great care and skill for some centuries; and the number of pointers now living in England must amount to several thousands. By the doctrine of chances, if but one out of five thousand contemporaries is found not to need training, very many generations must elapse before we can expect to find another case, even among the descendants of this one "infant phenomenon." A variation inherited through only one generation is little better for Mr. Darwin's purposes than one which is not inherited at all. Yet here he should find evidence, if anywhere, since tame animals can be more thoroughly observed than their wild brethren; and domestication removes the chief obstacle to multiplying peculiarities by descent, man taking great pains to preserve the purity of the breed. Wild varieties cannot be prevented from "crossing" or interbreeding with each other; and in the mongrel progeny, the peculiarities of the thorough-bred parents quickly disappear.

Again, instinct and structure are nicely correlated to each other, and must be so correlated, or the animal would perish. As Müller remarks, the animal "wills to do nothing which its organs do not enable it to do; and its organs are not such as to prompt to any act to which it is not impelled by an instinct." But, according to the Darwinian theory, there is no ground to expect that the *variations* of structure and instinct should be even simultaneous, much less nicely correlated to each other; and our author has adduced no evidence that they are so. The aimless and accidental character of the variations, together with their admitted infrequency as inheritable peculiarities, renders it in the highest degree im-

probable, not to say impossible, that an inheritable peculiarity of structure should happen to occur at the same time with a corresponding one of instinct nicely adapted to it; that, for instance, the apparatus in a bee's abdomen for secreting wax should first appear on the very day when the insect was first incited and taught to build a comb. Such a correspondence and adaptation would compel even Mr. Darwin to renounce chance and believe in design.

We must remember, also, that the highest and most complex instincts are found in very low structural forms. For the most marvellous cases we must descend to the *Articulata*, — to bees, ants, spiders, and the like. No instinct even comparable to theirs can be found in the two higher classes of Mollusks and Vertebrates; and even in this last class, few will dispute that the instincts of birds are more intricate, far-reaching, and wonderful than those of mammals. Dr. Holland was led to notice this fact when speaking of the inverse perfection of the two faculties of reason and instinct; he remarks of the instincts, that "they multiply continually, and become more distinct in character, as we descend in the scale." It is impossible, then, for Mr. Darwin to maintain that the development, through variation and natural selection, of instinct and structure has gone on *pari passu*, each improvement in the one being accompanied by a simultaneous and perfectly correlated improvement in the other. The process of advancement, in the one case, stopped long ago; from insects upward, instincts have only diminished or deteriorated; while the organic structure has been developed from the spider's up to man's.

The bearing of this fact upon the Darwinian theory is very serious; it is even fatal. If instinct and structure have not varied *pari passu*, and by gradations nicely adapted to each other, *neither can have varied at all.* An isolated variation in either would be fatal to the animal's chance in the struggle for life. A persistent instinct would correct a structural variation; a persistent structure would correct a varying instinct. The bee could not have received an instinct to build its cell before its abdomen had begun to secrete wax. The dugs of mammals could not have been developed before

their offspring were urged by instinct to apply to them for food.

And here it may be remarked, that Mr. Darwin argues throughout his book as if, for the purposes of his theory, there were no difference between plants and animals; as if whatever conclusions were established for the vegetable, would hold good also for the animal kingdom. Of course, this is a very convenient assumption for him, as evidence of variation is much more easily collected in the case of plants than in that of animals. And yet the assumption seems a rash one on many accounts, and especially for a consideration derived from what has just been stated. Plants differ from one another only as organisms, or in structure alone; animals differ not only structurally, but in their instincts. Now, as the instincts, being more permanent, being permanency itself, correct and efface variations of structure, or kill out monsters, it follows that the Darwinian theory is by no means as applicable or plausible in reference to animals as to plants. And here we have an explanation of the paradoxical remark that has been made in reference to the geographical distribution of plants and animals. It is said that "powers of locomotion seem to have been given to animals in order to enable them to stay at home." This is true. Their structure, indeed, enables them to wander; but the steady instinct confines them to their proper locality. On the other hand, the locomotive apparatus of plants, or of their seeds, is far less perfect; but not being corrected by any instinct, it still enables them to wander and to distribute themselves very widely.

The reasons now adduced seem conclusive against the theory of the gradual building up of a complex instinct through casual inherited variations and natural selection. As there are no indications of evidence, however faint, to serve as a multiplicand, even the great advantage of having eternity as a multiplier will not avail. Zero multiplied by infinity is still zero. In fact, the argument is strong the other way. The necessary correlation of instinct and structure makes the cumulative inherited variation of either impossible. But it will be instructive to witness, in a single example, how broad and lofty a superstructure may be built up by a lively scientific

imagination on assumed data. Let a clever theorist once get fairly mounted on his hobby, and he will ride in imagination to the world's end, before he has fairly shown the possibility of advancing an inch. We will take, as the example, a case which Mr. Darwin has considered at length, which has always been a favorite one in the argument from design, and which he admits to present difficulties so formidable to his speculation that he could not at first reflect on them without being staggered. We mean the construction of the comb by a hive of bees.

He first endeavors to divest the phenomenon, as far as possible, of its marvellous character, by making it appear that the construction, by these insects, of two opposite and parallel layers of cells, — each cell being a symmetrical hexagonal prism, closed by a trihedral pyramid composed of three rhombi, the obtuse angles of each rhombus measuring precisely 109° 28′ and its acute angles 70° 32′, — is no very wonderful thing after all; — even when it is added, that precisely this form and these dimensions, and no other, will give the utmost possible capacity with the least possible expenditure of material. "The difficulty" of making such cells, he says, "is not nearly so great as it at first appears."

"If a number of equal spheres be described with their centres placed in two parallel layers; with the centre of each sphere at the distance of radius $\times \sqrt{2}$, or radius $\times$ 1.41421 (or at some lesser distance), from the centres of the six surrounding spheres in the same layer; and at the same distance from the centres of the adjoining spheres in the other and parallel layer; then, if planes of intersection between the several spheres in both layers be formed, there will result a double layer of hexagonal prisms united together by pyramidal bases formed of three rhombs; and the rhombs and the sides of the hexagonal prisms will have every angle identically the same with the best measurements which have been made of the cells of the hive-bee." — pp. 201, 202.

He tested this theory by observation. He found that the bees did begin by excavating hemispherical cavities and building up cylinders on them, of the proper size, and *always at the specified distance from each other*, stopping when the rims would intersect or break in upon each other, and then economically biting away all the superfluous wax, till the partitions

between the adjacent cells became planes of a uniform and minimum thickness. Thus the cylinders terminated by hemispherical cavities became the required hexagonal prisms ending in trihedral pyramids, the three rhombi of each pyramid entering into, and forming a part of, the pyramidal ends of three distinct cells in the opposite and parallel layer. The construction, then, according to Mr. Darwin, is very simple. We have only to suppose that several hundred or thousand bees, beginning work on the opposite faces of a thin plate of wax, excavate at once many hemispheres, with the centre of each at the distance of radius $\times$ 1.41421 from the centres of all the adjacent spheres both in the same layer and in the other and parallel layer. It is only necessary to add, that the bees then economize their precious wax by biting away every particle of it which is not absolutely needed, and the work is practically done. The problem of constructing the marvellous cells is solved.

As it seems to us, Mr. Darwin's explanation only makes the work of the bees appear more wonderful than ever. Not only do they build cells having the marvellous properties first described, but the *modus operandi* — the process of building them — what geometers would call the "solution of the problem by a practical construction" — rivals in beauty and simplicity any solution that mathematicians ever effected. Now that we understand *how* the work is done, the only question that remains is, How do the bees succeed in sweeping their hemispherical cavities always at the exact distance which is required? and that, too, though half of them must work on the opposite side of the comb, — the centre of each cell being measured off from the centres of six others in the same layer, and of three others on the opposite side? How do hundreds and thousands of bees, working together without confusion, always make these nine distances of the same required amount? This requisition, being a mathematical one, must of course be rigorously enforced. The quantity by which radius should be multiplied for each distance is not 1.416 or 1.415; it should not be anything, and with the bee *it never is anything, but* 1.41421. How are the working bees enabled to measure off so nicely this distance nine times for each one of the many

thousand cells which they construct in every hive every season?

Mr. Darwin's answer is ready; he says they have been prompted and enabled to do this BY CHANCE, — that many accidental modifications of instinct having accidentally become inheritable, this one modification was picked out from them by natural selection, because it is more conducive than any other to the preservation of the bee's existence. But to be more particular: the architectural instinct of the bee has varied at random through a past eternity; and a vast number of the variations thus produced have happened to be perpetuated by inheritance, as characteristics of so many distinct species of bees. If we admit the number of distinct species thus formed, each with its peculiar architectural instinct, to have been *infinite*, one of them *must* have been prompted to measure off this prescribed distance, and no other, between its cells. If the number of species was only *very great*, but not infinite, then one of them *happened* to possess an instinct for this precise distance. Now, as this distance causes the smallest expenditure of wax, and as "the saving of wax, by largely saving honey, must be a most important element of success in any family of bees," the species of bees having an instinct for this distance must have had a better chance than any other in the struggle for life, and so must have been preserved, while all others perished. Among these others must have been some who built at the distance 1.416 or 1.415; but the difference between these numbers and the prescribed 1.41421, though small, was yet fatal to the builders, who died out because they thereby used more wax than was necessary. And yet the humble-bees, who construct "very irregular rounded cells of wax," and thereby waste a prodigious amount of the precious material, together with a Mexican species of bee, which is nearly, though not quite, as prodigal of wax, have survived to the present day very comfortably, and in great numbers. Why the rule of saving wax as a condition of existence should have been so much less rigidly enforced in their case than in that of the hive-bee, we are not informed.

It is a characteristic of Mr. Darwin's theory, — an excellence of it as a work of fancy and imagination, but a misfortune for

it considered as a speculation in science, — that it is universal in its application, and that all its parts are so nicely compacted and mutually dependent, that it must either be accepted or rejected as a whole. A failure in any part, an insurmountable difficulty in the application of it to any phenomenon, is destructive of all its claims to belief. "All or nothing," must be the motto of its author. Hence he more than once alludes to some "one special difficulty, which at first appeared to me insuperable, and actually fatal to my whole theory." If it were not for this consideration, we think Mr. Darwin would never have meddled with the subject of instinct, but would have contented himself with a theoretical explanation of the origin of species, considered, as they may be in the case of plants, merely as so many distinct or varying structures. He seems hardly satisfied with his own account of the development of instinct, as he admits that the cases of it which he has considered do not strengthen his theory, but he also thinks that they do not annihilate it. The necessary correlation of this faculty with the structure of every animal in which it appears, prevented him from leaving it out of view altogether; yet he has passed over some of its most puzzling manifestations, and some of those which it is most difficult to reconcile with his theory of its origin.

For instance; — in the infinite number of variations which he requires us to believe this faculty to have undergone, why has it never overstepped the clearly marked line which still divides it from reason? As he is obliged to believe that reason at some period was developed out of instinct, why should there still be such an interval between them? They seem to differ, not in degree only, but in kind. If it were not so, if the difference were only in degree, we should be obliged to admit, in many cases, that instinct is superior, that its power quite transcends that of reason.

> "But honest instinct comes, a volunteer,
> Sure never to o'ershoot, but just to hit;
> While still too wide, or short, is human wit."

It is thus manifestly pre-eminent, however, only within its own narrow sphere. The several classes of brutes do one thing in only one way. Following their own narrow path,

they appear like prodigies of wisdom; remove them ever so little from it, and they again become brutes. We can understand this inconsistency on the supposition that instinct has always remained invariable, — that it has never changed; for it may then be compared to a machine, which performs its one task very perfectly, — more perfectly than the human fingers could. But it can do nothing else; its function is single and unchangeable. Mr. Darwin would have us believe that instinct has varied infinitely in every one of its manifestations; that its process of development has been tentative, every conceivable modification of it being subjected to trial, as in the attempts of the bee to construct its cell, and only that form of it being finally preserved which is absolutely the most profitable. These infinitely numerous variations, we cannot too often repeat, are first made entirely at random. Why did one of them never approach that characteristic of reason, now never found in instinct, which enables man to profit by experience, and thus renders him almost equally competent for all emergencies? Experience is thrown away upon mere instinct, which never profits by it. It cannot be denied, that it would be a far surer means of preservation in the struggle for life, to possess even a thousandth part of man's power of adapting his conduct to circumstances, of observing the causes of error or failure in one trial and of avoiding them in the subsequent endeavor, rather than to enjoy in perfection the capacity of doing one thing with unerring success, but at the same time to be unable to change the mode of action so as to accommodate it to the ever-changing conditions and exigencies of existence. The bee constructs its combs with admirable art; but it cannot build a hive or house for these combs. It cannot fashion a paper house, like the wasp, or dig subterranean chambers for its home, like the ant. The range of primitive variation was wide enough to include a power superior to reason, though of very inferior use in the battle for life, — the power, we mean, of building just one kind of home with the utmost possible economy of the one building-material. Why did it not, then, include one of the lower but far more profitable manifestations of reason, — the ability to use some other material when wax was deficient, even if it were thereby com-

pelled to build circular instead of hexagonal cells? "*Si seulement*," says Bonnet, when speaking of the faculty to which the works of the beaver are to be referred, — "*si seulement ils élevoient une fois des cabanes quarrées! Mais ce sont eternellement des cabanes rondes ou ovales.*"

There is another difficulty in the theory, which Mr. Darwin seems either to have overlooked or under-estimated. He supposes that organs and instincts have been developed by the accumulation of innumerable slight variations, every one of which, however, must have been important enough to afford an additional chance in the struggle for life. The varieties which have appeared under domestication he supposes to have been very gradually formed, through "individual differences so slight as to be quite inappreciable by an uneducated eye." Man's care and foresight can preserve and accumulate these shades of difference, by keeping the breed pure and providing all the conditions of healthy growth. But in the wild state, Nature seems to have furnished no adequate means of preserving, each by itself, these minute gradations. If the variation is important enough to preserve those who have it, while others must die out because they have it not, then it cannot be so slight in character as to form one of a series of almost imperceptible steps. It must be of grave importance; not a slight variation, but a jump; not natural, but supernatural. For, as Mr. Darwin is fond of reminding us, *Natura non facit saltum.*

We will take, for instance, one of his own examples, — the commencement of vision, or the rudimentary formation of an eye. If such a rudiment could see at all, — and it must see well enough to give its possessor a decided advantage in the struggle for life, — then its formation was a step of transcendent magnitude; for there is all the difference in the world between *seeing*, however imperfectly, and *not seeing at all.* And as the theory will not allow any variations to be transmitted and preserved but those which are immediately and directly useful in the competition for the ground, the way could not have been prepared, through millions of years, for the formation of an eye which could see, by accumulating variations on an eye which could not see. From a creature, then, which had not even an infinitesimal rudiment of an optic nerve, there must

have been a sudden jump to another having an entirely new sense.

In respect to the variability of species, there is another Latin adage, borrowed with a little change from the law, which, as we believe, rests on as good a foundation of fact as the one which our author is so fond of quoting, — *De minimis non curat Natura.* Variations, if slight, do not injure or improve the animal's chance of life, are seldom transmitted by inheritance, and so cannot act by accumulation, and cannot, therefore, affect permanency of type. Take, for instance, the various breeds of pigeons, of which this book gives an amusing account. They, indeed, have long been domesticated; but if they were turned loose, it is difficult to imagine how far their chance of escaping the unlucky accidents of a feral condition would be affected, either by the erect position of their tail-feathers, or by reversed feathers on their necks, or by trumpeting instead of cooing, or by a ludicrous habit of tumbling in the air head over heels once or twice in the course of every flight. And even these peculiarities, trifling as they now appear in reference to the animal's chance of life, are complex according to the Darwinian theory; that is, they are the accumulated result of variations which probably did not affect the position of more than one feather at a time.

On the other hand, variations, if great, either die out by sterility as monsters, or are rapidly effaced by crossing the breed. According to this theory, sterility is only a relative or proportionate effect of hybridism, since the distinction between species and varieties exists not in kind, but only in degree. Therefore, while hybrids, produced by crossing species, are almost invariably sterile, mongrels, produced by crossing varieties, only tend to sterility. "Mongrel offspring are very generally, but not quite universally, fertile." Now this tendency to sterility, which must be distinctly appreciable when the difference between the parent varieties is great, must diminish the chance of the mongrels in the struggle for life much more rapidly than the variations themselves, from which the sterility springs, can increase it. So also, as has been before observed, the very act of crossing the varieties tends, by splitting the difference, to diminish the distance between them; in

other words, the offspring will bear a closer resemblance to either parent, than the parents do to each other. Under domestication, indeed, the varieties will be kept apart; but in the wild state, Nature has no means of preventing them from pairing. They will interbreed if not prevented, and will thereby kill out, instead of multiplying, their variations. Here, perhaps, we perceive the reason of a fact observed by Dr. Hooker, that the varieties are chiefly found on the outskirts of the area tenanted by the species to which they belong. Only those varieties are preserved which chance to spring up in localities less exposed to the influences that would bring them back by reversion.

Perhaps it was not to be expected, in this preliminary work, which is avowedly a mere abstract of a more detailed and elaborate publication, that Mr. Darwin should consider at length the application of his theory to extreme cases, like that of the origin of man, which present the greatest difficulty. Some reticence even of allusion to this branch of his subject leads us to suspect that the author was unwilling to create alarm or shock prejudices in a mere preparatory sketch, the brevity of which would necessarily exclude most of the evidence or arguments that would show the alarm to be unfounded. It would therefore be hardly fair to comment at length upon a portion of the matter in controversy, in respect to which, as the lawyers would say, the plaintiff has not yet presented his case. Still we are not to forget, that the theory, if accepted at all, must be accepted as a whole, that it must explain all the phenomena or none, and hence that Mr. Darwin is bound to account for the origin of the human species just as much as for that of the lowest insect. He confesses as much, when he says that, after the general reception of his system, "psychology will be based on a new foundation, that of the necessary acquirement of each mental power and capacity by gradation"; and that "light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history." He is bound, therefore, to find the means of bridging over, by imperceptibly fine gradations, the immense gap which now separates man from the animals most nearly allied to him, — a gap not only between the two structural forms, which, however unlike, may still be affirmed to be of the same kind, but between reason and instinct, where nearly all psy-

chologists are agreed that the difference is in kind, and not in degree. Here surely, as we remarked in the outset, it is the student of physical science who, instead of protesting against intrusion by others, is himself intruding upon psychological and metaphysical ground, and aiming to break up the previously well-established division of the sciences.

This objection to the development theory, moreover, is immeasurably increased when we consider that all the evidence thus far obtained goes to show that man is a very late comer upon the earth, and consequently, that the interval of time, within which far the broadest chasm which we have to contemplate in zoölogy is to be filled up by innumerable transitional forms, is certainly the shortest which geology has revealed. Notwithstanding the very questionable evidence recently obtained by the discovery of some flint knives and arrow-heads in localities where their presence is difficult to be accounted for, he must be a bold geologist who would carry back the duration of the human race on the earth far beyond what is called the historic period, much less as far back as the very latest stage of the Tertiary formation. The few fossil monkeys that have been discovered are not so near approximations to the human structure as several anthropoid species that are still living. Within the comparatively brief epoch to which we are here confined, how can man have been developed, by the indefinitely slow process of variation and selection, out of a monkey, and where are the countless extinct types that should mark the steps of his progress? How many varieties must have existed as strict transitional forms to fill up this broad gap, to say nothing of the greater — infinitely greater — number of variations which were not improvements, but which must also have appeared and died out under a liability to change having no direction or purpose but that of chance! Geology can find no traces of them. The latest chapter of the Stone Book, which is far the best preserved, and which ought to be nearly filled with variations upon this single theme, does not record a single form intermediate between man and the chimpanzee.

The only answer which Mr. Darwin is wont to make to objections of this class, "that the geological record is far more imperfect than most geologists believe," though less applicable

to this particular case than to any other, because the period in question is so recent and its history is so well known, still deserves comment, for it is an instructive specimen of the kind of reasoning with which such speculatists as Mr. Darwin are satisfied. Their mode of argument seems to be, to admit any evidence from paleontology *in favor* of any theory or speculation, but to deny the competency of the same science to bear testimony *against* it. Geology is a witness that will not submit to be cross-examined; the record admits only affirmative proof. If asked to account for any chasm or inconsistency in the narrative, the witness will only answer, as Majocchi did at the trial of Queen Caroline, — *Non mi ricordo;* "The geological record is imperfect." To a certain extent, we are willing to admit the validity of this excuse. The record *is* imperfect, though not to so great a degree as Mr. Darwin, for the sake of preserving his theory, would fain have us believe. For no geological reason whatever, but only to support the foregone conclusion that this theory respecting the origin of species is true, he maintains that "successive formations are separated from each other by enormous blank intervals of time," and that, before the lowest Silurian bed was deposited, there was a period longer than the whole interval from the Silurian age to the present day, during which the world swarmed with living creatures, though not a trace of them now remains. We submit, moreover, as a reasonable principle in the law of evidence, that this unwillingness of the geological witness to be cross-examined, or his incapacity to bear negative evidence, ought to detract largely from the weight of his positive testimony. If his memory is so imperfect that he cannot explain deficiencies or reconcile inconsistencies in his story, what he does say ought to go for little or nothing.

We have no space left to consider the probability of the development of instinct into human reason. We can only advert very briefly to a large class of facts which tend to prove that what Mr. Darwin would call "variations" in mind, or strongly marked peculiarities of intellect or character, are very seldom transmitted by inheritance at all, and can never be traced beyond the second or third generation. Genius is the least heritable of all qualities. We might parody the lines of our great poet so far as to say,

"*Sons* of great men oft remind us
They *can't* make their lives sublime."

Great polyglots, such as Rossi and Mezzofanti, (who, indeed, as priests, were bound to celibacy,) great arithmeticians, like Jedediah Buxton or Zerah Colburn, have left no children who inherited their peculiar talent. No great poet, we believe, was ever the son or the father of a poet. Even marked peculiarities of vision, which are partly structural and partly mental in origin, are seldom continued by descent, and never beyond two or three generations. Myopy or near-sightedness, which is often congenital, and color-blindness, which is always so, seem to appear and disappear with little or no dependence on hereditary causation. Now if variations are not hereditary in the case of human reason, which is the most flexible of all endowments, the history and phenomena of which are the best known, and which is the characteristic attribute of what Mr. Darwin calls a "dominant" species, — that is, one which has a wide range and is very broadly diffused, — there is surely little reason to expect that they are inherited in the case of instinct, which is opposed to reason in every one of these particulars.

After all, for the defence of the great truths of philosophy and natural theology, it is hardly necessary to spend much time in the refutation of such fanciful theories of cosmogony as this by Mr. Darwin. A proper view of the nature of causation, a clear recognition of the great truth that the natural no less than the supernatural, the continuance no less than the creation of existence, the origin of an individual as well as the origin of a species or a genus, can be explained only by the direct action of an intelligent creative cause, — places the vital doctrine of the being and the providence of a God on ground that can never be shaken. We gladly borrow from Mr. Darwin the quotation from Bishop Butler which he has affixed as a motto to the second edition of his work: "The only distinct meaning of the word 'natural' is *stated*, *fixed*, or *settled;* since what is natural as much requires and presupposes an intelligent mind to render it so, — that is, to effect it continually or at stated times, — as what is supernatural does to effect it for once." It is only for the advocate of Revealed Religion, drawing his premises alike from the history of the human race

and the fully established conclusions of physical science, to vindicate the additional truth, that the Divine action has not been limited to "the natural," — that is, to the stated repetition of uniform events, — but has extended to "the supernatural," or to a break in the regularity of the succession, whenever some great purpose could thereby be more directly attained. It is both unphilosophical and presumptuous for the finite to undertake to set bounds to the infinite by declaring *a priori*, that either of these modes of action has any more claim to be considered as necessary than the other.

In one respect, indeed, this speculation respecting the origin of species is more unfavorable than most other schemes of cosmogony to the doctrine that the Deity acts through secondary causes alone, having thereby set in motion a mechanical universe, which ever afterwards continues and repeats itself. The necessary consequence of such a doctrine is the absolute universality of natural law, or the entire exclusion of the contingent, the variable, or the unprecedented from the scheme of creation. But we are not obliged to go far towards the limits of the universe or towards the boundaries of human knowledge, in order to find large classes of phenomena which show no traces of mechanical repetition or adherence to a fixed pattern, in respect to which science has made no progress and can hope for no progress, for the only *law* which they exhibit is that of boundless variety and unceasing change. We allude to the external differences, marked and obvious in character, which enable us to distinguish different individuals of the same race, different offspring of the same parents, and different members performing the same function in one organism. No two human faces, no two leaves of the same tree or bush, no two whelps of the same litter, no two roses on the same stalk, are exactly alike, or are in any danger of being confounded even by the careless observer. Now these countless differences which distinguish all living forms from each other, and which are left unstudied by the physical inquirer solely because they are countless and wholly irregular, and so flatly refuse to submit themselves to order, system, or mechanism, are yet just as much a part of creation — a part, so to speak, of the Divine plan — as the general laws themselves which

underlie them, and which alone come within the scope and power of human science. Admitting, for the nonce, that law and order can be ascribed to the blind action of secondary or mechanical causes, these endless diversities still remain inexplicable except upon the supposition of the constant action of a free personal cause.

Now the tendency of Mr. Darwin's theory, or rather of the facts upon which it is founded, is to enlarge the domain of what is thus, in one sense, arbitrary and contingent, or dependent on free volition, in nature, and to limit the action of secondary causes to a comparatively subordinate part in the economy of the universe. Our author denies that the same physical antecedents are always followed by the same consequents; he affirms that irregular and unexpected variations are perpetually interrupting the chain of orderly succession, and compelling us to seek for a cause *ab extra*, or out of the phenomena themselves, — a free, or, as he would call it, a capricious cause, to account for the aberrant results. While seeking with so much zeal to disprove the necessity of any fresh exertion of creative power to explain the origin of a new species, he traces back that origin to countless "variations," departures from law, divergences from type, every one of which, on his own principles, is just as much an act of creation as the primary calling forth of light out of darkness. Variations of this sort, not mechanical, but contingent, — not resulting necessarily from the old order of things, but arbitrarily engrafted upon it, — not pointing backward in an endless cycle, but forward to a continued progress and improvement, — have been taking place ever since the first appearance of life upon the earth, and are even now constantly occurring around us. Thus indeed, — to adopt the doctrine propounded in another of the mottoes affixed to this book, though not, we fear, in the sense in which either its author or Mr. Darwin understood it, — thus, indeed, "we can perceive that events are brought about, not by *insulated* interpositions of Divine power," but by exertions of it so frequent and beneficent, that we come to regard them as the ordinary action of Him who laid the foundations of the earth, and without whom not a sparrow falleth to the ground.

ART. X. — 1. *La Légende des Siècles.* Par VICTOR HUGO. 2 vols. Paris: Michel Levy.
2. *Souvenirs de* MME. RÉCAMIER. 2 vols. Paris: Michel Levy.
3. *Souvenirs d'un Journaliste.* Par ST. MARC GIRARDIN. Paris: Michel Levy.
4. *Mme. Swetchine, sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* Par le COMTE DE FALLOUX. 2 vols. Paris: Didier.
5. *De la Monarchie Française.* Par M. DE CARNÉ. Paris: Didier.
6. *Essai sur le Génie de Pindare.* By VILLEMAIN. Paris: Didier.
7. *Entretien sur M. Thiers.* By LAMARTINE.

OUR instalment of books from the French press this quarter is finer and richer than it has been for a long time. We have almost simultaneously works from Victor Hugo, Villemain, Lamartine, and St. Marc Girardin. We confess, too, that the subjects attract us no less than the authors. To go no further than the first three, we find in them three of the component elements of modern French civilization, — literature, journalism, and that peculiar and condensed form of social existence in France termed a *salon.*

About no poet, past or present, or in any country, has so large an amount of discussion been carried on as about Victor Hugo. The school of "Classiques" in France declared him a "barbarian," in the name of Racine and Boileau, and in the beginning they vowed they could not understand him; but, though objecting to his phraseology, and professing themselves shocked by his principles, even his worst enemies never denied his extraordinary poetic fire and force. He was called exaggerated, subversive, perverse, mad; but it was never opined that he was not a poet. All this strange effervescence has calmed down now, and, in the face of the general admission of his genius, Hugo himself has thrown aside much that was intended simply to secure notoriety. We doubt whether the men of this generation in France would be well able to conceive of the amount of opposition with which their fathers met such literary perturbators as were Hugo's early

dramas. These have been so outdone now by men without the master's power, that, when we turn back to the master himself, we are struck by that inseparable companion of power, — self-possession. Hugo always did what he chose to do. He might be mistaken; it might often have been better had he chosen to do otherwise than as he did; but he executed as he pleased what it pleased him to execute.

Perhaps the first work of Hugo which was met by a public unanimous in its praise was wrung from his inmost soul by the direst indignation, — *Les Châtiments*. Of this volume we will not now speak, having commented on it at the time of its publication. It was followed after three years by the two volumes entitled *Les Contemplations*, a work decidedly inferior to its predecessor, yet of great beauty and merit. Since its appearance Victor Hugo's Muse had remained mute, till now that her voice has suddenly broken upon the world in what we would fain call "*awfully beautiful*" strains. Nothing finer than certain parts of *La Légende des Siècles* was ever conceived or written, while in other parts we discover faults of the writer's earlier days, which we find in none of his intermediate productions. This book is the counterpart of *Les Châtiments*, not to say the reaction of the mind that produced the latter. *Les Châtiments* was the result of one of the noblest bursts of indignation that ever relieved an honest, aching heart. *La Légende des Siècles* is due to the mournful longing with which the poet, turning from what surrounds him in the present, looks far, far down the fathomless gulf of the past, and catches at sun-gleams, and clamors for something which it may be permitted him not to condemn or scorn. Chivalry inspires Hugo this time, and so evidently that what precedes and what follows the chivalrous era is incomparably inferior to what treats simply of those ages which, if "dark," were full of *naïveté* and simple truth. The Christian knight, such as some Northern bards of earlier ages have pictured him, is the perpetual ideal of this new work, and it is curious enough, that, while Tennyson is, in England, chanting the praises of "the blameless king" in his Idyls, Hugo, so diametrically his opposite in every possible respect, personal and artistic, is also accepting as his type of poetic per-

fection, the product of a remote period of civilization, whose charm is the union of gentleness and force.

This type — the type of the Christian knight — recurs in almost every page of *La Légende des Siècles*. We have it in Rodrigues de Bivar, whom a Moorish prince finds humbly rubbing down his father's mare, — him, the Cid, so "haughty at the court of the king!" We have it in Eviradnus, the aged warrior whose mission it is to "protect the weak against the strong," and to console the suffering, and who delivers the Lady Maud of Lusatia from a cruel emperor and a licentious king. We have it in Ratbert, where a true-hearted, faith-keeping prince is the victim of a tyrant and usurper, and is avenged by an archangel, who descends from the sky to slay the traitor, revealing his heavenly presence only to a poor patient monk, who by his virtues has deserved to contemplate the reality of higher truths. We have it in the noble appeal of the Alpine Eagle to the Heraldic Eagle on the banners of the Swiss mercenary Guard; and in the child-like simplicity of Aymerillot, the boy-hero, who, when all Charlemagne's peers have refused to take the town of Narbonne for gain (they being glutted and worn out), offers to take it for glory (he being poor and full of strength). Everywhere this type starts up before us, seizes hold of us, and makes us share the author's own feeling, when he turns from the narrowness, corruption, and feebleness of the European men of our day to the large-heartedness, generosity, and vigor of the men of the past. There is in this collection, however, one small poem in which no type comes forth, unless, indeed, we recognize the tyrant type in the Inquisitor-king, Philip II., who gloomily rests his head on one of the window-panes of the palace of Aranjuez. But the poem — one of the shortest — is so lovely that we must give our readers a nearer knowledge of it. It is entitled *La Rose de l'Infante*, and the anecdote it tells is merely this. In the year 1588, a young daughter of Philip II., a child of five years old, is standing in the gardens of Aranjuez.

"Elle est toute petite, une duègne la garde;
Elle tient à la main une rose, et regarde.
Quoi? que regarde-t-elle? Elle ne sait pas. L'Eau,
Un bassin qu'assombrit le pin et le bouleau,

Ce qu'elle a devant elle, un cygne aux ailes blanches,
Le bercement des flots sous la chanson des branches.

. . . . .

Un jour elle sera Duchesse de Brabant;
Elle gouvernera la Flandre ou la Sardaigne,
Elle est Infante, elle a cinq ans, *elle dédaigne.*"

While this child loiters on the edge of a garden-pond, her stately duenna at her side, and a rose in her hand, Philip is at a window of his palace with his hard eyes fixed upon the setting sun.

"L'effroi
Faisait une lumière étrange autour du roi.

. . . . .

Il tenait l'Amérique et l'Inde; il s'appuyait
Sur l'Afrique, il regnait sur l'Europe; inquiet
Seulement du côté de la sombre Angleterre."

The day is the day fatal to Spain, and the hour that when her most ambitious hopes were destroyed, not by an enemy, but by that "Providence" which the gloomy Philip himself said, after the disaster, "it was not his intention to struggle against." All is tranquil in the gardens, in the air, in the sky; all rests in peace under the last red glance of the dying sun, unless, indeed, it may be the sad, restless, ruthless heart of the son of Charles V.

"Le jour s'éteint; les nids chuchotent, querelleurs;
Les pourpres du couchant sont dans les branches d'arbres,
La rougeur monte au front des déesses de marbre."

We ask special attention to the exquisite beauty of this description of a Southern sunset.

Suddenly, in the midst of all this tranquillity, a breath stirs, and it is as though the spirits of earth and air began to rouse themselves from the pressure with which the day's heat had weighed them down. The king, at his palace window, looks out into the coming shade, and calculates how surely his "invincible Armada" will crush proud Protestant Albion. He actually smiles at the thought of all his awful, death-bearing ships, now riding on the sea, and just about to enwrap the heretic race and stifle it in their fearful wings. He thinks of all the soldiers who animate the ships,—

"Sur quatre cents vaisseaux quatre-vingt mille épées,"—

as he gazes at the waning light. Then a breath rises. The whole of the closing passage is too beautiful for us not to give it to our readers entire.

" Sur le bord du bassin, en silence,
L'Infante tient toujours sa rose gravement,
Et, doux ange aux yeux bleus, la baise par moment.
Soudain, un souffle d'air, une de ces haleines
Que le soir frémissant jette à travers les plaines,
Tumultueux zéphyr, effleurant l'horizon,
Trouble l'eau, fait frémir les joncs, met un frisson
Dans les lointains massifs de myrte et d'asphodèle
Vient jusqu'au bel enfant tranquille, et d'un coup d'aile
Rapide, et secouant même l'arbre voisin,
Effeuille brusquement la fleur dans le bassin,
Et l'Infante n'a plus dans la main qu'une épine.
Elle se penche, et voit sur l'eau cette ruine
Elle ne comprend pas ; *qu'est ce donc ? Elle a peur ;*
Et la voilà qui cherche au ciel avec stupeur
Cette brise, qui n'a pas craint de lui déplaire.
Que faire ? le bassin semble plein de colère ;
Lui, si clair tout à l'heure, il est noir maintenant ;
Il a des vagues ; c'est une mer bouillonnant.
Toute la pauvre rose est éparse sur l'onde ;
Les cent feuilles, que noie et roule l'eau profonde,
Tournoyant, naufrageant, s'en vont de tous côtés
Sur mille petits flots par la brise irrités ;
On croit voir dans un gouffre une flotte qui sombre.
— ' Madame,' dit la duègne, avec sa face d'ombre,
A la petite fille étonnée et rêvant,
' Tout sur terre appartient aut princes, hors le vent.' "

We know of few more profoundly poetical, and at the same time philosophical, conceptions than this. Every intellectual requirement is satisfied by the matter of the tale, and every artistic demand by its manner. The destruction of the mighty fleet which carried the destinies of empires, shadowed forth by the whisper of the wind over mimic waves which shatters a flower in the hand of a wondering child, — this seems to us one of the loftiest and loveliest ideas to be found among modern poets. As to the execution, it is above all remarkable for that perfect mastery of the author over his subject, for that complete self-possession, to which we alluded. We cannot help expressing a wish that Longfellow — than whom there lives no greater master of artistic form — would consecrate some of his

leisure hours to the translation of certain poems of *La Légende des Siècles*. Meanwhile we congratulate French poetry on so brilliant an accession to its contemporary treasures.

All the really distinguished men of France are of nearly the same age, and radiated into the effulgence of their fame near the same period. When St. Marc Girardin was thirty, Hugo was four or five and twenty, Villemain forty, and so on. They form a group, therefore, though nothing can be more various than their faculties, or the direction given to them, — often, indeed, nothing more mutually contradictory than their opinions and mental tendencies. French literature owes some of its most refined and most ingenious pages to M. St. Marc Girardin, who is undoubtedly foremost among those whose influence on the national thought in France made it what it was, in its brightest period, some thirty-five or forty years ago.

Those of his writings which are collected in the volume under our notice are of great political interest, for they relate to, and elucidate, the events that occurred in France when the Revolution of July was imminent or in progress. As our readers will hardly need to be reminded, the movement, which began about 1827, was conducted almost exclusively by newspaper writers. If ever a great political commotion was produced by journalism, this was the force which in July, 1830, overthrew the Bourbons of the elder branch. The journalistic force was called into action by various other latent causes; but had there not been at that particular period in Paris (for Paris is, was, and always will be France) a corps of intelligent, eloquent, active, enterprising, ambitious, and influential journalists, the "three days" of 1830 could no more have taken place, than could the *coup d'état* of December had not a desperate, brutal, corrupt, narrow-minded, and perfectly disciplined army been ready at hand. The *hyper-thinkers* of 1830 were the agents of the Revolution of July, as thoroughly as the *no-thinkers* of December were the agents of the *coup d'état* of 1851. It is, therefore, as interesting to examine the character of the journalist, as bearing upon the shortcomings of the Orleans monarchy, resulting in despotism, as it will one day be to study the character of the swashbuckler and

traineur de sabre as bearing upon the oppressions of the Empire. Nowhere do we find such materials for the close and impartial study of the journalist as in M. St. Marc's volume. It is impossible to carry honesty of purpose farther than he does, or to confess more candidly the defects of the predominant body to which he belonged, and whose errors lie at the root of so much evil. He does not hesitate to admit the deplorable lack of statesmanship shown by the men whom mere journalism brought suddenly to the head of affairs in 1830, and he deals with his own inexperience and its mischievous consequences as severely as with that of any one else. Alluding to his own "damaging" articles against the government of Charles X., he writes as follows: —

"I perceive in re-reading and examining my polemics of the time of the Restoration, — from the year 1827 to the year 1830, — that I devoted considerable hatred to M. de Villèle. Now, if I had to judge M. de Villèle at the present moment, I should say of him only what we all chose to repeat then, with contemptuous impartiality, namely, that he was 'a good steward.' I should say that, under a monarchy whose worst fault was the *desire to remain antiquated*, he was the one man who was most imbued with the spirit of our own times. He was perhaps not so much a *liberal* as he was a *modern* minister. He sincerely loved the representative form of government, to which he owed it that he was a minister, and he sought by every means in his power to make his party love it. He succeeded ill. All the distinguished men of the Royalist party loved representative institutions, — Chateaubriand, M. de Villèle, M. Lainé, M. de Richelieu, M. de Martignac, M. de Fitzjames, — I speak of the elders only, — but the *mass* of the party did not like them. . . . . M. de Villèle's ministry was the best essay made to liberalize the monarchy of 1814 without the help of the extreme liberals themselves. This was precisely what the 'Liberals' and their chiefs could the least forgive."

Now, in lending his powerful pen to the chiefs of the extreme Liberal party, — who, as he now sees, were following only a cruelly selfish policy, — to "write down" M. de Villèle, M. St. Marc Girardin was, through sheer inexperience, helping to do his country, and ultimately his own cause, very great disservice.

We pass to something far less excusable. One of the worst

features of the movement of July (and for this we refer our readers to M. Guizot's eloquently reproving pages) was the senseless bloodthirstiness of the populace with respect to the king's ministers, of whose position with regard to Parliament they knew little, and of whose acts they knew less. They clamored for the execution of these men, as they would have done for the performance of some new piece. They were not in earnest in their reprobation, for they ignored entirely the bases on which it might be founded; they were in earnest only in their insane craving for a new spectacle, a fresh excitement, no matter at what cost. Now, what says M. St. Marc Girardin?

"I partook of the emotions and of the joys of the Revolution of July; I felt in my own person all the collective passion of the hour. I will not even hide an episode of my journalistic life, for it has its moral. On the 29th of July, some of my comrades and myself were assembled in the office of the *Journal des Débats*, and occupied in hurriedly writing a few lines descriptive of the events of a revolution that was in progress at the very instant at which we were narrating it. I wrote upon some of the measures that ought to be adopted immediately after the victory, and, among others, I called for the punishment of the ministers of Charles X.; but in the preoccupation of such a time, instead of writing the word *punishment*, I wrote — and I shudder even now when it recurs to me — I wrote the word *execution*. I went away, oblivious of the fatal expression I had suffered to escape from my pen, and I read only on the morrow the lines I had noted down the day before. When I came to the passage in question, the fearful word had vanished, and the proper one, *punishment*, had replaced it. I owed the change to our excellent editor, M. Bertin. But the fact of the substitution of one word for the other recalled to my mind what I had in reality done, and my grief was such that tears filled my eyes. I flew to M. Bertin, and poured forth my heart to him in thanks. Observe, too, that *three months later I would, in the ranks of the National Guard, have given my life to save that of the king's ministers.* Their *execution!!* How could I ever have written such a word? Here lies one of the dangers of newspaper-writing. Words drop from the pen as from the orator's lips; they are heedlessly flung upon the paper, and when, on the morrow, that paper represents them, you are horrified at their aspect. To what have they not grown! how have they become charged with evil! My gratitude to M. Bertin for this service is augmented in exact proportion to my deep remorse. 'My dear friend,' he said to me, 'I in

fact only set down the word you would have yourself wished to see written.' True, but if he had failed to write it?"

The book consecrated to Madame Récamier by her niece, Mme. Lenormand, treats of an entirely different order of subjects. It is the history of the connecting link between the society of the old and the society of the new school in France. Mme. Récamier's was the last, as Mme. Rambouillet's was the first *salon* in which was practised, in its supreme perfection, what the French so pride themselves upon, — the art of talking, — *La Causerie*. A dispassionate study of modern French history will show us the Restoration as the only period of the last eighty years during which all classes in France threw themselves earnestly into political life, and came to enjoy its excitement. At a later period, the aristocratic classes chose to think themselves excluded from it, and then commenced those lamentable divisions and subdivisions of which France is far from having yet seen the end; but in the fifteen years of the Restoration every man of the upper and middle classes thought he had a political future, and political activity absorbed what had before been the element of *salon* life. From the reign of Louis XVIII. to the *coup d'état* of 1851, *salons* ceased to have their former significancy, and when one was closed, no other replaced it. With Mme. Récamier the institution ends. We omit extracts from these *Souvenirs* of her reign, for there is very little of her own in the work; and we should be at a loss to point out this page or that as more interesting than any other. But the whole book is curious, and full of information for those persons who wish to form an accurate notion of what the state of society in France was, till within a dozen years, and of what proportion of the ideas, habits, and prejudices of the past is still preserved.

At the same time with Mme. Récamier there flourished in Paris another lady, less universally known perhaps, but, where known, almost worshipped, and possessed of a singular and irresistible influence, — Madame Swetchine.

The life of Mme. Swetchine is so intimately connected with much of the very highest importance that is passing at the present hour in France, that we think our readers may not re-

gard a few moments as wasted in obtaining a nearer view of it. We all know how, since the quarrels of Jesuit and Jansenist, under Louis XIV., France has been divided into Gallicans and Romans, liberal Catholics and Ultramontanists. At the very hour at which we write, the question is coming to what is vulgarly called "a head," and any day may witness an outbreak of such a spiritual war in France as would not have been thought possible by a superficial observer. All this has been lying latent in the national bosom for many years, and, to those who cared to mark its existence, signs were incontestably evident of the energy that was accumulating for a renewal, one day, of the old struggle. The actors only in the drama were a little changed. Instead of Jesuits and Jansenists were fierce, bigoted, narrow-minded, ignorant, superstitious Ultramontanists, on the one hand, (Ultramontanism being with them, in reality, a mere pretext for sheer obscurantism,) and on the other, all liberal Christian Catholics, — Gallicans, in a word; for, as has been wisely said, "Gallicanism is the measure of Catholicism that the French can support." Now, it is to be remarked, that, while the Ultramontanists were firmly united, their opponents were divided; or rather they were, from many causes, deprived of one of their main supports,— the "Christian-philosophical" school, the school of spiritualist philosophers, at whose head stood Victor Cousin, and others of that stamp. Were these to be esteemed "Christian and Catholic" enough to take rank with the Gallican Catholics? This was an intensely important question, and the answer to it has never been decidedly given, until now that the attitude of the Emperor towards Rome has firmly united all Catholics, of whatsoever denomination or degree, — Jesuits, Gallicans, "Christians," Spiritualists, Cartesians, ultra-Papists, and all. This, however, is an extraordinary, and therefore probably a transient state of things. The more interesting subject to examine into is the success of the efforts at good understanding made, in an ordinary and normal period, by the two rival forces of Ecclesiastical Authority and Free Thought.

These efforts were made most conscientiously and unremittingly, and both sides counted some of the highest intellectual names of French civilization; for the pure Gallicans, Mont-

alembert, the Prince de Broglie, the Bishop of Orleans ;* for the "Spiritualists," Cousin, Villemain, Rémusat, and others of their stamp. The meeting-place for all was the *salon* of Mme. Swetchine. There, whoever loved the human intellect and its works was sure of a hearty welcome. The first thing in the remarkable person we are speaking of was without doubt her idolatry of the human mind, her deep, worshipful love for what she held to be the most wondrous of all the Divine creations, — the intellect which conceives, and for ever reverts to what is grandest and noblest. For the ordinary run of the people, who make up the mass of so-called "society," Mme. Swetchine was, above all, a woman whose virtue and sanctity surpassed anything they knew of; she humbly, cheerfully, trustfully, as they all knew, partook of the communion every day of her life, and to them she was merely and exclusively a saint. But her importance in France — and it was a great importance — was as the connecting-link between the exclusively Catholic Christians and the Christian Spiritualists. Mme. Swetchine's piety was of benefit to herself, to her conscience, to her own immortal soul, — so of course must those think whose faith and creed were hers; but her liberality of opinion, her lofty-heartedness, her high-mindedness, her breadth of comprehension, her acuteness of vision, her absolutely unlimited tolerance of, and respect for, every conviction, provided it were sincere, — these were matters of benefit to the public; and the death of this extraordinarily gifted being † has been a misfortune for the world of thought and intellect in France. Mme. Swetchine was, as it were, an incarnation of Leibnitz's famous discourse upon the "Accordance of Reason and Faith." She was a tangible, living proof of all the intellectual freedom that is compatible with almost mystical piety, and of the unbounded tolerance that may co-exist with indefatigably ardent religious zeal. The life of Mme. Swetchine is inseparable from one of the most curious moral and intellectual movements of the last quarter of a century in France. The sudden and *angry* union just now produced among all shades of "believers in Chris-

* We allude to the time before the dissensions with Rome had made "Papists" of all. At that time the Bishop of Orleans was a Gallican.

† Mme. Swetchine died in 1858, at an advanced age.

tianity" in France, is due to the violence of their antagonism to another power; — it is a union *in odium tertii;* — it might be dissolved by the disappearance of the cause that provokes it. The union of the "Believers" and "Thinkers," of which Mme. Swetchine was the untiringly generous, piously impassioned promoter, was a union of strong reciprocal sympathy, which could only have grown closer every hour, because it rested upon what is highest, most active, most prolific, and most susceptible of development in man, his *reason*, — that reason of which it should be remembered (as it seldom is by the Catholics) the Council of Trent has said, that it "suffices" for the recognition of divine and revealed truths.

We know of no one, of any opinion or creed, to whom we do not earnestly recommend the perusal of M. de Falloux's two volumes on Mme. Swetchine. Much is there to be learned, of which few persons, perhaps, even guess.

Among the names prominent in the society of Mme. Swetchine we find that of M. de Carné, and she had, perhaps, few more liberal or more intelligent disciples. M. de Carné's life has been devoted to the history of the institutions of his country; and it would be impossible for any one now, in any tongue or land, to contemplate writing a History of France, without having recourse to him. In his works on *Representative Government* and *Parliamentary Customs*, on the *Founders of French Unity* and on the *Monarchy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, M. de Carné leaves no stone unturned that may conceal even the most apparently insignificant fact or detail. But of all his many works, few seem to us to have the importance of his last, namely, *Considerations on the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century*. This is the complement of M. de Tocqueville's universally read book upon the *Ancien Régime*. It is impossible, when M. de Carné's volume has been attentively studied, not to see the inevitableness of the Revolution of 1789–93; difficult, when it has *not* been so studied, to discern clearly what defects in the working of the monarchical forces produced the explosion of the revolutionary ones, as a natural consequence.

The minute examination of the character of Louis XIV., as the grand precursor of the Revolution, has been gradually

becoming a favorite employment with the politicians and historians of France; and it is self-evident that nothing so far contributed to make the Revolution unavoidable as did the unconsciously subversive measures of the *Grand Roi*, whom all sovereigns have been wont to regard as a model. When that fatal and (in a king's mouth) absurd speech, "I am the State," had once been uttered, the possible future of a monarchy that might endure by the modifications of Constitutionalism, was closed. There remained nothing for it then but to choose between royal and popular despotism, between a monarch and a mob; but the form in which despotism could incarnate itself (let its vital principle be royalist or republican) was made ready to the hand of future tyrants by the arch-centralizer, Louis XIV. No sovereign, not even the first Napoleon, was so possessed by the positive rage for centralization as was Louis XIV.; and when he had once fashioned the machine (which he and his ministers passed their lives in doing), it was comparatively easy for any other power to work it. So the Revolution found the case; and, thanks to the comprehensive formula, "I am the State," it depended merely upon the obtaining of authority in the town of Paris, to subject all France to no matter what, in four-and-twenty hours. *Eighteenth Brumaires*, of various descriptions, fill the modern history of France; and it is hard to see how it should be otherwise, for the temptation to try them is too great to be resisted.

No one has brought the details of the invention of the centralization system home to Louis XIV. so irrefutably as M. de Carné, and we know nowhere of a portrait of the hard-working, second-rate conscientious, pig-headed, straightforward, honest, and intensely mischief-bringing monarch that can, in any degree, be compared to his. Alluding to the passion for *unity*, by which the king was tormented, the volume before us has the following: —

"Forever inspired by the thought of unity that was the very breath of the king's nostrils, the Minister Colbert aimed at unity in every one of his conceptions. Quite assured that he should find his master's support wherever this bent of his inclination led him, Colbert was the first to attack the old territorial divisions of the soil, created by history or

mere accident. The termination of this struggle was reserved, one hundred years later, for the *Assemblée Constituante;* but it was commenced by Colbert, and there can be no doubt that both he and his sovereign would have approved the work of *Provincial* destruction that was achieved by the Revolution. . . . . Unity was sought for everywhere. From 1665 to 1667 the king himself, in spite of his external wars and his domestic preoccupations, presided over the labors of the learned commissioners he had appointed to bring together into one harmonious whole the various legislative measures and customs whereby his different possessions were administered, and to blend the several parts into one *indivisible* subjection to his own monodespotic sway. The Parliaments resisted long and manfully, but the will of the prince was not to be conquered, and the result of the whole was that *Code Louis*, so forgotten now, but which was simply the prototype of the more notorious *Code Napoléon* that sprang from the particular phase of the Revolution called the 'Empire.' . . . . .

"It is probable that Louis XIV. would have been much surprised if he had been told that his work was a 'revolutionary' one, and that a revolution must be the consequence of the inauguration of a condition of things in which the middle classes (*la bourgeoisie*), after being everywhere called into political and administrative activity, were not placed in society on a footing of equality with the *noblesse.* For this was the king's work. Disliking the nobility, which allowed itself to be degraded by him, Louis XIV. showed everywhere the tendency to employ the *bourgeois* in situations of authority and responsibility. But this naturally produced results which, at a later period, shook the entire social edifice to its basis. Evidently, if, apart from its terrors, the public and political achievements of the Revolution could have been foreshadowed to the mind of Louis XIV., he would have welcomed it cordially, and regarded it as the fruit of his own efforts, as the offspring of his own intimate thought. . . . . .

"In the curious Utopia of a democratico-monarchical state, imagined by a sovereign and his instruments, such as Colbert and Louvois, the popular forms and liberties all disappear; old established local magistracies are abolished, parliaments and provincial councils are destroyed, and the very time-honored denominations of Provinces themselves are effaced before what we believe to have been the uniform chess-board squaring-off into 'Departments' originated by the Revolution. The nation abdicates, and is absorbed in the state; the people merges in the king. One man is and can be everything. . . . . Never did any prince labor so hard for a result, the mortal enemy of which posterity was to decide him to have been. For fifty-

four years, through all vicissitudes, Louis XIV. evinced a passionate earnestness for subjecting all classes in the country to the yoke of civil equality, and for centralizing the national life of France in the pigeon-holes of his different ministries. He was, if not the most clear-sighted, at least the most active agent in the social transformation that was impending, and this only a close study of our past annals can enable us thoroughly to understand. Our history alone can elucidate the work of the Revolution; for by its light we see the Revolution as it really was, — a dire necessity, — and far less a protest against past ages than their own natural, inevitable legacy."

In his way of proving the above assertion, M. de Carné makes the foreign reader acquainted with a profusion of the most curious and hitherto unfamiliar facts. His "History of the French Monarchy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" is indispensable to whomsoever wishes to know accurately what brought the Revolution about; and so have judged the historical and political writers of France, — many of them diametrically opposed to M. de Carné on the questions of the current policy of the country at this day.

It seems at first a somewhat strange transition to turn from politics to poetry; but the work we have now to deal with not only places poetry above everything else, but declares it to lie as the root of everything glorious or great. M. Villemain's "Treatise on Lyric Poetry," as the second title of "Pindar" runs, maintains that there can be nothing worthy of note in the history of man apart from enthusiasm, and it is the noble declaration of this celebrated æsthetic philosopher, that "mankind cannot be, and enthusiasm die away"; indeed, if we are rightly informed, M. Villemain has characterized his new work as "a history of the influence of enthusiasm on the human race."

The book which has ended in so wide and high a meaning was born of a purely special aim. Many years ago, it was proposed by the *Académie Française* that a prize should be given for the most successful translation of Pindar. Numberless attempts were made, all more or less unsuccessful; and invariably, while each translator was proving his incompetency to the task, M. Villemain, who knows every line of his Greek classics by heart to this day, was always to be heard muttering

the original, and impatiently whispering, "If they would only be content to give us the word-for-word version!" * And when the trial was over (a severe trial mostly to good Hellenists), the Perpetual Secretary would habitually come down among his colleagues with a marvellous impromptu translation of some of the Greek bard's finest passages, inspired by all the fire of the glorious original. In this way was born in Villemain's mind the idea of publishing a translation of Pindar; augmented and adorned by his own commentaries and notes. But by degrees as the work progressed, its author found that Pindar was in some measure the impersonation of lyric poetry itself, and he came to the conclusion that any commenting on Pindar must be preceded by a general treatise on lyric poetry since its first accents were heard by the human race. This was, it will be allowed, an arduous undertaking; but rarely has any one been more completely successful. Of all the many works that will carry Villemain's name down to posterity as one of the finest writers and loftiest thinkers of this age, — of all the noble intellectual and moral rules that, spoken from the professor's chair, drew to him the youth of France as with one heart, — of all the monuments to his own fame that this eminent man will leave to his country, — none equal this treatise on Pindar and Lyric Poetry. The book is a poem in itself; and, unlike what usually happens in these cases, it is impossible to conceive of a poet who, after reading it, should not say, "That man has a right to judge us, for our own fire burns in him." Never by any æsthetic writer has mere inspiration been placed so high, — never has the supremacy of enthusiasm over all other sources of human productiveness been so loudly asserted; and it is not only delightful to read the praise of poetry from so eloquent a pen, — it is honorable to our time, that in it should be found a man who, at the period of life when the useful mostly takes the lead of the sentimental, deliberately declares that only to be useful which serves to elevate and ennoble the mind. We are unfortunately obliged to refrain from much quotation, but we call the reader's atten-

* M. Villemain's memory is proverbial. He will at any moment repeat pages of any classical author, of whom one line happens to be quoted.

tion to the following strikingly fine passage, because it contains and illustrates the vital principle of the work : —

"The kind of self-complacent materialism in which the idolaters of a despotic rule would have us believe that a portion of the human race enveloped itself, under the equality of oppression of ancient Rome, never really existed. That slumber of the soul in undisturbed servitude never was, never will be. Setting aside often recurring revolutions, and the other various accidents which more than compensate the advantages of absolute power to its possessor, there existed during the entire period which it is sought to present to us as 'safe from any agitation' a permanently active rebellion of the collective moral sense against tyranny. Under different forms, this was, let it be remarked, an epoch of enthusiasm in action, and of faith carried to heroism. Nor was there ever, in reality, a condition or state of human society established in which all instinct of generous disquietude was extinct, in which dependence in all its shapes was calmly submitted to, or in which a community shut out from every nobler conquest deemed itself content, because its daily subsistence was insured. From over-study of the laws and proclamations of the Cæsars, you come to ignore the few who protested against their empire, you wilfully forget the outcries of the oppressed, their hymns and odes, the lyric outpourings of their indignation. ..... The apparent external repose wherewith despotism and servility together tried to wrap themselves round ancient Rome, was therefore not complete. Enthusiasm lived on still, and its flame burnt purely as ever. ..... This help from above, this immaterial support which was not denied to the pagan world, at the period of its great transformation, shall it then fail us, Christians of the world of this day? Devoted to positive interests, ready for submission to brute force as we are supposed to be, who is there yet among us who will dare assert that the loss of enthusiasm would be a gain? *that the recognition of the uselessness of poetry would be a progress?* and that to the recognition of that uselessness we must inevitably be led by the successive developments attained by whatsoever is tangible, material, in our life? ..... No! this is *not* so, — never can be so: whatever increases the amount of man's power over the exterior world, whatever contributes to double the sum of time that he has to dispose of, or to diminish the obstacle of space, will — *must* — in the end serve to bring the soul back upon itself, and, by delivering the human being from what were hitherto so many external trammels, must isolate him more and more, and oblige him to self-communion. Man, in reality, is great only by those conceptions that spring from his own original thought, and that are born of the strong pulsations of his own inmost heart. ..... Mankind cannot be, and enthusiasm die away."

Upon such self-evident grandeur of both thought and expression, we can have no remark to offer; we simply leave it to the appreciation of the reader, premising only that this is the tone and tendency of the work before us.

The transition is easy from Villemain to Lamartine, and we feel as if we were merely going from one poet to another. Both speak the same language, view men and things from the same elevated point of view, and judge of the same events in the same way. Both — with far more of indulgence than disdain, however — look naturally down upon whatever they have to speak of.

We are among those who regard Lamartine's monthly *Entretiens* as pre-eminently useful to the French public, so long as they treat of contemporary history and personages. The writer himself is too impulsive, too genuinely a poet, to be a first-rate critic; he has too little of acquired knowledge to be a first-rate æsthetic writer; — he would be a dangerously unsafe guide along the purely literary or historical paths of the past. Where knowledge that he has not is absolutely requisite, Lamartine fails; but where he has the necessary familiarity with what he recounts, he is incomparable, and of a usefulness not to be replaced. Wherever he brings his fine poetic sense to bear upon events or upon individuals whereof his own knowledge is sufficient, there he inevitably contributes largely to reform the decrees of the vulgar crowd, to force the narrow-minded, routine-loving, soulless mass of what is called the "reading world" (more deserving of the above epithets in France than anywhere else) into a broader, higher, more really liberal train of thought. In judging of what he knows, Lamartine renders an intellectual and moral service to France, of which the French public is perhaps not aware; and of circumstances in which he himself has been an actor, no historian is worth the poet-orator.

His last three *Entretiens* (the forty-fourth, forty-fifth, and forty-sixth) are, to our mind, inestimable, in the beneficial effect upon public opinion they are likely to produce. The subject of all three is M. Thiers's "History of the Consulate and the Empire." If ever a subject existed on which the French public was in need of some intelligent director and guide, this is one; for all that is showy and mischievous (showily mis-

chievous and mischievously showy), both in the spirit of what is to be written and in the spirit of the man who writes it, — all this calls forth, imperiously and irresistibly, whatever is most vulgar and false in the national mind. There is no subject (unless it may be the Revolution, and that for contrary reasons) on which the French public require so much "setting right" as on the Empire; and there is no writer so likely to "set it wrong," or lead it to exaggerate all its own natural defects, as M. Thiers. This Lamartine has keenly felt, and we know of no definition of Thiers's History that can be at all paralleled with the following: —

"This book records the life of one of those great armed actors in the drama of ages, of whom some say that they are necessary, others (and I am one) that they are fatal, — but of one of those actors who, at all events, are best to be likened to Alexander or Cæsar. This book may perhaps be the book that posterity will consult upon our epoch; because what it contains does necessarily touch upon all the vital questions of our time, — upon religion, philosophy, superstition, despotism, liberty, monarchy, republicanism, legislation, politics, diplomacy, war, nationality, conquest, — in short, upon whatsoever agitates the present and will agitate the future, — upon whatsoever penetrates deepest into the hidden conscience of the human race. This book is the work of one of those minds that are incomplete (all minds are 'incomplete,' because Providence alone has the key to what is perfect), but by one, nevertheless, of the brightest, clearest, sharpest, most studious, most universally 'capable' minds wherewith any author was ever gifted; a mind, too, signally adequate, and corresponding to the general average public mind. This book, in fine, is as remarkable by all it does not, as by all it does, contain.

"What it contains is the collective common-sense of the multitude, assimilated to himself by the writer, and re-transmitted with the very genius of lucidity. What it lacks is the philosophical spirit, and conscience, and statesmanship; what it lacks is to show the genius of morality and right, compelling the genius of mere ambition, of conquest, and of luck.

"In one word, man is everywhere evident in this History, — God is nowhere. M. Thiers's book is a landscape without a sky."

We affirm that thus to have judged M. Thiers and his work is to have done a signal service to France, and we are convinced that all who know that country well will agree with us.

ART. XI.—*Curiosities of Literature.* By ISAAC DISRAELI. With a View of the Life and Writings of the Author. By his Son. From the Fourteenth, Corrected London Edition. Boston: William Veazie. 1859. 4 vols. Small 8vo.

NEARLY seventy years have elapsed since the first volume of the "Curiosities of Literature" was issued from the press; yet the work retains its popularity undiminished, and the recent appearance of two new editions, one in England and the other in this country, shows that the present generation finds in it scarcely less to interest than did the generation to which it was first offered. As a suggestive contribution to literary history, it must, indeed, always hold a respectable place among similar books; and, if it makes no attempt at searching analysis or exhaustive criticism, it embraces a more copious selection of noteworthy facts in regard to books and authors than can be found in almost any other compilation of the kind, while it doubtless owes much of its popularity with all classes of readers to the agreeable form in which these facts are presented. Thomas Moore says of it in his Diary, that it is "good invalid reading"; and this casual remark very happily describes the character of the work. It makes but a small demand on the reader, yet it proffers to him an almost inexhaustible fund of amusement and instruction. Availing ourselves of the opportunity afforded by the publication of the beautiful edition named above, we design now to present a brief sketch of the life and character of Mr. Disraeli, together with a revaluation of the claims of his various writings to a permanent place in English literature.

Isaac Disraeli, or D'Israeli, as the name was originally written, was the only son of a Venetian merchant of Jewish extraction, and was born in the town of Enfield, near London, in May, 1766. His first teacher was a Scotchman, who kept a preparatory school in the neighborhood, to which Disraeli was sent when a mere child; but he does not appear to have made much progress in his studies, though he even then showed a taste for poetry. This taste was developed at so early an age, it is said, that before he was fourteen he had begun to write

verse, and had greatly shocked his father by producing a poem of his own composition. He was immediately sent abroad,—as his son intimates, in the hope that change of scene would wean his mind from this unprofitable occupation; and he was consigned to the care of his father's correspondent at Amsterdam, to be placed at college in that city. Here and at Leyden he passed several years with little profit from the direct instruction which he received, but diligently reading such books as his tutor's library contained. At the age of fifteen he had read Voltaire's works, and had made some acquaintance with those of Bayle; and three years later he returned to England with his mind saturated with the sentimentalism of Rousseau.

His new opinions, however, met with a rude shock when he rushed into his mother's apartment on his arrival, and was greeted by her with derisive laughter at his gaunt figure, his long hair, and his awkward appearance. Stung by this insulting welcome, the young man stormed and wept, and finally shut himself up in his room to give expression to his feelings through his pen. It was in vain that his father sought to smooth his ruffled temper by dwelling on the solicitude of his parents for his welfare, and by offering to place him in a great commercial establishment at Bordeaux. The son's reply was, that commerce corrupts mankind, and that he had written and intended to publish a poem against it. This announcement only made matters worse, and confusion and discord once more reigned in the house. In the mean time the new aspirant for poetical honors determined to seek the advice and assistance of Dr. Johnson. He accordingly left his manuscript at the Doctor's door; but the great critic was on his death-bed, and a week later the parcel was returned unopened.

Probably the poem was never published; but in December, 1786, Disraeli communicated to the Gentleman's Magazine an essay covering four pages of that journal, and entitled "Remarks on the Biographical Accounts of the late Samuel Johnson, LL. D., with an Attempt to vindicate his Character from late Misrepresentations." This essay is believed to be his first printed production, and it enables us to form some idea of his tastes and acquirements at that time, though as a piece of criticism it is utterly worthless. Its main object was to offer some

strictures on five recent publications, in which, as Disraeli thought, the memory of Johnson had been unfairly dealt with; but these strictures, which were inspired by an extravagant admiration of Johnson, are remarkably feeble and commonplace, and the style exhibits the worst faults of a young and inexperienced writer.

The same faults are shown in a still more conspicuous manner in two letters addressed by him in the same year to Dr. Vicesimus Knox, master of Tunbridge Grammar School, and then known on both sides of the Atlantic as a distinguished essayist and theologian. These letters are composed in a very adulatory style, and the whole diction is pompous and turgid. "I am addressing myself," he writes, "to the most learned and elegant writer our nation boasts"; and his wish was to obtain admission to the Doctor's family as a student. "I am a young man," he says, "who hath beat along the ocean of letters with most miserable pilots; and if in despair of meeting with a director I snatched the helm, it hath not been so much the action of temerity as that of a desire to gain the coast. I had no other guide than that bright effluence which a few constellations of the literary hemisphere dispensed; but experience convinced me that they are insufficient lights to him who is doubtful and fearful amidst 'the multitudinous sea.'" But if he had an extravagant admiration of his correspondent, he did not have a very modest opinion of his own acquirements. "In your house alone," he writes near the close of his first letter, "shall I be thought ignorant. I have travelled into different countries, and am conversant in the modern languages and in modern literature, — that is to say, in superficial knowledge and jejune ornament; and if the style of my letter is uncommon, be pleased to recollect, Sir, that it is on a very unusual topic."

Whether this application was made with the knowledge of his parents, we are not informed; but it is certain that his father's house was still a very uncongenial home, and about this time they again thought it desirable to send him abroad. During his absence he travelled through France, and a considerable part of his time was passed in Paris, where he mingled freely in literary society, and added much to his

knowledge of general literature. In 1788 he returned to England; and shortly afterward he wrote a poetical epistle to Warton, the Poet Laureate, "On the Abuse of Satire," which was printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1789. This poem extends to about a hundred and fifty lines, and was designed as an attack on Dr. Wolcot, better known by his pseudonyme, Peter Pindar, and as an urgent appeal to Warton to drive Wolcot from the field by writing more poetry himself. It is modelled on the verse of Pope, has considerable spirit, and on the whole shows that its writer had acquired strength and self-reliance with his added years. Wolcot was greatly incensed at its appearance, and he at once ascribed it to the pen of Hayley, the friend and biographer of Cowper, and at that time one of the most popular of English poets. When Disraeli went up to town he found that his poem was making a noise in society, and that the newspapers were filled with comments on it, and with gossip about Wolcot and Hayley. Elated by this unexpected notoriety, he hurried home to communicate the tidings to his parents, who seem now to have become convinced that any further resistance to their son's inclinations would be fruitless.

The success of his poem doubtless exerted a large influence over Disraeli's subsequent life. It led to a warm personal friendship with Henry James Pye, Warton's successor as Poet Laureate; and by Pye's influence, the elder Disraeli was induced to consent that his son should henceforth devote himself to literary pursuits. Pye visited his young friend at Enfield, and encouraged him to persevere in the path which he had marked out; and in the following year Disraeli published his first volume. This was a versified essay in defence of satirical poetry, under the title of "A Defence of Poetry, addressed to Henry James Pye, Esq., to which is added a Specimen of a New Version of Telemachus." It contains some well-pointed lines; but as a whole, both the Defence and the metrical version of Telemachus are feeble and diffuse. Neither shows any intellectual growth since the publication of the "Abuse of Satire"; and the translation of Telemachus was not completed.

In the following year he published anonymously an octavo

volume of miscellaneous anecdotes, drawn from various sources, and entitled "Curiosities of Literature." This work made small pretensions to originality, but it was received with much favor; and two years afterward he published a second volume of the same character, which was equally popular. In 1817, he added a third volume, embracing a larger amount of original matter, but formed on the same plan; and in 1823 he published a second series, also in three volumes. Subsequently, these six volumes were carefully revised, and published in a new form as one work, accompanied by a Preface as full of egotism as any of Southey's letters. "These volumes," their author does not hesitate to say, "have imbued our youth with their first tastes for modern literature; have diffused a delight in critical and philosophical speculation among circles of readers who were not accustomed to literary topics; and finally, they have been honored by eminent contemporaries, who have long consulted them, and set their stamp on the metal."

Nevertheless this work has not escaped criticism; and in 1838 a small volume of *adversaria* was published by Mr. Bolton Corney, attacking Disraeli's accuracy, and convicting him of several errors. The veteran author, then more than seventy years of age, replied in a spicy pamphlet, acknowledging some mistakes which have since been corrected, but in the greater number of instances maintaining his previous statements. The controversy terminated with a brief answer by Mr. Corney; and it must be conceded that, in the main, his animadversions were fully justified by the facts before him. He had shown that Disraeli was sometimes hasty in his conclusions and careless in his language, and that he had sometimes been misled by his authorities. The work, however, did not suffer much in the general estimation, and it is still the most popular of Disraeli's productions. Nor is it probable that it will ever cease to be read with interest, for its many curious anecdotes, its graphic sketches, and its genial criticism.

For the ten years after the publication of the first volume of the Curiosities, the young enthusiast in literature seems to have given his pen little rest. During this period he

published his "Essay on the Manners and Genius of the Literary Character"; his "Miscellanies, or Literary Recreations"; "A Dissertation on Anecdotes"; and several novels, which are now forgotten. One of them, however, "Mejnoon and Leila," has the merit of being the first story in our language composed with the view of presenting an accurate picture of Oriental life and manners. Of these works, both the Essay on the Literary Character and the Miscellanies have retained their popularity, and both have been reprinted several times; the former, after the lapse of more than twenty years from its first appearance, was almost entirely rewritten, and was published in a new edition, in 1818, under the title of "The Literary Character, illustrated by the History of Men of Genius, drawn from their own Feelings and Confessions." In 1822 it was again much enlarged, and was further enriched by the insertion of several manuscript notes by Lord Byron, with whom the book was a favorite. It is in some respects the most systematic and elaborate of Disraeli's works, and shows a depth and range of thought which we do not find in many of his productions, while its style is manly and its illustrations are copious and well selected. The "Miscellanies" comprises a small collection of papers, similar in design and execution to many of the later essays in the Curiosities, but containing nothing that requires special notice.

Early in 1802 he was married to Miss Basevi, aunt of the distinguished architect of that name, with whom he lived happily for forty-five years. By this lady he had one daughter and three sons, the eldest of whom, Benjamin Disraeli, has added fresh honors to the family name by a career of remarkable brilliancy in literature and public life. For several years after his marriage, Disraeli published little or nothing, with the exception of a volume of "Narrative Poems," which appeared in quarto in 1803, without winning much notice. In 1812 and 1813 he again made his appearance as an author, and published two volumes of essays under the attractive designation of "Calamities of Authors, including some Inquiries respecting their Moral and Literary Characters." His design in this work was to show that authors receive "little encouragement and less remuneration," and that "the most success-

ful author can obtain no equivalent for the labors of his life." This is certainly a sombre view of the subject, and one that is only partially sustained by the facts of literary history; but it is characteristic of Disraeli's mind, and clearly shows that want of breadth and comprehensiveness which is the chief defect in his writings. But in spite of the fallacious theory which these volumes were designed to illustrate, they contain many curious facts and anecdotes drawn from the literary history of England, and they have been deservedly popular.

A few months after the publication of this work, Disraeli brought out three more volumes composed on the same plan, and illustrating another division of the same general subject. To this new work he gave the title of "Quarrels of Authors; or, Some Memoirs for our Literary History." As its title intimates, the topics discussed were exclusively English; and in general the treatment was judicious and candid, though in some instances the author's opinions do not agree with those now held by impartial critics. Thus, in his account of the famous quarrel between Pope and Addison, he fails to render entire justice to the latter, and he repeats some misrepresentations of Pope's apologists which have since been exploded by Lord Macaulay and other writers. Among the authors whose quarrels and controversies fill the larger part of the volumes are Warburton and Pope, the two most noted literary combatants of the last century, Bentley, Hobbes, and Ben Jonson; and there are also sketches of the controversies which grew out of the formation of the Royal Society, and some other essays of a similar character.

Thus far Disraeli's researches had been mainly directed to literary questions; but he now determined to investigate some of the vexed questions of political history. Accordingly, he published in 1816 an "Inquiry into the Literary and Political Character of King James I." This tract was designed to rescue the character of James from the contempt into which it had fallen, and it certainly relieves his name from some undeserved obloquy, but it does not awaken any real sympathy with him, or overrule the popular judgment of his character and aims. The fact still remains, that James was an ambitious and arbitrary pedant, who entirely misunderstood the character and

temper of the English people. It should be observed, however, that Disraeli's admiration for the Stuarts was not a sudden passion, and traces of it may be found at a very early period of his life. "I *suspect*," he says in the first series of the Curiosities, "that James was not that degraded and feeble character in which he ranks by the contagious voice of criticism. He has had more critics than readers. After a great number of acute observations and witty allusions, made extempore, which we find continually recorded of him by contemporary writers, and some not friendly to him, I conclude that he possessed a great promptness of wit, and much solid judgment and acute ingenuity." With this view the Inquiry was prepared and published. On the whole, it is a well-written production, and it comprises much miscellaneous information about the life, character, and times of James. Disraeli did not, however, possess the thorough familiarity with his subject, the large powers of generalization, or the judicial habits of mind, which are now demanded in an historian, and consequently his tract is little read, and never quoted as an authority.

His next work, the "Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.," was probably suggested by the "Inquiry," though the first two volumes were not published until 1828. Two more volumes followed in 1830; and in 1832 a supplementary volume appeared under the title of "Eliot, Hampden, and Pym," in answer to some strictures on the preceding volumes. In these volumes, which have the same desultory and fragmentary character as his other writings, it was Disraeli's design to present some new views of the English Revolution, to magnify the characters of Charles and his principal advisers, and to depreciate the services of the popular leaders. The attempt was not very successful; no one now reads the "Commentaries," or entertains a different opinion of the Revolution in consequence of its publication; and probably no work of equal research and ability ever influenced public opinion less. Yet at the time it was received with great favor by the Tories, who were then smarting under the passage of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and in fearful anticipation of the grant of Parliamentary Reform; and, true to her first love, the University of Oxford testified her gratitude *optimi*

regis optimo vindici, by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. The work does indeed show much research, and sets some transactions in a new light by the help of documents unknown to previous writers, or not accessible to them; but it is the work of a partisan, and the theory which it is designed to uphold cannot be successfully defended.

Disraeli's next work was of a very different character, and was a grave and eloquent dissertation on the "Genius of Judaism," expounding at length the principal causes which have separated the Jews from every other nation, and long made them a special object of hatred. In dealing with the fundamental distinctions of his ancestral faith, and in recording some pages in the history of the "peculiar people," Disraeli had a subject well suited to his powers; and the volume comprises some very striking and admirable passages. But it has not been much read, and we are not aware that it has been reprinted since the publication of the second edition, immediately after its first appearance. This work affords one of the best specimens of Disraeli's style, and exhibits his intellect in its full maturity. He was now, however, fast approaching the allotted term of human existence; he had acquired a considerable reputation; his books were widely read, and some of them had been often reprinted; but he was still vigorous in body and mind, and he was reluctant to withdraw from labors which had afforded him many delights, in spite of his theory as to the calamities of authors. No sooner had one volume left the press, than he began to plan another; and he now turned his thoughts once more to a new subject.

It did not enter into his design in early life to present a comprehensive survey of the literature of a particular period, such as Mr. Hallam has given us, or to do for English literature what our own countryman, Mr. Ticknor, has done with consummate ability for the literature of Spain. For such a task he had neither the breadth of culture, the patient industry, nor the impartiality of judgment which those eminent writers brought to the performance of their respective labors. Nevertheless, his principal works, with the exception of the "Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.," must be regarded as contributions to such a general survey of the pro-

gress of modern literature. They all belong to the department of literary history, and most of them are intended to illustrate some special phase of literary life and character; and it was doubtless his perception of this fact which induced him, when nearly seventy years of age, to form the plan of a History of English Literature. This work he hoped to complete in six volumes, and he at once set about its execution with much zeal. But he had made little progress when an affection of the optic nerve deprived him of sight, and prevented the further prosecution of his undertaking. The operation of couching was performed without affording relief; and he at length determined to relinquish his design, and to content himself with publishing a selection from the materials which he had collected. In this work he was assisted by his daughter, whose services were rendered with a cheerfulness and assiduity deserving of the warmest recognition. The result was the publication of three volumes of miscellanies, under the title of "Amenities of Literature," comprising a series of independent essays more or less directly connected with the history of English literature.

These volumes were published in 1841; and in his Preface Disraeli gratefully acknowledges the assistance received from "the affectionate patience of filial devotion." From the manner in which the volumes were prepared, they have a very fragmentary character; but they contain much just criticism, and exhibit a higher order of powers than is shown in most of his other works. They open with an essay on "The Druidical Institution," and end with one on "The War against Books"; and among the authors noticed are Chaucer, Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Bacon. These papers show a great familiarity with the works of our older writers, a discriminating taste, and considerable power of analysis. The style is clear and forcible, and, though marked by little or no ornament, it gives no signs of old age. Yet the work has never equalled the "Curiosities of Literature" in popularity, and its fragmentary character will probably cause it to be forgotten long before its less ambitious and elaborate precursor.

This was the last production of his pen, and with its publication Disraeli closed a literary career which had extended

over a period of fifty years from the appearance of his first printed essay. He was enabled, however, with the help of his daughter, to revise his work on Charles I., and to prepare a new edition of it for the press. In her society, and in this congenial occupation, his years glided away with scarcely any apparent abatement of his physical vigor; and he had nearly attained his eighty-second year when he was attacked by the influenza, at that time an epidemic in England. The attack proved fatal, and on the 19th of January, 1848, after a short illness, he died at his residence, Bradenham House, Buckinghamshire, where he had passed the last twenty years of his life. He was buried in Bradenham church, among the descendants of the Hampdens and other illustrious families whose names are indissolubly associated with the history of that famous county. On the day before he was seized with his last illness, he was informed by his publisher that all his works were out of print; and since his death new editions of the more important of them have been published by his son.

In attempting to measure the mental capacity of Mr. Disraeli, and to determine his relative rank in English literature, we must not overlook the circumstance that his early education was very defective, and that his mind was not trained by any severe discipline. Without the countenance of his parents or the advice of judicious literary friends, at a time when such countenance and advice would have been of the utmost value, he read in a desultory manner, and followed the prompting of his own inclination, as far as he was able. Accordingly he wrote poetry, essays, and fiction, without any definite plan for his literary life. Yet he was among the first who made literary history a study; and notwithstanding the disadvantages under which he labored, he attained an honorable position among his contemporaries; his books were popular; and he had the reputation of being a well-read scholar. This reputation has somewhat declined; but it will not be denied that he had a very extensive acquaintance with English and Continental literature, and that he neglected no opportunity for self-culture.

He was, however, a man of facts and details, rather than a man of principles. He had little power of generalization or

of sustained reasoning, and he rarely took a comprehensive view of any subject. Hence his works are, almost without exception, fragmentary in form. They are replete with curious and amusing information, but the facts seldom have an orderly and systematic arrangement, or illustrate any central idea. His books, indeed, must be regarded as collections of materials, rather than as elaborate treatises, and their real value consists in the variety and interest of the details of author-life which they embody. Disraeli, as we have intimated, lacked a judicial habit of mind, and like most antiquaries he was disposed to magnify the importance of his researches, and to regard every circumstance which had escaped the notice of previous writers as a piece of secret intelligence. This weakness subjected him to some undeserved criticism, and it is probably one of the causes which have tended to diminish his reputation.

In early life his style was florid and pompous, but as he advanced in years it gained clearness and force, and his later works, the "Genius of Judaism" and the "Amenities of Literature," contain many passages of genuine eloquence. In the former of these, in particular, he writes with a dignity and polished grace which no one could have predicted from his earlier poems and essays. All his works in illustration of literary history, however, are composed in an attractive and popular style; and they owe scarcely less to this circumstance than to the exceeding richness of their materials.

In his political opinions he was conservative; but he took little part in the discussion of contemporary politics, except to advocate the removal of the Jewish disabilities. In literature his taste was catholic, and his critical judgments are in general candid and impartial. He had few literary antipathies, and Horace Walpole is almost the only writer for whom he entertained a deep and settled aversion on purely literary grounds. His habits through the greater part of life were those of a student, and he made diligent use of the advantages which his father's wealth enabled him to procure. "In London," his son says, "his only amusement was to ramble among booksellers; if he entered a club, it was only to go into the library. In the country he scarcely ever left his room, but to saunter in

abstraction upon a terrace, muse over a chapter, or coin a sentence." So intense was this devotion to books, that he seems never to have allowed himself time for social intercourse, and during the greater part of the day and evening he was separated from his family, even marriage producing no change in this respect.

The life of Disraeli forms a connecting link between the age of Johnson and our own times. His writings, however, ally him with the former period rather than with the latter; for though most of them were published after the commencement of this century, they belong, both in form and spirit, to the literature of the eighteenth century. His poetry, which is the least valuable part of his works, was inspired by the genius of Pope, and it has the characteristic faults of Pope's imitators. His criticism, though for the most part genial, lacked the philosophical breadth and the penetrating analysis which were shown by Coleridge and the Edinburgh Reviewers. His historical productions had the same defects as his criticism, and were mere records of facts, without any systematic attempt to show the relation of causes and effects. In a word, neither as a poet, as an essayist, nor as an historian, does he exhibit the characteristics which belong to recent writers in the same departments of literary endeavor; and when judged by the standard of the nineteenth century, his writings do not take a very high rank. But if we apply to them the standard by which we estimate the minor writers of the last century, his real merits will be more readily perceived, and he will be found to occupy a very creditable position.

ART. XII. — "*Woman's Right to Labor*"; *or, Low Wages and Hard Work. In Three Lectures, delivered in Boston, November*, 1859. By CAROLINE H. DALL. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 184.

TAKE the past together, and woman has had but little to say publicly. Until of late she has hardly put enough on record,

in aid of herself, to serve as a text for the reviewer. Even now that class of literature which bears on her condition is exceedingly meagre. For this reason, if for no other, we cannot be too indulgent towards her in what she now has to say, when she is calling attention to her situation as an industrial agent in the human family. Especially should this be the case when any one, like Mrs. Dall in her present work on the right of woman to labor, leaves undisturbed the more abstract questions of the day, and seeks to interest us in woman, as affected by the laws and privileges of industry.

Her theme is one well worthy of attention. Women are naturally more industrious than men. They naturally work more hours, and work more diligently. To them steady, useful employment is the great necessity of life. There is and can be no assurance of happiness without it. It is the best safeguard against want, vice, and crime, and the most constant and trusty friend of virtue. Everywhere and at all times it is of the first importance that woman should be recognized as an industrial agent, without whose co-operation there is no prosperity and no safety. There can be no real thrift, individual or national, where the rewards of woman's industry are undervalued or lost sight of in the plan of life. What is specially wanted in every community is the natural, untrammelled energy of every adult hand, irrespective of sex. That is the best governed country which best protects each and all in the free use of their hands and their gains, so far as they do no wrong to others. Beyond this, kings and rulers can do but little to mend, though they may do much to mar Nature's plan. If left to the natural laws of demand and supply, women, as well as men, soon fall into their true sphere of duty, doing those things that they can do best, and leaving to others those things that others can do best. Just at this point is the great fallacy of most of the arguments adduced in support of this and that reform in society. The question is not what this or that person can or cannot do. The true inquiry is, Who can do it best? When it is said, that among the savages women were left to till the soil, the only profitable inquiry is, How did they till it? Did they cause the earth to blossom as the rose under their cultivation, or how otherwise? Who

have been the most successful in beautifying the earth, the husbandmen of England and America, or the women of those countries where the stubborn soil has been committed either wholly or partially to them? The question is, not whether women have sat on the throne, or borne sway in one place or another, but, whenever and wherever they have been called to do a certain duty, whether they have or have not generally excelled in doing it.

In relation to woman as a helpmeet of man, we happen to think now of an instance in point, that came under our own observation, and doubtless the statement of it will call up similar instances in the minds of half our readers. It is only the frequency of such things that prevents us from bestowing on them the attention they deserve. Several years ago, in seeking for a summer retreat, we happened to select one in a little fishing village near the sea, which had apparently up to that time quite escaped public observation. The villagers were the most primitive of people, and appeared to be industrious, honest, and frugal, "improving the shining hours" in their way, by giving all heed to business during the fishing season, and when that was over most religiously idling away the winter months, and eating up to the last morsel the earnings of the previous summer. Everything about the village bore the marks of this unnatural state of things. The houses were dingy and dilapidated. The men, women, and children looked hungry, shabby, and forlorn. Even the dogs and hens bore the rigors of the winter badly, and seemed to mark the devastations of that season of idleness.

Now it happened that our advent there was simultaneous with that of a grocer, who proposed to open shop among them, and to act as a medium between them and the great trading world beyond. It happened, too, that the grocer was, quite unconsciously, a bit of a political economist, — a grain from the brain of Adam Smith. His quick eye detected the trouble at a glance. He said to himself, "Go to, now, — if I would thrive, these idle fingers must have work"; — and soon, acting on his theory, he began introducing among them what is sometimes called "slop-work." In due time, with his ribbons and his stuffs, he had coaxed one and another and then another

into his service, until the wives and daughters of the village were all busy sewing for dear life. From that he went on conquering, until he accomplished a more wonderful feat still; for, by dint of diligent urging, he brought many of the fishermen themselves to try their hands at a new duty during the winter months, by which they exchanged the hook and line for the awl and the waxed-end. The influence of these branches of industry on the village was like the bright sun on the chill earth, straightway warming it into life. Before another season had come round, it began to tell on place and people. Here the stranger could detect its vivifying power in a jaunty paper curtain; and there, in many a new frock and in many a bright button. Little feet were observed to put forth shoes, that never sported them before; and bright ribbons fluttered around glossy hair that never before bore anything so gay and gorgeous. Under the new order of things, the very houses began to revive, and put on spring attire. Old, dingy walls, within and without, were observed to appear, like the damsels, in gayer and brighter tints. Almost everything about the place wore a new aspect. Many a poor wight of a fisherman, who had been before counted as last, was now first. The hitherto most pitiable man in the place, — he with the precious burden of a dozen daughters, — all at once is found to be the most thriving individual in the village, distancing all his neighbors in the race of prosperity, and arriving by easy stages to the proud distinction of green blinds and a piazza a full twelvemonth before any other one there. In due time the former dingy village was entirely blotted out, and in place of it, little white cottages with front yards adorned its hills and valleys; while, to crown the whole, a chapel, surmounted with a spire in form and semblance very like a bradawl, gave tone and finish to the whole, rounding off as pretty and as prosperous a little village as could be found for miles around.

In looking back, it must always be the wonder of history that woman has maintained her integrity so well. In savage life she has always, by reason of her physical weakness, if from no other cause, been a slave; as civilization has advanced, her condition has improved; but how slowly, our own laws, cus-

toms, and statutes abundantly show. We need go no further back than our own common law, to see with what disabilities she has had to contend. It is true, that as to the inviolability of her person the common law has been eminently paternal. But not so as to her earnings and her estate. In this matter, woman has been almost as much an outlaw with us, as she was before the white man visited these shores. Witness the fact, that, under the common law, a married woman was, until of late, in those respects entirely banished from our courts. For all that best period of her life when as a wife and a mother she was charged with the most grave and onerous duties, — when, if ever, she needed all her earnings and all her property, — they were taken entirely from her and given to another. For all that time, she was declared incompetent to buy or to sell, to have or to hold, to earn or to collect, to grant or to devise, to assert any rights in court, or to exercise any of those rights of property so commonly accorded to the least of the family of man. Just at that period in her history when she was called to fulfil new duties and to sustain new obligations, and hence was standing in want of new rights and new guaranties and supports, the law took away even those that she had. When, if ever, she ought to have had full and entire possession and control of her real estate, and of its rents and profits, the law stepped in to commit the custody thereof entirely to her husband. When, if ever, she needed her personal property, the law intervened and gave it all to her lord and master. When, if ever, she should have been made free to work and enjoy the fruit of her labors, her earnings were all confiscated to her husband and his creditors. And all this, whether her husband was frugal or a spendthrift, sick or well, able to earn a support for her and her children, or dependent on her for the very bread that he and they craved and enjoyed. What ought to have added to her privileges and her immunities only served to subtract from them. The very act which increased her need of property and the earnings of property, the very fact that increased her need of labor and the earnings of labor, outlawed her to all these rights and immunities. And with these were carried away the advantages and supports of credit.

However reasonable and proper these rules of law might

have been in their origin, it is plain that, as applicable to us and our institutions, if the whole thing had been devised by a commission of lunatics, it could not have been more strangely at war with all the principles of thrift, or with all the maxims of prudence and justice. These old musty maxims of the common law have had their day, have retarded the prosperity of the world, have entailed enough of woe on women and all dependent upon them; and now, thanks to the progress of the age, are fast passing away. What is wanted is the abolition of all such laws, root and branch. Once place woman after marriage, as before, on the same footing with man as to all her rights and remedies in respect to her earnings and her property, and she need seek but little further. And until that is done, this government of ours can scarcely be called a government of equal laws.

The best way to bring all this about is, not by speeches and conventions, essays and arguments, but by statistics. Therein Mrs. Dall, in the book under notice, has commenced her work in the right spirit and in the right direction. Although evidently a woman of good literary culture, she has shown still higher capacity for her work, and a still better appreciation of the exact wants of the age, by leaving to others the abstract questions, and embodying in her Lectures a large amount of statistics that belong to the subject. It is a book of facts rather than of theories, a magazine of good working materials. The truth is, that the statistician is the great reformer. The logician and rhetorician are of little account any way in the work of human progress. One good telling column of figures, that shows how fields and fruits are lost and won, is worth a million of eloquent speeches on the same subject. A slate and pencil, as reformatory implements, are worth whole magazines of small pica, be they set in ever so taking a way.

The modification of an old law, especially if it is very absurd, is seldom the result of anything but a significant fact. There must be a dead-lock somewhere to produce it. Had all the orators in the land set about obtaining a law to bring railroad trains to a full stop before they could pass a drawbridge, all their eloquence would have been spent in vain. But one fearful fact, the Norwalk tragedy, brought it about, and that

right speedily. So, too, for hundreds of years in the trial of all suits at law, testimony *viva voce* was the rule, and written testimony the exception, while, let the case pass but a hair's breadth beyond the line that divides *law* from *equity*, and, *presto*, the rule was changed in a twinkling, and the evidence must all be in writing, or all was lost. And although this rule entailed untold-of expense and delay on suitors, and made the Chancery Court a court of last resort and fearful remedy, no amount of logic or eloquence could change it one iota. The abuse was too venerable to be damaged by such artillery. It came to pass, however, some years ago, that a few resolute members of a certain legislature determined to make an onset upon the system, and to try and remedy some of its outlandish maxims, and this among the number, but all to no purpose. Their arguments fell on listless ears. The members heard as if they heard not. It happened, however, that one of the orators bethought him of the great case in equity of Flagg *vs.* Mann, that grew to such dimensions that the printed volume containing it was a wonder to behold. Armed with this, in the heat of the debate, while pressing upon the legislature the hardships of such a rule, summoning all his energies to the work, he lifted to view the unwieldy volume, and, making that the text of his argument, pressed it home upon them until the whole house was moved to pity the lot of a suitor in such a case, and then to assist in devising a remedy. The stout volume, and not the eloquent argument, carried the day.

Another fallacy of many of our reformers is to believe that legislators will, at all events, attack an abuse affecting themselves. But man has been in many respects as stubborn a disbeliever in himself as in woman. For centuries he would not admit that a party to a suit could be depended on as a witness in his own case. No logic or rhetoric could move him an inch. No consideration of the practical folly of excluding the testimony of the very persons who knew all about the transaction, and the imbecility of attempting to find out about it by outsiders, who, on every reasonable principle, were supposed to know nothing about it, had any weight with him whatever. But in process of time he was to be brought to his senses by a

dead-lock. It happened in this wise. Soon after railroads became a fixed fact, in which every one was interested, it happened again and again that a traveller would lose his trunk on the road, and the company would escape all liability, because no one but the owner could testify what was in it. When enough of such facts had been collected to set the whole thing before a legislature, the stern old abuse had to give way, but only to meet that case. The legislature could see plainly enough that there the owner could safely be a witness, but not one inch beyond. Since that time the law excluding interested parties from testifying has year by year been undergoing modification in obedience to stubborn, unyielding facts. Trace the history of law as you will, and all along its pathway you shall find that the old rubbish of the common law is cleared from the road, just as the woodman clears a cart-way in the wilderness, by removing trig after trig, as they get under his wheels and stop his progress, and no faster. All the rocks and ruts that can be jolted over are suffered to remain.

Together with the disabilities of married women grew up, naturally enough, that other fungus of the common law, the system of uses and trusts, by which the custodian of property was seldom the owner, and the owner seldom the custodian; by which the rule was that the parents' own children, whom they did know, were always deemed entirely *unworthy*, and any one and every one else, whom they did not know, were deemed entirely worthy to be trusted with their property; — by which means every one was made ward to some one else, and the Court of Chancery rested like a nightmare on the whole. That entire system of trust by which woman has been kept in a state of minority all her life long deserves the attention of all who meditate doing her any substantial good. And this too is to be attacked by figures, and not by rhetoric.

Let the statistician be abroad on the subject of trusts, showing just how much property is held in that way; how much of those trust estates is absorbed in trustees' fees, how much wasted in law, how much lost by peculations and frauds; how much heart-burning and uneasiness they occasion; how they affect the industry and thrift of families; how far they contribute to the wealth or downfall of families and nations; and

how far they serve to lay up in ordinary every one who becomes in any way the subject of their care, and to mould and mildew everything they touch. It is not enough that those old disabilities be knocked away; all the briers and thorns that grew up about them need to be grubbed up too, to the very lowermost root.

Art. XIII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — 1. *A Grammar of the New Testament Diction: intended as an Introduction to the Critical Study of the Greek New Testament.* By Dr. George Benedict Winer. Translated from the Sixth Enlarged and Improved Edition of the Original, by Edward Masson, M. A., formerly Professor in the University of Athens. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. x., 708.
2. *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs.* Im Anschlusse an Ph. Buttmann's Griechische Grammatik, bearbeitet von Alex. Buttmann, Professor. Berlin, 1859. pp. xvi., 374.

The first edition of Dr. Winer's well-known work on the Diction of the New Testament appeared in 1822, and was translated by Professors Stuart and Robinson at Andover in 1825. This translation was followed in 1832 by Professor Stuart's Grammar of the New Testament Dialect, of which a second edition, corrected and mostly written anew, appeared in 1841. The work of Professor Stuart is a general grammar of the Greek language, with appropriate notices of the departures from the common Greek by the writers of the New Testament. Dr. Winer, on the other hand, as he is warranted in doing among German students of theology, everywhere presupposes a thorough knowledge of ordinary Greek on the part of his readers, and furnishes them with a critical commentary on the New Testament, devoting the greater part of his work to syntax alone, but treating the forms as fully as is requisite to set forth the deviations from the common diction. The work of Dr. Winer is indeed a grammatical thesaurus of the New Testament language, the Oriental Greek. Even in Germany it is considered as the most complete and satisfactory treatise on the subject, and no kindred work so much as competes with it for the favor of the learned. From its first appearance down to

the time when the last edition was published, the author toiled with true German diligence and carefulness to make it as perfect as he could, recording in the successive issues the results of his own widely extended studies, and of the labors of the great scholars among his countrymen, whether commentators or grammarians, as De Wette, Lücke, Tholuck, Meyer, Hermann, Buttmann, Lobeck, or learned and judicious editors of the Greek authors, as Bekker, Stallbaum, and Karl Schneider. In his work Dr. Winer has abandoned the empiricism which used to prevail, and has followed the philosophic method, *which*, as he himself says, *seeks in the national and individual peculiarities of writers the grounds of all phenomena of written speech, not excepting even the strongest anomalies.* This is the method to which Hermann of Leipsic gave a powerful impulse, and which has been so successfully employed by his disciples and others in the study of the classics and of Holy Scripture, in the examination of modern tongues, as well as in the further investigation of the ancient languages. This method, thus originating in Germany, promptly and heartily adopted in this country, and at length beginning to overcome British prejudice, does not stifle a difficulty, and then bury it in a solemn and mysterious technical formula, but lets it speak out, and then rationally interprets its voice. It does not say of particles whose use is not obvious, that they are expletives to stuff the crannies of discourse; but it patiently and laboriously traces their precise and logical import. The study of language — formerly, like many other studies, vague and conjectural — is now becoming, like them, exact and philosophical; and at the same time other related departments of knowledge, historical, geographical, and metaphysical, are all reaping good fruit from this change. Dr. Winer's Grammar is itself a fine specimen of this method; and while the student of the New Testament cannot dispense with the use of this book, if he would pursue his sacred study in a critical manner, the student of the common Greek will here find rich stores of learning for his use, and the general philologist also will be amply repaid by a perusal of it, just as the special labors of Schleusner, Bretschneider, and Wahl, as combined and arranged by Dr. Robinson in his Lexicon of the New Testament, furnish the general student with the best sample of Greek lexicography yet made, — the best because the most thorough, systematic, and logical. The second edition of Dr. Winer's work, published in 1828, was enlarged by the addition of various discussions of important points. The third edition, which appeared in 1830, was improved in copiousness and accuracy by a wider and more minute study of Greek prose authors and the Hellenistic Jews. The fourth edition, bearing the date of 1836, was translated and published in this country in

1839, by Messrs. Agnew and Ebbeke. The fifth edition, with further improvements, was published in 1844. The venerable author continued to labor faithfully upon this work, and in 1855, even while the hand of death was busy in sealing his patient sight forever, he put forth this sixth and last edition by the hands and eyes, as he touchingly tells us, of his young friends, — the accomplished students, we presume, of his beloved University of Leipsic. It is this work in its final form that Professor Masson undertook to present to us in English. He seems to have taken a genial interest in his task, and to have accomplished it in a very faithful and happy manner. He has allowed himself some liberty in rendering general observations, and the introductory paragraphs of the various chapters; and this was necessary in order to produce the easy and idiomatic English in which the work appears. In translating, however, the more critical portions, he keeps very close to the German; but is at the same time commonly quite perspicuous. The strong, white paper and bold, clear type of this edition will be gratefully appreciated by those who have used the American translation of the fourth edition. We believe that the mechanical execution of that book gave great grief to the worthy translators themselves.

We take pleasure in announcing that Professor Alexander Buttmann, the accomplished son of the learned and ingenious grammarian, has recently published a treatise on the Forms and Syntax of the New Testament Greek, as an appendix to the excellent Grammar of his father. This treatise is of moderate compass, and is, we doubt not, well adapted to the use of junior students, and of those who do not require a full and exhaustive work such as is this of Dr. Winer.

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2. — *History of the South Carolina College, from its Incorporation, December* 19, 1801, *to November* 25, 1857, *including Sketches of its Presidents and Professors: with an Appendix.* By M. La Borde, M. D., Professor of Metaphysics, Logic, and Rhetoric, South Carolina College. Columbia: Peter B. Glass. 1859. 8vo. pp. 462.

We are glad to see this evidence of a disposition on the part of those connected with the South Carolina College thus early to gather up for permanent record the facts of its history. Had they postponed for another half-century this work of filial love and duty, much of the past would have been lost beyond recovery, and the memory of many highly deserving, if not eminent teachers, have been obscured or lost. We hope that this effort may prompt kindred institutions to a like worthy attempt to publish and perpetuate the important incidents in their his-

tory, and the memoirs of those earnest and useful men who have given the labors of their lives to earn for them a wide influence and a permanent good name. In addition to its biographical interest, this book has a high value in the record it contains of the experience of a college. We see here what methods were tried; how various plans were thwarted or aided; the obstacles encountered; the encouragements received; the measure of success attained. It is the picture of college interior life, with its periods of quiet study and seasons of riotous insurrection; its grave, earnest men, and boys sometimes rude, almost always thoughtless; with now and then its elements of mirth also, the comic and the grotesque.

The College of South Carolina has had a brief existence in comparison with Harvard, or William and Mary. Yet its affairs have been managed with so much energy, and in general with so much discretion also, as to make its history a matter of interest and value to all who have the oversight of such institutions elsewhere. Neither the scholar nor the politician can read with indifference the annals of a College whose destinies have been guided by such men as Maxcy, Cooper, Preston, and Thornwell, and where men of so rich and varied attainments as Elliott, Henry, and Hooper have devoted all their zeal and learning to the business of instruction.

With our high estimate of the value of this book, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that its contents were not reduced to half the present dimensions. It lacks compression and compactness. A style, too, of more simplicity and repose would have suited the subject better. The portraits of eminent Professors seem to us, who look at them from a distance, drawn in rather glaring colors. A more quiet and subdued manner throughout the book would have made the reading of it far more pleasant.

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3. — *Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World. With Narrative Illustrations.* By ROBERT DALE OWEN, formerly Member of Congress, and American Minister to Naples. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 528.

THE theme of Mr. Owen's book is one of the deepest interest to all men of all generations. Hardly has the man lived who has not approached with awe, and commenced with anxious thought, the contemplation of "the boundary of another world." The questions that arise, when once the mind dwells there, however briefly, are solemn and tender, and at the same time subtile and difficult of solution; and of the many writers

who have attempted to solve them, we know of none who has entered on his task with a more truly reverent spirit, or proceeded in his discussion in a more calm, cautious, and impartial temper, than the author of this volume. One who has had his soul vexed in reading the huge mass of false reasoning, and extravagant statement, and audacious presumption, and, we must add, unscrupulous falsehood, that has been given to the public in the few years past in the cause of what is called "Spiritualism," will turn over the pages of this book with a satisfaction heightened almost to intensity by the contrast. We have in it a careful examination of the facts which are thought to prove the reality of what Mr. Owen calls ultramundane influences on the soul of man. The facts and reasoning are arranged in proper order under the several heads of Sleep, Dreams, Haunting, Apparitions of the Living and of the Dead, and the Indications of Retribution and Guardianship; and are preceded by a fair and judicious exposition of the true method of inquiry into such matters. With no attempt to support a theory, the facts are carefully sifted, the evidence for them not overstated, and their true bearing as proofs clearly and not extravagantly indicated. The author seems in earnest, but it is in the search for truth. He shows no traces of the fanaticism which almost always possesses men who pursue such investigations. His treatise is rather a judicial argument, than the plea of an advocate, or party. The eminent fairness of mind, which is apparent on all the pages of this book, will give it a currency, and an influence also, which very few essays on this subject have ever enjoyed. The author's manifest aim, to derive from the whole discussion a new, and, if true, a most powerful argument for the future existence of the soul of man, will also aid both its popularity and its effectiveness.

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4. — *Commentaries on the Laws of England, in Four Books.* By Sir William Blackstone, Knt., one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, with Notes selected from the Editions of Archbold, Christian, Coleridge, Chitty, Stewart, Kerr, and others, Baron Field's Analysis, and Additional Notes, and a Life of the Author. By George Sharswood, Professor of Law in the University of Pennsylvania. In two Volumes. Philadelphia: Childs and Peterson. 1859. 8vo. pp. 811, 739. Index, 30 columns.

It has long been known to the profession, that Judge Sharswood of Philadelphia was assiduously engaged upon a new edition of Blackstone, which the changes in statute-law rendered a necessity to the legal student, and we are pleased to have before us the results of his protracted labors.

"I have learned in this Law School," writes Professor Parsons of Harvard University, "how much students of law needed an American edition of Blackstone, which should contain the best parts of the large annotations that have accumulated in the English editions, together with new American notes, which should bring the law of Blackstone down to our own age and our own country. This is precisely what is done by this edition of Judge Sharswood's. How well I like it may be inferred from the facts that I have already introduced it as a text-book in this Law School, and that I recommend it, emphatically, to gentlemen who consult me as to the edition they should buy."

In the volumes before us we have the result of the labor of years devoted to a careful examination and revision of the twenty-five preceding editions of the Commentaries. The work, in its present form, will very soon be regarded as indispensable to every lawyer who would not run the risk of exposing his ignorance in court, or hazarding his client's interest in consultation. Of the copiousness of the annotations, the reader may judge from a single statement. The Introduction, "Of the Study, Nature, and Extent of the Laws of England," occupies one hundred and eighteen pages, of which the notes, if printed together, in the same type as the text, would fill about thirty-five pages, or nearly one third. The amount of original matter contributed by the American editor may be estimated from the fact, that of these notes thirty-five bear the signature of Judge Sharswood, while thirty-two are by Christian, fourteen by Chitty, and three by Stewart. Illustrative extracts are added to the Introduction, from Alexander, Bolingbroke, Burke, Cicero, Robert Hall, Hooker, Lee, Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice Marshall, Samuel Warren, and many other writers. The 33d Chapter of Book IV., "Of the Rise, Progress, and Gradual Improvements of the Laws of England," has been judiciously enriched by learned sketches of the latest enactments by Coleridge, John William Smith, Stewart, Warren, and Kerr, which the editor, with his characteristic vigilance for the interests of the American student, supplements by his own comments on the jurisprudence of the United States.

We have quoted the commendation which Professor Parsons bestows upon Judge Sharswood's labors. Other eminent authorities concur in this opinion. Hon. Emory Washburn remarks: —

"The student and the profession generally owe him much for undertaking, and the manner in which he has accomplished, the work. No lawyer's library can be without this edition."

Hon. Bellamy Storer, of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and Principal of the Law School of the Cincinnati College, observes: —

"Judge Sharswood has done no better work for the profession, during the

long period he has so faithfully labored, as author and commentator, than in preparing this edition of Blackstone. During the last forty years I have had occasion to examine every reprint of the 'Commentaries,' edited, as several have been, with much legal ability; and, without doing any injustice to others, I am constrained to say, the volumes before me have my decided preference. The arrangement of the notes to each topic, their fulness, with the author's clear perception of his subject, render them of the greatest value to the student, not only as explanatory of the text, but as presenting a very interesting compend of the present state of the law. I have recommended this edition to the students in our Law School as a text-book."

Professor Wedgwood of the Law Department of the University of the City of New York, and Dr. Battle of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, and Professor of Law in the University of North Carolina, add their attestations to the excellences of this edition. To quote testimonies to the value of Blackstone's Commentaries to the law-student is rather a work of supererogation at this day. To the general reader the Commentaries may be, they undoubtedly are, a "luxury," and something more; to the lawyer, young, old, or middle-aged, they are a "necessity."

When Lord Mansfield was asked to indicate the proper books to be perused by a student of law, —

"Till of late," he replied, "I could never, with any satisfaction to myself, answer that question; but since the publication of Mr. Blackstone's Commentaries, I am never at a loss. There your son will find analytical reasoning, diffused in a pleasant and perspicuous style. There he may imbibe imperceptibly the first principles on which our excellent laws are founded; and there he may become acquainted with an uncouth, crabbed author, Coke upon Littleton, who has disappointed many a tyro, but who cannot fail to please in a modern dress."

We would warmly recommend this edition, as equally suited to the professional and the general library. These volumes are, indeed, beautiful, displaying the highest style of typography and all its subsidiary arts, — handsome enough for a Christmas present to the Lord Chief Justice of England. They do credit to a house whose publications have contributed very largely toward establishing the high reputation of the Philadelphia press for artistical taste, skill, and excellence. We welcome works of this character with peculiar pleasure; for if anything is, under Providence, to save our republic from anarchy, it must be the conservative influence of the law and its learned professors; and among its professors, Judge Sharswood, the editor of these volumes, for legal erudition, judicial integrity, purity of life, and zeal for the highest interests of mankind, justly occupies a distinguished position.

5. — *Institutes of International Law, Public and Private.* By DANIEL GARDNER. New York: John S. Voorhies. 1860. 8vo. pp. 718.

THIS new and original work is decidedly American, and fills a place before unoccupied. It treats of an important portion of jurisprudence, with which every jurist, legislator, officer in the army and navy, and intelligent American citizen ought to be acquainted. It embraces in a succinct and simple form, with due reference to authorities, the law of nations, the inter-state and private international law of the United States, the American law common to our Union, and the application of these to public and private rights, together with certain leading principles common to American and European jurisprudence, thus presenting a summary view of the special significance and effect of American law.

The law of nations is set forth mainly on decisions of our own national courts, acts of our government, and opinions of our statesmen. The freedom of the seas is shown to have been established in great part through the agency of our republic. In treating of the usages of war, the writer maintains, in accordance with American opinion, that private property, and non-combatants by sea and land, ought to be exempt from capture in war, — a most important desideratum in the recognized law of nations.

Our inter-state and private international law are explained under appropriate heads, among which we may enumerate national and municipal navigable waters, public and private rights in the soil under such waters, fisheries, wharves, pilotage, franchises, dedications, corporations, alluvions, eminent domain (State and national), division and union of States, obstructions of law, treason, exclusive and concurrent jurisdiction of national courts, harmony of State and national legislation and judicial action, bankrupt and insolvent laws, naturalization, foreign corporations, judgments, wills, bills of exchange and promissory notes, foreign laws, guardians, administrations, penalties and disabilities, foreign realty and personalty, extradition of criminals and slaves, public domain, assessment and tax sales, and military rule over temporary conquests in foreign countries. The law of comity is also treated of in all its bearings.

This would be an admirable text-book for military and naval academies and law schools, as well as for the use of merchants, shipowners, common carriers, and others who specially need a practical acquaintance with the laws of their country. It is conservative, and sustains the cause of the Union by showing the true harmony of our State and national jurisdictions. We are glad to find in it abundant proof that the elementary principles of American jurisprudence are

largely of native growth, — the offshoots of our free institutions, and that in legal science we are less indebted to Europe than is usually supposed. We heartily commend the work to the American public.

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6. — *A Treatise on Maritime Law: including the Law of Shipping; the Law of Marine Insurance; and the Law and Practice of Admiralty.* By THEOPHILUS PARSONS, LL. D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. In two Volumes. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859. Royal 8vo. pp. 780, 871.

THE publication of these massive volumes, by the eminent Dane Professor in Harvard University, forms an era in the history of legal bibliography. What Dr. Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences is to the separate treatises which illustrate the departments of knowledge which he generalizes under the same great law, Professor Parsons's work will be to the heretofore disjointed members of Maritime Law, Shipping, Insurance, and Admiralty. The tendency of all philosophy is to unity, and we are glad to see the recognition and exhibition of this truth in legal literature. From the library to the bench the passage is natural, and should be rapid. We can well imagine the pleasure with which the illustrious father of the author, — Chief Justice Parsons, so noted in his day for his knowledge of Admiralty Law, — would have hailed a work like this. Here we have a systematic digest of the principles and applications to be found scattered in the Roman Civil Law; the Consolato del Mare; the Laws of Oleron; the Laws of Wisbuy; Cleirac's text of, and annotations to, Le Guidon, and his own Us et Coutumes de la Mer; Valin's Commentary upon the Ordonnance de la Marine of Louis XIV.; Roccus's admirable De Navibus et Naulo (by the way, well translated by that learned and excellent advocate, Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, of Philadelphia); the Discursus Legales of Casaregis; Pothier on Maritime Contracts of Letting to Hire; and the recorded decisions and other dicta of Mansfield, Story, and various great lights of the law. In short, the advocate and the judge can now obtain at a slight cost that which no money, and no amount of labor consistent with the discharge of the duties of a professional life, could previously secure to them. The necessity of a work of this character is amply proved in Professor Parsons's Preface to this Treatise. It is obvious that the Law of Shipping, and the Law of Marine Insurance, to be properly understood, must be considered in their connection; that General Average belongs both to Shipping and Insurance, and connects the two together; that the law of remedy or enforcement in mar-

itime affairs is the Law of Admiralty; that Salvage, equally important in Shipping and Insurance, and one of the connecting links which unite them, belongs almost exclusively to Admiralty; and that the subject of maritime liens, as distinct from common law liens, properly comes under the law and jurisdiction of Admiralty, and should be ruled by the established principles and enforced by the processes of Admiralty courts.

"I cannot but think," says the author, "that there are important defects and mischievous uncertainties in the maritime law of England and of this country, at this day, which would never have existed, had the various rights, obligations, and remedies which belong to it been usually regarded as parts of one whole. For example, the law of the sale of distant ships and cargoes, and the law of abandonment, would not, I think, and the law of lien on ships and cargoes would not, I am certain, have been in that case what they are now. I add, that by adhering to my plan of putting very few cases in the text, but making that, as far as I could, a connected and logical statement of all the principles and rules of the law, and placing in the notes the authorities on which they rest, with such citations as seem to afford needed illustration, or due qualification, I have succeeded in compressing my work within these two volumes.

"Long ago I had become satisfied that the boundless affluence of existing legal authority, and the rapid increase of the reports of English and American courts, and of other repositories of the law, made it, with every passing year, more difficult for a lawyer to possess the means of a thorough investigation, and impossible for him to give the time and labor necessary for such investigation, to the many questions which arise in practice. I was further convinced, that books might be made in which this labor of investigation should be so thoroughly performed, and the results so given in the text, and the authorization and illustration so put forth in the notes, as in most cases to render further research unnecessary, and to make it much easier when necessary. It is this book that I have endeavored to make. The difficulty of accomplishing such a work was obvious; but it did not seem impossible. I knew that it could not be made without the command of a completed library, and that I have here; and an accumulation and consolidation of the results of a very large amount of intelligent labor, and for this purpose I have added to my own efforts the resources of skilful and zealous industry within my reach."

We now have before us the finished and noble superstructure of which the foundations were laid as long ago as 1851. To feel assured that these volumes will hereafter be, not useful merely, but indispensable to a legal student who consults either his own reputation or the interests of his client, one would need no more than a glance at their contents. As Americans, we are proud to believe that in the Inns of Court and the Inns of Chancery, the courts of Westminster and the libraries of Parliament, Parsons's Maritime Law will be placed by the Commentaries of Kent, and the treatises and decisions of Story.

7. — *Poems.* By the Author of "A Life for a Life," "John Halifax, Gentleman," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. pp. 270.

MANY of these poems have been floating hither and thither on this side of the water for some time. It is pleasant to find their authorship, so long unclaimed, resting at last on one so favorably known to the public. Collected, revised, and largely added to, they form a pretty volume, which breathes, from its first page to its last, the same gentle truthfulness which makes the chief charm of Miss Muloch's novels. In spite of the variety of subject, there is great uniformity of treatment, and few of the poems rise into the region of the upper ether; but they have other merit, which gives them interest. Some of them are eminently household verses, fitted to come pleasantly before the memory in the pauses of home avocations, and to echo the sentiments of daily life. The most pretentious among them are the least successful, and many of them betray carelessness of construction and deficiency of melody. The little ballad of "Lettice" is one of the most finished, and unites great pathos with quite dramatic piquancy. As a whole, the volume will not add materially to Miss Muloch's reputation, but, from its geniality and sympathy, will still farther endear her to those who already know her through her other works.

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8. — *New Miscellanies.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. pp. 375.

THE subjects brought under discussion in this new collection of articles by Mr. Kingsley are chiefly of a practical character, and exhibit him, not only as a critic upon the literary merit of the works which he reviews, but also as a keen observer of the operation of the theories involved in them. The pressing necessity for a wide sanitary reform seems to have come home to his mind with peculiar force, and in examining the arguments of others upon this matter, he gives us a brilliant and concise *résumé*, which embodies in a few lines the pith of many voluminous pamphlets. Through the sparkling satire and trenchant rebuke of the first article in the volume there flows a vein of strong good sense and calm conviction which shows the writer to be thoroughly grounded in his premises. Several of the other articles revolve around the same central subject, and present a long array of facts which vindicate the great importance of prompt reform in sanitary regulations. The arguments apply, of course, most directly to the crowded population of the Old World; but even to us, dwellers in a newer land, they speak

with authority. We are glad to notice recent signs of an awakening among ourselves upon this matter, for the question is of evils which, taken in season, present little difficulty, but, neglected for a while, become almost unmanageable. To the philanthropist Mr. Kingsley eloquently commends this opportunity "for some nobler, more methodic, more permanent benevolence than that which stops at mere almsgiving and charity schools"; to the political economist he urges it as a certain means for the reduction of crime and the increase of effectiveness in a given population; and to those who are alarmed at the number of mouths which Mother Earth must feed already, he points out the exhaustless fertilizing principle embodied in her very waste.

In the critique upon Shelley and Byron, Mr. Kingsley's opinion, although somewhat at variance with the general judgment, is well supported by his argument. He seems to read the characters of the two men with clear insight, and translates their poetry through knowledge of the states of mind in which their poems were born. This award is marked with his usual fairness, and expressed with that decision and perspicuity which always make us feel that we have his honest opinion upon each topic he discusses. The article on "The Fool of Quality" is a warm-hearted tribute to a man whose name has been suffered to rust in the memory of the present generation, but who, through Mr. Kingsley's praise, is anew introduced to the reading public.

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9. — *The Marble Faun: or, The Romance of Monte Beni.* By Nathaniel Hawthorne, Author of "The Scarlet Letter," etc., etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 2 vols. 16mo. pp. 283, 284.

On the publication of Mr. Hawthorne's last romance, his writings were made the subject of an extended article in this journal; and we need not therefore enter into any discussion now of his general characteristics, for they remain unchanged except by the modifications arising from moral and intellectual growth. The greater part of the interval which has since elapsed has been passed by Mr. Hawthorne in England and in Italy, and the book before us is the first fruit of his residence abroad, — to be followed, we hope, by many other productions of equal merit. As a work of art, we are inclined to place it above either of his previous books. Its style has a harmony and beauty of expression and a warmth of coloring which are seen in none of his other writings, and there are passages in which criticism cannot suggest even the alteration of a word. Though it owes much of its interest to the mystery surrounding its principal character, and is deeply penetrated by the

tragic element in which the author delights, its tone is far more healthful than is that of his other romances. Its plot, however, has the intricacy which is a prominent fault in all his romances; and the book leaves on the mind of the reader an impression of incompleteness. Its scene is laid in Italy, and the first draft of the story was made there, though it was written out for the press in England. Its inspiration indeed comes wholly from Italy, and some of its most delightful pages record the impression produced on the author by the masterpieces of ancient and modern art in Rome, and by Italian scenery and life. Never obtrusively introduced, these descriptions spring naturally out of the narrative, and give to the volumes much of the interest belonging to a book of travels. Two of the characters are American artists, one a sculptor and the other a painter; and among the descriptive passages is an enthusiastic mention of Story's statue of Cleopatra.

There are only four personages brought prominently into notice; but they have great individuality, and their characters are drawn with even more than Mr. Hawthorne's accustomed skill. Nothing, indeed, can be more finely delineated than the beautiful and sinless life of Hilda, while its striking contrast with the dark and guilt-stained career of Miriam gives added force to the representation. As is the case in his previous romances, Mr. Hawthorne has thrown all his strength into the delineation of his women; but the characters of Kenyon, the speculative sculptor, and of Donatello, in whom so great a transformation is wrought, are both delineated with much power. As a work of the imagination, and as a picture of modern Italian life, the book is equally deserving of praise; and its fascination is such, that the reader will scarcely close the volumes until he has turned the last page.

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10. — *Revolutions in English History.* By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D. D. Vol. I. *Revolutions of Race.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. xv. and 563.

DR. VAUGHAN is favorably known as the author of a "History of England under the Stuarts," and of some other historical and educational works, which may be regarded as in a measure preparatory to the more elaborate production named above. The design of this is to present a compend of English history from the earliest times, and to exhibit the various causes which have at length resulted in the national character and institutions now familiar to us, as well as to show what was the immediate effect of every important revolution or dynastic change on the condition of the people. The portion now pub-

lished is divided into five Books, and brings the narrative down to the accession of the house of Tudor in the person of Henry VII. The First Book treats of the early inhabitants of Britain, gathering up the scattered notices of them in the Greek and Roman writers, and then passes to an account of the conquest of the island by the Romans, and to an examination of the various effects of the Roman rule on the government, religion, and social life. The Second Book opens with an investigation of the sources of Anglo-Saxon history, and traces the fortunes of the Saxons and Danes in England, concluding with a survey similar to that which closes the First Book. The first chapter of the Third Book presents an account of the Normans and of the events connected with the Norman Conquest, and the remaining five chapters consider the Conquest in its relations to property, the people, the government, the Church, and society. The Fourth Book exhibits the influence of the wars of England on English nationality, and describes the industrial, intellectual, political, and religious life of England from the death of King John to the accession of Henry IV. Of the Fifth Book, which is entitled "Lancaster and York," we have only two chapters, bearing respectively the fanciful headings of "The Reaction" and "The Dawn," and chiefly devoted to the state of religion and literature during this transition period.

From this outline of the first volume of Dr. Vaughan's work it will be seen that he occupies a field which has been but little cultivated by other English historians, though it is replete with interest and instruction. In this view the work must be pronounced a useful publication, and we shall look for the remaining volumes with interest. Dr. Vaughan does not, indeed, fulfil all the requirements of his subject, but on the whole he has accomplished his task in a very satisfactory manner. His style is less stately and harmonious than that of Hume, Robertson, or Gibbon; but it is free from conspicuous faults, and is often animated and picturesque, — as good as Lord Stanhope's, and better than Alison's. His knowledge of English history is less ample and exact than that which was stored in the inexhaustible memory of Lord Macaulay; but it is based on original research, and is sufficiently minute for the purposes of such an undertaking as he has proposed to himself. In philosophical depth and a vigorous grasp of his subject he is inferior to Sir James Mackintosh, whose fragment of the History of England in Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia" is the best work of the kind with which we are acquainted; and he has not the cold and unbending impartiality of Hallam; but his views are, with some important exceptions, as in the case of the Normans, judicious and well considered. In a word, the volume will scarcely entitle the

author to a place among the great historians who have adorned English literature with a series of works unsurpassed in modern times; but his claims to a high place in the secondary rank will not be disputed.

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11. — *Civil Correspondence and Memoranda of Field Marshal* Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K. G. Edited by his Son, the Duke of Wellington, K. G. — Ireland. [From March 30th, 1807, to April 12th, 1809.] London: John Murray. 1860. 8vo. pp. xv. and 648.

The Duke of Wellington, at that time known as Sir Arthur Wellesley, held the important position of Chief Secretary for Ireland from the accession of the Portland ministry, in 1807, until he was appointed to the command of the British army in Portugal, in 1809; and the whole of the immense mass of correspondence before us was composed within that period of two years. It comprises nearly seven hundred letters on Irish affairs, or on topics intimately connected with the administration of the Irish government, besides official memoranda and letters addressed to Sir Arthur. Much of it is of a very trivial character, and without historical interest or value, while some portions throw new light on the history and condition of Ireland half a century ago, and afford new and striking evidence of the activity, promptitude, and general ability which the great Duke displayed in the civil service not less than in the management of military affairs. All of the more important letters are written with clearness and force, and many of them are marked by great political sagacity. At that time the government of Ireland was administered mainly by bribery and corruption, and many of these letters have reference to political bargains and to promises of preferment in the Church. Indeed, jobbing in Ireland had then been reduced to so perfect a system, that scarce anything could be done without being made the occasion of a bargain; and this dirty business Sir Arthur apparently managed with as much zeal and efficiency as did Lord Castlereagh at the time of the Union. His letters reveal much that is now forgotten, but which shows the utter degradation of political morals in Ireland at that time. Corruption, however, is not the only subject in these letters, and we have details respecting the state of education, the proposed extension of the Maynooth College, the military defences of the island, the question of tithes and kindred matters relating to the Established Church, and many other topics. As a contribution to English and Irish history the volume must be generally recognized as having a high degree of interest; and it will add to the reputation of the Duke of Wellington as a sagacious statesman.

12. — *Annals of the Boston Primary School Committee from its first Establishment in* 1818 *to its Dissolution in* 1855. Compiled by JOSEPH M. WIGHTMAN. Boston: George C. Rand and Avery, City Printers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 8 and 305.

THIS volume has only a limited and local interest; but as an historical sketch of one branch of the school system in this community it merits high commendation. On the adoption of the revised city charter in November, 1854, the Primary School Committee ceased to exist, and the functions formerly exercised by it were transferred to another body. For nearly forty years, however, it had possessed almost the entire control of the primary school education in this city, and for the greater part of this period its authority was undisputed. How it discharged this important trust is a question which was warmly discussed for several years; and in order to show what had been done, the Board, at one of its latest meetings, requested the Executive Committee "to draw up a brief history of the Primary School Committee from their organization until the present time." In compliance with this request, Mr. Wightman, who was then Chairman of the Executive Committee, presented at the last meeting of the Board, January 2, 1855, a brief narrative of the principal events in its history, which he has since expanded into the comprehensive and luminous record before us. The volume has all the fulness and accuracy of detail which it is now possible to obtain; and from the active part taken by Mr. Wightman in defence of the Board, during the last years of its existence, it is not surprising that he should sometimes write in a partisan spirit; but for the most part he is singularly candid and dispassionate in his statements, and his volume will tend to remove many of the prejudices formerly existing against the organization whose history he has related.

The Primary School Committee was established by a vote of the town in June, 1818, after a prolonged discussion of the subject, and in accordance with a petition drawn up by the late Elisha Ticknor, for several years teacher of the Town Grammar School at the South End. At its organization the Committee consisted of thirty-six members, among the most prominent of whom were Mr. Ticknor, Mr. James Savage, Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq., Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., and Rev. Daniel Sharp; and in the first year of its existence it had under its care eighteen schools with eight hundred and fifteen pupils, supported at an expense of three thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars. In its last year it numbered nearly two hundred members, and had under its charge one hundred and ninety-seven schools with twelve thousand

one hundred and seventy-two pupils, supported at an expense of more than one hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars. This simple statement is sufficient to show the practical wisdom and forethought of those who labored for the establishment of the Primary School Committee. Whether that organization had not fully accomplished its work is a question which we shall not reopen here; but certainly it is now too early to pronounce an authoritative opinion as to the comparative advantages of the old system and of that which replaced it. No one, however, can read Mr. Wightman's narrative, and examine the documents which he has cited, without respect for the disinterested and zealous laborers who carried the primary school system in this community to so great a degree of perfection.

13.—1. *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct.* By SAMUEL SMILES, Author of "The Life of George Stephenson." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 16mo. pp. 408.

2. *The Same.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 12mo. pp. 363.

IN a brief and interesting Preface to this volume, Mr. Smiles relates the circumstances which led to its preparation, and which in themselves afford a striking illustration of his subject. About fifteen years ago, as he informs us, he was invited to deliver a lecture before a class for mutual improvement, which had grown up from a very small beginning in one of the towns in the North of England. He accepted the invitation, though he had but little faith in popular lectures; and "he addressed them on more than one occasion, citing examples of what other men had done, as illustrations of what each might, in a greater or less degree, do for himself, and pointing out that their happiness and well-being as individuals in after life must necessarily depend mainly upon themselves, — upon their own diligent self-culture, self-discipline, and self-control, — and, above all, on that upright and honest performance of individual duty, which is the glory of manly character." The good seed thus scattered fell on fertile ground; and one evening, some years afterward, he received a visit from one of these young men who had prospered in fortune, and who "was pleased to remember with gratitude the words spoken in all honesty to him and to his fellow-pupils years before, and even to attribute some measure of his success in life to the endeavors which he had made to work up to their spirit." His interest in the subject of self-help having been thus revived, Mr. Smiles was induced to prosecute his inquiries still further, to write the Life of George Ste-

phenson, who had formed one of the principal illustrations in his lectures, and also to prepare the volume now on our table.

Its spirit and aim are sufficiently shown in the citation already given; and in the development of his plan, Mr. Smiles exhibits the same modest ability which characterizes his Life of Stephenson. His work comprises a thorough and systematic discussion of his subject, and is written in a pleasing and graphic style. It opens with a suggestive chapter on "Self-Help, National and Individual," which is designed to form a general introduction, while the remaining twelve chapters illustrate special phases of the subject. Among them are chapters on the "Leaders of Industry," "Scientific Pursuits," "Workers in Art," "Business Qualities," "Self-Culture," and "Character." The whole is illustrated by numerous anecdotes and short biographical sketches admirably chosen to enforce the lessons which they are designed to teach. Mr. Smiles possesses great skill in the delineation of character, and his gallery of portraits offers many striking examples for study and imitation. His acquaintance with biographical literature is very extensive; and no reader can fail to be struck with the variety and richness of his materials. These materials are made easily accessible by means of a copious and well-arranged Index, and the volume is also furnished with running-titles.

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14. — *The Voyage of the "Fox" in the Arctic Seas. — A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions.* By CAPTAIN M'CLINTOCK, R. N., LL. D. With Maps and Illustrations. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 12mo. pp. xxiv. and 375.

THOUGH Captain M'Clintock made some geographical discoveries in the Arctic regions, the chief interest of his narrative centres in the information which he obtained in regard to the lost expedition commanded by Sir John Franklin, and he has very properly given prominence to this result of his voyage on his title-page. His vessel was purchased and in part equipped at the expense of Lady Franklin; the journal of his voyage was kept for her perusal, and is now published at her request; and on his return home he had the mournful satisfaction of reporting to her the success of his expedition, and the close of the long-continued quest. Sailing from Aberdeen on the 1st of July, 1857, with a little company of twenty-four persons, Captain M'Clintock found himself unable during the summer to cross Baffin's Bay, and was frozen into the ice at the end of August. From that time his vessel continued to drift southward for a period of eight months, and over a distance of

nearly twelve hundred geographical miles, until the last of April. On being released, he proceeded to Greenland to refit; and during the summer of 1858 he pushed his way as far west as Bellot Strait, where his vessel was put into winter quarters at the end of September, and arrangements were at once made for prosecuting the search during the winter by means of sledge parties. The results of this search were the discovery of the fate of Sir John Franklin and his crews, and a careful examination of the neighboring coasts; and in September, 1859, Captain M'Clintock landed in England on his return, with many interesting relics of the lost voyagers, and with positive evidence that they had discovered the much-sought Northwest Passage.

His narrative is written in a manly and unambitious style, and is full of the exciting interest which always belongs to the record of Arctic voyages. Its chief interest, as we have said, is derived from the discovery of the fate of Franklin and his companions; but, apart from this, the volume comprises some new information in regard to the northern coast-line of this continent. In the Appendix are Lady Franklin's memorial to Lord Palmerston, praying for government assistance in fitting out the expedition, a list of the relics brought home by Captain M'Clintock, an interesting paper on the Arctic geology, and some other documents. The volume has also an excellent map of the Arctic regions, and several woodcut illustrations.

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15. — 1. *Life of George Washington. Written for Children.* By E. Cecil. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 258.
2. *Life of Lafayette. Written for Children.* By E. Cecil. With Six Illustrations. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 218.

These volumes are understood to be by a lady, and are designed, we suppose, to form part of a series of biographies for children. They are written in a simple, unpretending style, with little attempt at rhetorical ornament, but from an ample knowledge of their respective subjects. With praiseworthy diligence the writer has remounted to the original sources of information, and has evidently made herself familiar with the most trustworthy authorities. Her narrative is sufficiently minute, without being prolix or tedious, and the arrangement of her materials is so orderly and natural, that the young reader will find little difficulty in following the course of events, while the incidents are so judiciously selected that he will carry away with him a perfectly clear idea of the characters here portrayed for his instruction.

In the choice of her subjects the writer has been scarcely less fortunate than in her treatment of them. There are, indeed, many lives of Washington and Lafayette in print; but we remember none so well adapted as these for the use of children. To say that the life and character of Washington should be among the subjects first studied by every American child, is simply to repeat what has been often said before; and Lafayette has always been held in especial honor in this country. It is true that English writers have studiously depreciated his merits, and that even Burke assailed him with characteristic bitterness while he was a prisoner in Olmutz; that Guizot and other French historians have spoken disparagingly of him; and that the recent biographer of Steuben, and perhaps a few other writers on this side of the Atlantic, have joined in this unfavorable criticism. But the general judgment of American writers has long since elevated him to a foremost place among those who fought the battles of the Revolution. The life-long friend of Washington, he will always be an object of affectionate admiration to American children for his bravery, his generosity, his enthusiasm for liberty, and his invaluable services to this country in the most important crisis of the war.

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16. — *A Dictionary of the English Language.* By JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, LL. D. Boston: Hickling, Swan, and Brewer. 1860. 4to. pp. lxviii., 1786.

THIS Dictionary fully justifies the years for which it has been promised and expected, and the manifold labor employed in its preparation. In all the *essentials* of a dictionary, it can safely challenge rigid examination, or any comparison to which it may be subjected. We say this, because, in a criticism extensively printed and circulated in favor of a rival interest, the comparisons made to the disparagement of this work did not relate to *essentials*, but to matters in which, not the facts of the language, but the individual taste and judgment of the respective lexicographers, were involved. As regards the secondary significations that shall be assigned to any word in common use, their larger or smaller number is a matter for purely arbitrary decision; for most of these significations are not inherent in the word itself, but are created or imagined by attaching to it a part of the meaning of other words connected with it. Thus Worcester has five, Webster twelve, meanings for *faith;* — but the smaller number is too large for the range of signification which belongs strictly to the word in itself considered; while we might easily assign to it five times twelve definitions, were we to reckon all the

shades and deflections of meaning which result from its various uses. Webster's third definition of "evangelical, justifying, or saving faith," strictly true as we believe it to be, is in no sense a definition of faith, but the edifying statement of a fundamental principle of practical theology, such as belongs of right to a sermon, not to a dictionary. Now, with reference to words of this class, undoubtedly each of our two American lexicographers is sometimes more prolix than the other (which is the merit contended for by newspaper partisans), or — what we should deem the test of merit — each is sometimes more concise than the other; but it is not in such matters that the actual use of a dictionary consists. The words which furnish titles for long articles and numerous heads of definition, are words which every one knows how to understand and employ without consulting authorities.

We prize this Dictionary beyond all others, because it is the latest, and thus contains the newly-coined and adopted words of a language which is constantly receiving numerous accessions from other tongues, and from various sciences and arts; because it is also full — complete, for aught we can say to the contrary — in the department of antique, obsolete, and rarely used words, as to which we are often in need of a thorough vocabulary; because it includes a larger number of technical terms, semi-naturalized words, and semi-proper names* (if we may be permitted this addition to the nomenclature of grammar), than any other similar work; and because the classes of definitions which it required specific knowledge to furnish and specific skill to frame bear uniform and luculent traces of much knowledge and skill. Under this last head we confess our sense of indebtedness to the woodcuts which are judiciously employed under various titles in science, art, and natural history, and of the use of which in a work of the kind Mr. Worcester, we believe, may claim the honor of invention, though he was anticipated in that of publication.

As regards the derivation of words, Mr. Worcester evidently attaches less importance to the Semitic languages than has been assigned to them by most of his predecessors. In this department thorough investigation

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* Under the head of "semi-proper names" we must relate an experience of our own since we commenced writing this notice. A friend asked us why Irishmen are called Milesians. We could not recall the details of the legend, and resorted to two Encyclopædias and to several Dictionaries in vain. On turning, however, to Worcester's Dictionary, we found "Milesian" defined to be "A descendant (according to Irish legendary history) of Milesius, a king of Spain whose two sons conquered Ireland, and established a new nobility 1300 years B. C." Such definitions are indeed matters of supererogation, — we should not blame a dictionary for omitting them; but we attach a superior value to one which has them.

and careful statement are all that is needed with regard to the larger portion of the vocabulary; and where there is room for difference of opinion, we have here the evidence of solid learning on the part of the lexicographer, while he is wholly exempt from the warping influence of preconceived theories, and from the vagaries of a wayward fancy, which never plays more fantastic tricks than when it digs for Arabic roots or conjures up birth-marks in words of dubious origin.

As regards orthography, it is enough to say that Mr. Worcester spells words as they are written and printed by the almost universal usage of England and America. We are aware that the *classes* of words as to which Webster's standard is peculiar are very few; but they are numerous classes, and contain many words of frequent occurrence. Several of his peculiarities we like in the abstract; others we should oppose and resist, as cutting off the marks of kindred with the languages that are the sources of our own. But orthography is a matter of fact, not of taste; and a dictionary virtually promises to describe, not the author's idea of what a language ought to be, but its actual condition as to spelling, pronunciation, and meaning. We fancy that we could greatly improve the boundaries of several States of our Union and several countries in Europe, and we feel sure that some of the world's capitals might have a better location assigned them; but what publisher would risk his capital in issuing, or what learned man or body of men could be found to recommend, a manual of geography brought into accordance with our notions of what ought to be? Equally absurd is the issuing or the recommending of a dictionary, which sets up its own ideal standard in defiance of good usage. Especially should those teachers and educational functionaries who impose upon children and youth under their charge an orthography at variance with the almost universal custom of literary men and cultivated society, consider whether their whim may not cost their pupils too dear in the mortification, embarrassment, and ridicule to which it will expose them. We have no other positive objection to Webster; we cordially and thankfully acknowledge his many and great merits; and, while we must give our preference strongly and emphatically to Worcester's new Dictionary over all others, we would render all honor to the pioneer in American lexicography, whose arduous life-toil it was that prepared the way for the easier success of such as have come after him.

17.—*A Familiar Forensic View of Man and Law.* By ROBERT B. WARDEN. Columbus: Follett, Foster, & Co. 1860. 8vo. pp. 548.

"A LAWYER'S View of Man" is a title which would express more explicitly the precise purport and character of this work. It is a series of essays on anthropology, of which the subjects have been suggested, and the lines of thought and speculation indicated, by the culture and mental habitudes of a liberally educated lawyer. Many of the topics discussed, such as the unity of the race, and its place in the zoölogical scale, have no special forensic bearing; while others, like insanity and pathology, stand in close relations to subjects under the cognizance of the courts. Judge Warden manifests, throughout the volume, the attributes of a clear thinker, an independent reasoner, and a vigorous writer. While he is guiltless of any startling heresy or innovation, his work is, in the best sense of the word, original; many of the opinions to which it gives voice bearing the impress of a first coinage, while those that are old are evidently new-cast and freshly stamped.

18.—*The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records stated anew, with Special Reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of Modern Times, in Eight Lectures, delivered in the Oxford University Pulpit, in the Year* 1859, *on the Bampton Foundation.* By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Editor of "The History of Herodotus," etc. From the London Editions, with the Notes translated by REV. A. N. ARNOLD. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1860. 12mo. pp. 454.

THESE Lectures are more than they promise. We should have been thankful for the mere results of such an archæologist's historical researches in routes parallel with sacred history. These he has given us with an honesty worthy of his cause, in their indirectness and paucity at some epochs, in their fulness and explicitness at others. He makes no loose general statements as to the amount of this sort of evidence, which is often vaguely represented as larger than from the nature of the case it could possibly be, and when the exaggeration is detected is sure to be as much under-estimated by the reader as it has been overstated by the author. His statements are all specific and exact, sustained by references and authorities, which are given in full in the many and copious notes at the end of the volume. But beyond this service, he presents with the utmost cogency of reasoning the inter-

nal marks and intrinsic grounds of credibility in the historical books of the Old and New Testaments, throws the burden of proof on the objector, and demonstrates with masterly power the absurdity of the gratuitous assumptions on which the Straussian school of criticism bases its reasonings. The work is a contribution of solid and enduring worth to the evidences of revealed religion; and we heartily rejoice to find the learning, critical genius, and argumentative power, which make the appearance of the author's edition of Herodotus an epoch in classical literature, so nobly and successfully employed in buttressing the common faith of Christendom against the latest and most insidious form of infidelity.

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19. — 1. *Jesus, the Interpreter of Nature; and other Sermons.* By THOMAS HILL. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 241.

2. *Restatements of Christian Doctrine, in Twenty-Five Sermons.* By HENRY W. BELLOWS, Minister of All Souls' Church, New York. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 434.

WE have read Mr. Hill's volume with unqualified admiration. In directness, simplicity, and strength of diction, these Sermons are worthy to be taken as models. The style is elegant, without adventitious ornament, and wins attention by its perfect transparency, and by the unstudied ease and grace with which it presents weighty and earnest thought, and keen and trenchant reasoning. The author's high scientific culture is kept in the background, yet is constantly manifest in the numerous and apt illustrations of spiritual truth which it furnishes, and in the demonstrative force — like that of a process of reasoning in pure mathematics — which it imparts to every train of argument. He is preeminently a Bible Christian, and it is evident that his familiarity with the exact sciences has only ministered to his implicit faith in revelation, not in excerpts from it, but in the entire body of fact and truth set forth by Divine authority in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. The Sermons are, with a single exception, on strictly evangelical subjects, and present the fundamental truths and duties of religion in their imperative claims on the human heart and conscience.

In many respects Dr. Bellows's admirable volume is the converse of Mr. Hill's. With an equally firm faith and an equally high aim, Dr. Bellows is less logical and much more rhetorical. With entire unity of plan and purpose in each discourse, he often follows an order of suggestion or association peculiar to his own mind; he indulges in frequent

digressions, from which, however, he always returns with a wealth of illustration for his main theme; and, at times familiar and colloquial, he in numerous instances rises to intensely fervent eloquence. There is a wonderful vivacity pervading the entire volume, as of one equally in close personal relations with the truth and in intimate fraternity with those to whom he preaches. The style is scintillating, with no sham lustre, but with indigenous gems and brilliants of thought, fancy, and imagination; graceful and flexible, taking on the tone and hue of the subject in hand, and forceful to a degree rarely equalled, indicating a mind as fresh and quick as it is vigorous, and an easy, confident, tenacious grasp of whatever theme he approaches. These are, in the highest sense, "sermons for effect," because they were not written for effect, but were the outflow of a full, earnest, and loving soul, which could not but pour the richness of its own inward life into its portraiture of truths dear to it as its own life.

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20. — *History of the Church of Christ, in Chronological Tables: a Synchronistic View of the Events, Characteristics, and Culture of each Period, including the History of Polity, Worship, Literature, and Doctrines: together with Two Supplementary Tables upon the Church in America; and an Appendix containing the Series of Councils, Popes, Patriarchs, and other Bishops, and a Full Index.* By Henry B. Smith, D. D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York. New York: Charles Scribner 1859. Folio. Tables 16. pp. 93.

It is hardly possible to speak adequately of the extent and the value of this work to one who has not seen it. Tabular views suggest the idea of mere statistics, — the skeleton of history; here, however, we have flesh, sinews, and life. In following one of the leading columns — as that of "General Characteristics," "Culture and Literature," or "Growth of the Church" — from period to period, we find that we are reading what is virtually a connected narrative of unflagging interest; and the first-named of these columns, printed by itself, would furnish an admirable *résumé* or introductory manual of Church History. The titles of the several columns are, in part, the same throughout the series of tables; in part, multiplied and varied to suit the altered condition of the times. These titles are in every instance so selected and arranged as to cover the entire ground, and to do equal justice to every department, whether of the exterior fortunes or the internal development of the Church. We are astonished at the copiousness and minuteness of

the details under each head, and we would hazard the assertion, that no salient fact or significant phase of opinion or prominent name that might be looked for would be sought in vain. The worth of the whole is enhanced by that indispensable part of a book of reference, a complete Index. In fine, if we could have but a single table-book for consultation in this branch of knowledge, we should make choice of Dr. Smith's Tables as at once more comprehensive and more easily referred to than any other.

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21. — 1. *Sketches of New England Divines.* By Rev. D. Sherman. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1860. 16mo. pp. 443.
2. *Autobiography of* Dan Young, *a New England Preacher of the Olden Time.* Edited by W. P. Strickland. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1860. 16mo. pp. 380.
3. *The Life of the Rev. Adam Clarke, LL. D., F. A. S., M. R. I. A., etc., etc.* By J. W. Etheridge, M. A., Doctor in Philosophy, of the University of Heidelberg, and Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1859. 16mo. pp. 487.
4. *The Christian Lawyer: being a Portraiture of the Life and Character of William George Baker.* New York: Carlton and Porter. 1859. 16mo. pp. 320.

Messrs. Carlton and Porter are busily "building the sepulchres of the prophets" of Methodism. The first-named of these works contains sketches of several prominent Congregational divines, from John Cotton to Dr. Emmons; but what gives it its peculiar interest and piquancy is its narrative of the lives of certain Methodist pioneer preachers, such as Jesse Lee, Billy Hibbard, Timothy Merritt, and George Pickering. They were a class of men well worthy to be commemorated, both for their sterling qualities of mind and heart, and for the interest that attaches to them as specimens of an extinct race. They were, for the most part, men of iron frames and vast powers of effort and endurance, of strong, sturdy common-sense, and of a zeal which held sacrifice and hardship of no account when incurred in the cause of human salvation. Intense and bitter hatred of Calvinism seems the only malignant passion they indulged; while scoffers, gainsayers, and opposers of other creeds and of no creed were in numerous instances won to their faith and to a Christian life by the blended courage and meekness with which they met assault and persecution. They did indeed suffer grievous things from ministers and deacons of "the standing order"; and they were wont to impute to the nominal creed of the

Congregational churches (a creed which, we apprehend, in those lukewarm days, they did not love well enough to fight for it) procedures in fact resulting from the exclusive legal rights guaranteed to the dominant sect, from which grew many of the evils and abuses, without the prestige and dignity, of an established church. None will more heartily rejoice in the memorials of the faith and piety of these fearless itinerants, than will the spiritual progeny of the very divines whom they held in such abhorrence.

The second of these books is the autobiography of one of these early Methodist preachers, and contains sketches of several of his fellow-laborers.

Mr. Etheridge's Life of Adam Clarke is well written and profoundly interesting; but we regret that he had not inserted, entire, Clarke's Autobiography, which covers the first thirty years or more of his life, and which, apart from its conscientious accuracy, is in itself one of the most curious of psychological phenomena. This portion of the narrative is toned down by the present author, so as to present a much less clear and appreciable view of the causes and experiences to which we may trace not only Adam Clarke's spiritual regeneration and growth, and the awakening and stimulation of his mental powers, but equally the intellectual tendencies that sometimes rendered his judgment as unsound as his learning was always exact and thorough.

William George Baker died in Baltimore some three or four years ago, at the age of forty-six. He was a lawyer of eminent ability, extensive practice, and high reputation. He was at the same time an humble, devout, and earnest Christian, an active and energetic leader in enterprises of Christian beneficence, and a zealous member of the Methodist Church. We would warmly commend this memoir, as illustrating the power and beauty of the Christian character in precisely those secular relations and engagements in which practical religion has indeed many of its brightest exemplars, but which form too few of the subjects of religious biography.

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22. — *The Eighteen Christian Centuries.* By Rev. James White, Author of a "History of France." With a copious Index. From the Second Edinburgh Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 538.

This book derives its very high value from its being a superficial book, and pretending to be no more; while its author is so thoroughly a master of his ground as uniformly to select the really salient objects of

survey, and thus to furnish, not an imbroglio, but a well-proportioned map in miniature of the entire field. His object is not to supersede detailed and special history, but to prepare the student for its intelligent perusal. To this end, he gives a rapid sketch of the predominant characteristics of each century, of the general course of events, and of the characters of those who controlled it, with lists of the principal sovereigns and the distinguished men. This outline-view enables the young reader subsequently to select with judgment such portions of more special history as it may best suit his purposes to peruse, and at the same time to connect each separate portion of history with its antecedents, its contemporary personages and events, and its issues in coming times. The work may perform an equally valuable service for the well-read student of history in supplying obscure historical connections, and suggesting such general views as it is often difficult to attain in the multitude and complication of minute details.

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23. — *Ceylon. An Account of the Island, Physical, Historical, and Topographical, with Notices of its Natural History, Antiquities, and Productions.* By Sir James Emerson Tennent, K. C. S., LL. D., etc. Illustrated by Maps, Plans, and Drawings. Third Edition, thoroughly revised. In two vols. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1859. 8vo. pp. 643, 663.

It is the merit of this work, that it is difficult to say more or less concerning it than is said on the title-page. It has nothing peculiar in its style, — no fine writing, and no poor writing. Its descriptions are graphic in precisely the way in which its maps and plans are, by being accurate in outline and minute in detail. No one can read two such massive volumes for amusement or excitement. But he who would know all that can be known of Ceylon, past and present, need look nowhere else. A work bearing equal marks of thoroughness and completeness has rarely come under our cognizance.

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24. — *Lectures on the English Language.* By George P. Marsh. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 8vo. pp. 697.

These Lectures were delivered under the auspices of Columbia College, as one of certain "courses of instruction called Post-graduate Lectures"; and they were designed and prepared for a general audience rather than for persons of finished academic culture. They are, therefore, popular rather than scientific; but they could have been

written only by one himself profoundly versed in the department of knowledge to which they relate. They contain a well-digested *résumé* of the sources, development, and successive modifications of our language, with admirably chosen illustrations, drawn chiefly from the "less known fields" of English literature, and adapted to introduce to the knowledge of the hearers and readers the large class of valuable books which are at once easy of access and seldom sought. The style is graceful and attractive; the opinions are sound and ably vindicated; the purest taste as to words, idioms, and authors pervades the entire work; and its thoroughly, yet not obtrusively, didactic character commends it as a manual for those who would speak or write accurately and elegantly, or would read with discrimination and profit. So much learning and wisdom, weighty thought and just criticism, have seldom been condensed into an equal space, and still more rarely presented in a form so well adapted to all classes of intelligent readers.

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25. — *The Law of the Territories.* Philadelphia. 1859. 12mo. pp. 127.

This little volume consists of two essays, the first of which, had it not outgrown its contemplated dimensions, would have appeared in the Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette, in which the second was published. The author assumes and defends a ground midway between the extreme parties as to the rightful jurisdiction over matters of municipal law, and especially over Slavery, in the Territories. He maintains that the provision of the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, which declares that the people of the Territories shall be "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way," is opposed to the principles of natural law, to the Constitution of the United States, and to the provision of this very Bill by which it is declared that the Constitution extends to the Territories; and that legally and constitutionally sovereign authority over the Territories resides in Congress. But Congress stands to the inhabitants of a Territory *in loco parentis.* Its aim should not be to control the lawful will and preference of the inhabitants of a Territory, but, in the absence of separate and independent authority on their part, to give legal expression and force to that will and preference. To this end it may negative such local legislation as may, in the imperfectly organized condition and sparse population of the Territory, be procured by intrusion, usurpation, or fraud, and may consult the well-ascertained wishes of the people, in contravention of spurious acts of their legisla-

ture; but it cannot impose upon them, at the dictation of any party or section, regulations or institutions uncongenial with their climate, social organization, or permanent interests. Slavery is strictly a local institution, with its conditions climatic, industrial, and social. Where these conditions exist in a Territory, Congress is bound to respect the implied compact of the Constitution, and the legitimate wishes and expectations of actual settlers. But where these conditions do not exist, the same implied contract guarantees to settlers the state of society, industry, and internal police which can exist only in connection with universal freedom, and which is frustrated and negatived by the presence of slavery. These principles, involved in the Ordinance of 1787, and recognized in the Missouri Compromise, were first denied when that Compromise was abrogated; and to this last-named epoch and transaction our author traces the sectional hostility and warfare which have given tone to the political discussions and transactions of the last few years, have led to the outrages in Kansas and the atrocious crimes recently perpetrated in Virginia, and still convulse the Union and embitter the opposing parties in its national councils. The discussion is able, earnest, bold, sustained by undoubted facts and what seems to us impregnable reasoning; and the author fully vindicates his claim to be regarded as non-sectional in his sympathies, and a defender of our national Constitution and Union in conformity with the intent of the founders of the Constitution and the original parties to the Union.

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26. — *Hits at American Whims and Hints for Home Use.* By Frederic W. Sawyer, Author of "A Plea for Amusements." Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 275.

This volume is a series of essays on society, law, books, amusements, philanthropy, and religion, — most of them prose satires on popular fashions, delusions, fallacies, and follies. Without keen wit, they abound in genial humor, and still more in sober *common* sense, — sense we should say, were not many of the topics those on which the *common* sense is *non*-sense. The author's castigations are inflicted not in the spirit of determined fault-finding, nor in that of cynical misanthropy; but what we most of all like in the book is the tone of healthy and kindly feeling which pervades it. Its "hits" are at fair marks, and its "hints" are such as it would be well for society to take. It must do good, if the conventionalisms at which it aims are not too deeply seated to be displaced.

27. — *Dr. Oldham at Greystones, and his Talk there.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 342.

This book is often amusing, almost always wise, sometimes tedious. Its motto, *De omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, is hardly too broad for its scope, which embraces cosmogony and the vices of New York, architecture and housewifery, the profoundest mysteries of theology and the woman's rights controversy, and passes at a leap from *maxima* to *minima*, and from *minima* to *maxima*. The Doctor, whose talk fills the greater part of the volume, is as garrulous and whimsical as he is sensible and kind; and though, were he an actual doctor, we would gladly accept the bran of his discourse for the large percentage of fine flour mixed with it, should he be again presented to the public, his readers will not, we think, be any the less grateful to his editor for using the sieve.

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28. — *Sir Rohan's Ghost. A Romance.* Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 352.

Seldom has a first book by a young writer been so full of promise as this. Its very faults are those flowing from an exuberance of rich fancy and fervid imagination. The story is subsidiary to its high moral significance, and is rather brought out by the workings of its prime hero's horror-stricken conscience, than unfolded by direct narration. It is a story of early guilt, followed by the haunting of weird and fearful shapes projected upon the outward world from the remorseful consciousness within, made visible, tangible, and audible by the Nemesis that unrelentingly pursues inexpiable crime, and at times so pervading the surrounding atmosphere as to intrude upon other life-spheres than the one which they persistently people with their phantasms. But the power of the work resides not wholly or chiefly in this bold conception so vividly embodied. It has other features, as gently yet as forcefully attractive as this is terribly fascinating. Descriptive literature, in various departments both of nature and art, is greatly enriched by many of these pages; and in the numerous descriptive passages we hardly know which most to admire, the minuteness and verisimilitude of the details, or the warmth of imaginative genius which fuses them into a series of brilliant prose-poems that claim, yet scarce need, rhythm to make them prose no longer. We express our first and unmoved opinion with regard to the work; — others may differ with us as to what has already been achieved; but there can be — we believe there is — only a unanimous judgment as to the author's wonderful power,

and as to the prestige of future fame afforded by these first-fruits, in which large knowledge, cultivated taste, and high creative genius are equally and signally manifest.

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29. — *All the Children's Library. Faith and Patience. A Story, and Something More, for Boys.* Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 211.

THE other books in this series we have not read; but if they resemble this, we earnestly hope that they may become "all the children's library." For lessons of truth, honesty, generosity, courtesy, and all of manliness (not more) that should be found in the ingenuous boy, — and these lessons not in a didactic form, but insinuated in the natural course of a graceful and charming story, — we have seldom seen "Faith and Patience" paralleled, never surpassed, in juvenile literature. Its morality is that of the Sermon on the Mount, and it is redolent throughout of the spirit of the Divine Teacher.

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30. — *Fragrant Flowers, and other Poems.* By DANIEL A. DROWN, Portsmouth, N. H. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. 16mo. pp. 236.

THE author of these poems was a graduate of Dartmouth College, a fine scholar, and a youth of high promise. On the threshold of active life, he was seized with a disease, which, first affecting the optic nerves, passed thence into the entire nervous system, and has confined him for nearly fifteen years to a room from which every ray of light is carefully excluded, and for most of the time to a bed of acute and unmitigated suffering. We know not a case in which, for so long a period, such an amount of privation and pain has been endured. And it has been borne with a Christian fortitude that has not once yielded to murmuring or despondency. The resources which at first sufficed for his needs have been exhausted in vain attempts to gain relief, and in the necessary expenses of such an illness, and he is now dependent on the not reluctant kindness of friends who know his merits and his necessities. The poems contained in this volume were dictated to others, or written by his own hand in utter darkness, to beguile the weariness of chronic torture, and with no ulterior purpose. They are now published with the hope that the proceeds of the volume will contribute to his subsistence and comfort. Without the perfect finish which they would have

had under more favorable circumstances, they have a high poetic merit of their own; and while many of them could not but be pensive, many are cheerful, sparkling, and even jubilant. A large proportion of them are on religious themes, and express, not weariness of life, nor yet a mere passive contentment under its burdens, but the aspirations of a soul which has already found its home where there is no pain or sickness or sorrow. We trust that a volume of so much merit, prepared under circumstances that claim so tender sympathy, will pass into many hands; and those who purchase the book, that they may render an office of Christian kindness to the author, may be assured that his pure and chastened thought, and his breathings of the better land of his longing hope, will prove to them a far richer gift than they bestow.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

A Sermon delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, Sunday Morning, November 6, 1859, on Occasion of the Death of Mrs. Eliza McIntyre, wife of the late Hon. Archibald McIntyre. By William B. Sprague, D. D. Albany. 1859.

A Sermon preached at East Granville, Mass., on Friday, December 16, 1859, at the Funeral of the Rev. Timothy Mather Cooley, D. D. By William B. Sprague, D. D., Minister of the Second Presbyterian Congregation in Albany. Albany. 1860.

The Missionary Work essential to the Development and Growth of the Christian Church. A Sermon, delivered before the Foreign Missionary Society of New York and Brooklyn, on Sabbath Evenings, November 6 and 20. By Rev. Rufus W. Clark, D. D., Pastor of the South Congregational Church, Brooklyn. With Reports of Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer. New York: Almon Mervin. 1859.

Trinitarianism not the Doctrine of the New Testament. Two Lectures delivered, partly in Review of Rev. Dr. Huntington's Discourse on the Trinity, in the Hollis Street Church, January 7 and 14, 1860. By T. S. King. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1860.

The Christian Consciousness, — its Elements and its Expression. A Discourse delivered at the Installation of J. K. Karcher as Pastor of the Spring Garden Unitarian Church, October 5, 1859. By O. B. Frothingham, Minister of the Third Unitarian Church in New York. With the Charge, by S. Longfellow, Minister of the Second Unitarian Church in Brooklyn, N. Y.; and the Right Hand of Fellowship, by W. H. Furness, Minister of the First Unitarian Church in Philadelphia. Philadelphia: T. B. Pugh. 1859.

Probable Grounds of Christian Union. A Lecture delivered in the Cairo Street School-Room, Warrington, October 19, 1859. By the Rev. Thomas L. Harris, New York, U. S. Revised for Publication. Manchester [England]: Johnson and Rawson. 1859.

Tracts for the Times. Vol. II. No. 1. Cornering Religion. By Rev. C. A. Bartol. Albany. 1860.

Seven Years, and other Tales. By Julia Kavanagh, Author of "Nathalie," "Adele," "The Two Sicilies," etc., etc. Three vols. in one. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 423.

Library of Standard Fiction. No. 1. Seven Years. By Julia Kavanagh. pp. 180. — No. 2. Holmby House: a Tale of Old Northamptonshire. By G. J. Whyte Melville, Author of "Kate Coventry," "The Interpreter," etc. pp. 224. — Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1860. 8vo.

Library of Select Novels. No. 214. Misrepresentation. A Novel. By Anna H. Drury, Author of "Friends and Fortune," "Eastbury," etc. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1860. 8vo. pp. 211.

Tom Brown at Oxford: a Sequel to School Days at Rugby. By Thomas Hughes, Author of "School Days at Rugby," "Scouring of the White Horse," etc. Parts II., III., IV. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 12mo. pp. 49–184.

Chambers's Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. On the Basis of the latest Edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon. Illustrated by Wood Engravings and Maps. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Parts 8–11. 8vo. pp. 449–704.

The United Presbyterian Quarterly Review. Edited by David R. Kerr; associated with Drs. J. T. Pressly, J. Rodgers, and A. D. Clark. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1860. Pittsburg. 8vo. pp. 160.

The Calumet. John Beeson, Editor and Publisher. Vol. I. No. 1. February, 1860. New York. pp. 32.

The Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association. Vol. I. Nos. 1–3. January to March, 1860. 12mo. pp. 48 each No.

Anti-Tobacco Journal. Geo. Trask, Editor. Vol. I. No. 1. November, 1859. Fitchburg. pp. 24.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1860. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1860. 12mo. pp. 392.

Words of Comfort to Bereaved Parents. Edited by William Logan. Glasgow: George Gallie, and William Love. 1857.

The Gloaming of Life: a Memoir of James Stirling. By the Rev. Alexander Wallace, Author of "The Bible and the Working Classes." Fourteenth Thousand. Glasgow. 1858. 16mo. pp. 116.

The Moral Statistics of Glasgow. By William Logan, Commissioner of the Scottish Temperance League. Glasgow. 1859.

Letters on Coolie Emigration to the West Indies. Edited by Otto Wenkstern. London: Effingham Wilson. 1859.

Le Pape et le Congrès. Paris: E. Dentu. 1859.

Here and There; or, Earth and Heaven contrasted. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860.

Review of Governor Banks's Veto of the Revised Code, on Account of its Authorizing the Enrolment of Colored Citizens in the Militia. By F. W. Bird. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1860.

An Examination of the Theory and the Effect of Laws regulating the Amount of Specie in Banks. By Samuel Hooper. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1860.

Crofts' London, What to See, and How to See it. London: William Francis Crofts. 1859.

Slavery. By J. L. Baker, Author of "Exports and Imports," "Men and Things," &c. Philadelphia: John A. Norton. 1860.

A Scriptural View of the Moral Relations of African Slavery. By David Ewart, Columbia, S. C. 1849. Revised and amended in 1859. Charleston. 1859.

The Past, the Present, and the Future of our Country. Interesting and Important Correspondence between Opposition Members of the Legislature of Virginia and Hon. John Minor Botts, January 17, 1860. Washington. 1860.

The Elements of Civilization. A Discourse delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of St. Paul, January 3, 1860. By C. C. Andrews. St. Paul. 1860.

Argument of William H. Y. Hackett, in Support of the Defendants' Demurrer: March et al. *vs.* Eastern Railroad Co., before the Supreme Judicial Court, December Term, 1859. Portsmouth. 1860.

Goethe and Schiller. An Address before the Haverford Loganian Society. By Thomas Chase. Philadelphia. 1859.

The Doctrines of Original Sin and the Trinity: discussed in a Correspondence between a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church in England, and a Layman of Boston, U. S. Boston. 1859.

Journal of the Seventy-Fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Connecticut, held in Hartford, June 14 and 15, 1859. Hartford. 1859. 8vo. pp. 119.

Harvard College. Treasurer's Statement, 1859. Boston. 1860.

Reports of the Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College, appointed to visit the Library. For the Year 1859. Submitted January 26, 1860. Boston. 1860.

Catalogue of Antioch College, of Yellow Springs, Green Co., Ohio, for the Academical Year 1859–60. Yellow Springs: H. H. Burkholder. 1859.

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